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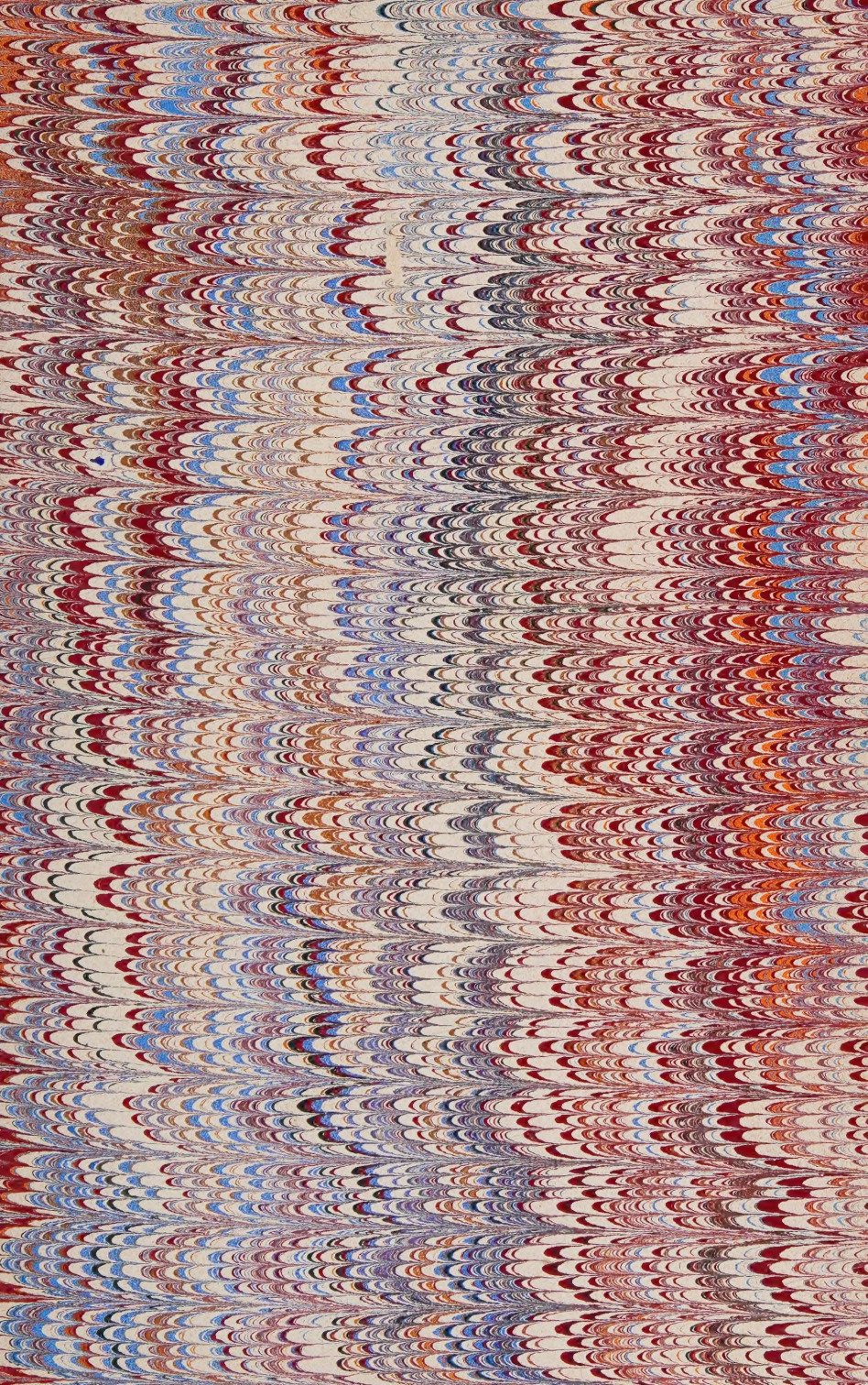
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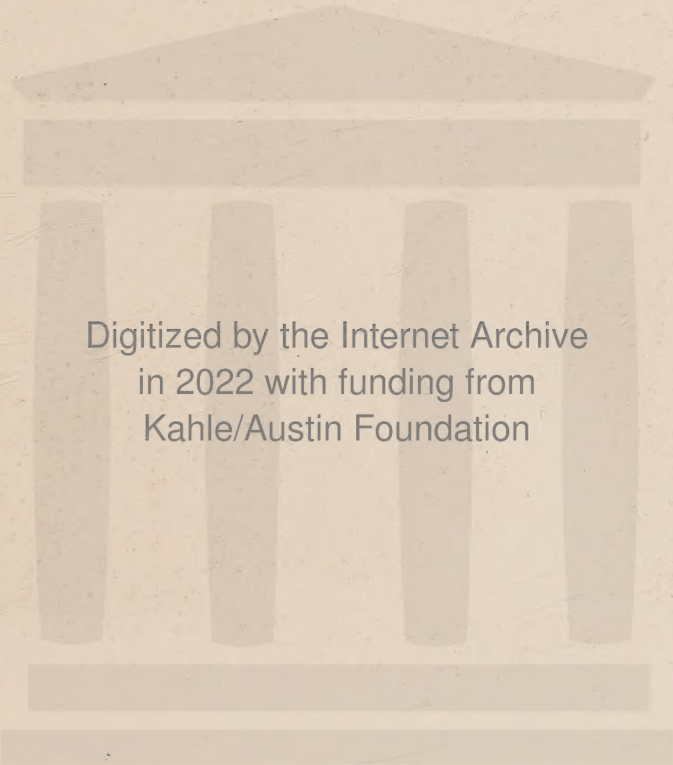
THE

ANNALS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

"I CAN scarce think any pains mispent that bring me in solid evidences of that great truth, that the Scripture is the word of God, which is indeed the GRAND FUNDAMENTAL."

THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE.

London :
Printed by Reed and Pardon,
Paternoster Row.



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TYNDALE.

Engraved by W. Humphries.

London, Jackson, Walford, & Hodder, 1861.

THE ANNALS

OF

The English Bible.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON.

A New and Revised Edition.

EDITED BY HIS NEPHEW,

HUGH ANDERSON.

LONDON.

JACKSON, WATTS, AND CO. LTD.,

THE ANNALS
OF
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BY
CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON.

A New and Revised Edition,

EDITED BY HIS NEPHEW,

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OF
THE
UNIVERSITY OF
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LONDON:
JACKSON, WALEFORD, AND HODDER,
18, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

1862.

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P R E F A C E.

HE work which is now offered to public attention has been drawn from authentic and unpublished manuscripts, from the original printed authorities in succession, and the editions of the Scriptures themselves. It will be found to contain the historic Annals of the English Bible, viewed in contrast or connexion with national affairs; including Memoirs of Tyndale, his contemporaries and successors; the first introduction of the Sacred Volume, as printed in the native language, into England, Scotland, and America; the earliest triumphs of Divine Truth, and its progress down to the present day; the imperative obligations of British Christians in such extraordinary possession of the Word of God.

In the literature of this country, although it has been so often felt and regretted, a more observable deficiency does not exist, than that of there being *no* history of the English Bible. It may have been imagined, that such a narrative could embrace no heart-stirring incidents, or incidents laid as the foundation of a great design, no frequent peril of life, no hair-breadth escapes, nor, especially, any of those transactions, in which the vital interests of this nation have been involved. No mistake could have been greater, but whatever has been the cause, the defect is notorious. The people of every city alike have never been informed, at what time, and in what a singular manner, their ancestors first received the oracles of God, as printed on the continent for their benefit. As for their subsequent prevalence and effects, these form a vein of British history which has never been explored.

The Sacred Volume, indeed, carries internal evidence of its divine origin, and that in abundance; but still, with reference to the Bible now being used daily, and read so long, throughout this kingdom, no questions can be more natural than these—When was this volume first translated from the original, and put into print? Who was the man that laboured night and day to accomplish this? Like his Divine Master, was he betrayed unto death? If so, who betrayed him? What became of his betrayers? Or, was there any one man who befriended him, in his last days, or final trial? And since all this, and much more, did take place abroad; in the first transmission, in the secret and singular conveyance of the heavenly treasure to our shores, what were the distinct tokens of a superintending Providence to be observed and adored? What were the notable circumstances connected with its earliest triumphs over the prejudice and passion of our common nature? Or, in short, *how* has this Sacred Volume, revised, and re-revised, after three hundred years, come down into our hands? And yet, up to the present moment, should any individual throughout this country apply to his Christian teacher, or any child to his parent, and put these and other deeply interesting questions, no definite answer can be returned; nor is there a single publication, which, if it lead not astray, will not leave the inquisitive reader nearly as far from satisfaction as when he began. If a Translator, in whose train all others have followed, must be allowed to rank far above all mere Reformers, it is strange if, on such a subject, historians generally should have slumbered or slept; yet the histories of Halle and Foxe, of Stowe and Strype, of Burnet and Collier, of Turner and Lingard, or Soame, as well as the history of Translations by Lewis, Herbert, or Dibdin, with the Biblical literature of Townley, of Cotton, or of Horne, may all be read, and they must be, when such a period is explored; but from all these sources put together, still the reader can form no conception of what actually took place, with regard to the Scriptures. The incidental circumstances mentioned are not only few in number, but scarcely one of them appears in its true light or appropriate connexion. Many, and by far the most curious and productive incidents, have remained in utter oblivion.

After reading, in succession, even all these works, no one can possess any adequate or correct idea of that mighty phalanx of talent, policy, and power, so firmly arrayed against the introduction of divine truth in our native tongue into this Kingdom; and consequently no reader has ever had before him the most powerful display, in comparatively modern times, of the irresistible energy of the Divine Word. This remark applies with equal force to Scotland, of which nothing has hitherto been known, as it does to England, of which there has been known so little, and that so incorrectly narrated. This energy, too, in both countries, having been exhibited at a period when the truth was unbefriended by a single human being in office, nay, when the judges and rulers of the land were up in arms, or raging against it; the detail, if justice could be done to it, must form one of the most curious and impressive, if not the most valuable chapters in British history. The times changed indeed, and have often changed since, and yet, it is presumed, no reader will find the story begin to droop in point of interest; much less forfeit its peculiar character, as an undertaking of Divine Providence, down to the present hour.

Certain portentous signs, unexpectedly marking our own day, and at which not a few have been startled, very powerfully invite the general mind to the sacred text, in its all-sufficiency, by itself alone, or to "the Bible without note and comment." But without even glancing at these here, to the Sacred Volume, in our native tongue, considered simply in the light of a *printed book*, there happily belong two peculiarities, more than sufficient to fix the mind, with intense interest, on its origin and history. These are the *number* of its copies, and the *extent* to which it is now in perusal. Neither the one, nor the other, has yet been rendered so palpable, as to engage the notice they deserve, and which they will, at last, certainly secure.

After the commencement of the present century, when attention was awakened to the obligation imposed on this country, of giving the Sacred Volume to all nations, or of attempting to do so; with regard to the Scriptures in our own English, it was even *then* asserted, that the number of copies already in existence was greater than that in all other languages put together. The number, at all events, had passed beyond human calculation,

while every one agreed that other nations were comparatively but ill supplied, and that many more were entirely destitute. The moment, however, for combined exertion had come; this has continued ever since, even with growing energy; and it is now assuredly more than time for the contributors to observe the result. Notwithstanding all that had been printed and sold for more than two centuries and a half; the number of English Bibles and New Testaments separately, which have passed through the press, within the perfect recollection of many now living, has exceeded the number of souls in Britain! It has been more than double the population in 1801!

Should we suppose the printing-press to have been employed incessantly every lawful day, or three hundred and thirteen days in the year, and for ten hours daily, throughout the four seasons of all these years; then has it been moving, on an average, at the rate of more than *three* copies of the Sacred Volume, whether of the Bible, or New Testament separately, *every minute*; or five hundred and sixty-three thousand four hundred annually! But the speed at first, or for several years, was slow, when compared with that which followed. For some time past, it has nearly doubled, so that in the space of twelve months the press has sent forth more than a million of copies; or say above nineteen thousand every week, above three thousand every day, three hundred every hour, or five every minute of working time! At this rate there has been producing equal to an entire volume, and *such* a volume, in less than twelve seconds! To the minds of many in recent years, velocity or speed, in various forms, has proved a subject of ardent study and delight, but here is *one* form, which, when viewed in its ultimate moral consequences, will not admit of any rival competitor. Yet compared with its importance, it has been but little regarded; and never yet, as it ought to have been, in connexion with the state of other nations. Before thousands, or rather millions of our countrymen, the process, from day to day, has

“ Moved on unheeded, as the bird
That cleaves the yielding air unheard,
And yet must prove, when understood,
The harbinger of endless good.”

To a certainty, however, it had never entered into the imagi-

nation of a single individual, that more copies of the Scriptures would be demanded in the English tongue alone, than in that of all other nations put together! And, more especially, as the number of versions now called for, and as contemplated by Britain, is above one hundred and fifty! At the outset, had any individual suggested the propriety of printing *twenty millions* of English Bibles and Testaments, what would every other man have thought or said? The *proposal* would have been fatal to the *design*. The general result which so many have concurred in producing, was foreseen by no one. Thus it is, that, by the agency of man, the intentions of Providence are wrought out, in the guidance of a nation, or the government of the world. In all our movements, or combinations, His hand and power appear at last, conspicuously; and if any seek for evidence, that, with all our supposed shrewdness, we are still a governed race, he may find it here. Like some of those great operations in nature which proceed unnoticed, amidst all the turmoil of this ever-shifting scene, this work has gone on, and arrived at a height, which in the light of an *event*, is sufficient to arrest the attention of every intelligent mind, exciting, as it ought, to deeper inquiry and reflection.

But if the English Bible be so distinguished for the number of its copies, it is equally, or rather more so, by the *extent* to which it is now being read. With the movement of the press, we have *another* movement, not less worthy of notice, and one which renders the subject doubly interesting, or rather momentous. It is about nineteen years ago, since it was remarked by an acute living writer, Mr. Douglas—"The world has not witnessed an emigration like that taking place, from this kingdom to America, so extensive in its range, so immeasurable in its consequences, since the dispersion of mankind." He compared it to the principle of attraction in the material world—"an influence which, like that of Nature, was universal, without pause or relaxation; and hordes of emigrants were continually swarming off, as ceaseless in their passage, and crowded, and unreturning as the passengers to eternity." Since then, however, and especially with every returning spring, has come as certainly the season of migration; and from many seaports, our countrymen have been sailing far and wide as the winds and waves

could carry them. In short, with the exception of the most remarkable of all people, the Jews, the English-speaking population has become the most widely diffused of any branch of the family of man; and for years past this one kingdom has been in the act of colonizing America, Africa, Asia, nay, and Australia, or New Holland, New Zealand, and the bosom of the Pacific. A vast improvement also has taken place, in the character of this emigration, rising, as it now does, to the more reputable classes, and the higher ranks in British society, including many a benevolent, humane, and Christian mind. Safely may we anticipate that, at no distant day, "the wilderness and the solitary place will be glad for them;" but so far as the Scriptures in our own English are concerned, we have not to wait for an event which has *already* taken place.

Emigration from one's native land, in almost every aspect, is a subject which, it is granted, must awaken sombre feeling, whether in those who depart never to return, or in those who remain behind; yet in rising above our "native nook of earth," held so dear, there is one point of view, perhaps only one, which can soothe the mind into perfect acquiescence. "Not one hour of the twenty-four," it has been remarked, "not one round of the minute hand of the dial is allowed to pass, in which, on some portion of the surface of the globe, the air is not filled with *accents that are ours*. They are heard in the ordinary transactions of life; or in the administration of law; in the deliberations of the senate-house, or council-chamber; in the offices of private devotion, or in the public observance of the rites and duties of a common faith."* Has such a reflection cheered on, in his toilsome path, the patient lexicographer? How much more deeply ought every one, who speaks this far-spread language, to be moved, when, in our day, he casts his eye over the Sacred Volume! Adieus and farewells at last die away in the contemplation of this great movement. The Divine hand becomes apparent, not merely in guiding so many thousands safely across the deep, and to the ends of the earth, but in the numbers who carry with them the Sacred Volume, in a language common to them all.

* Richardson's English Dict. Preface.

To many, no doubt, it might seem too bold, were we at once to affirm that the English Bible is at present in the act of being perused *from the rising to the setting sun*. The assertion might appear little else than a figure of speech, or an event to be anticipated; and yet this is no more than the *half* of the truth. The fact, the singular and unprecedented fact, demands deliberate reflection from every British Christian, whether at home or abroad. His Bible, at this moment, is the *only* version in existence on which *the sun never sets*. We know full well that it is actually in use on the banks of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, as well as at Sidney, Port Philip, and Hobart Town; but before his evening rays have left the spires of Quebec or Montreal, his morning beams have already shone for hours upon the shores of Australia and New Zealand. And if it be reading by so many of our language in Canada, while the sun is sinking on Lake Ontario; in the eastern world, where he has risen in his glory on the banks of the Ganges, to the self-same Sacred Volume, many, who are no less our countrymen, have already turned. Yet are all these but as branches from one parent stock, under whose shade this version, corrected and recorrected, has been reading by myriads for three hundred years.

People talk of sublime spectacles, but what favour conferred upon any other nation is once to be compared to this? To an enlightened English mind, no consideration as to this earth can rise above it. Here, unquestionably, is the most elevated point of view in which Britain *can* be viewed—the only true summit of her greatness. How extraordinary that it has never been distinctly, and with leisure, contemplated, nor with due regard to its national importance! Have we been so engrossed by the local, or limited and inferior, distinctions among ourselves, as to slight the grand one? What, in ancient times, was the pre-eminence of the Jews? Did it not consist in this, that to them were entrusted the oracles of God? But were these ever committed to them as they have been to us? Jehovah had not so dealt with any nation; but had he dealt with even that nation, as he hath done with this? If Divine Revelation be regarded, in its proper light, as the voice of God, to what people in existence has he ever spoken so long, so uninterruptedly, and now, above all others, so extensively? It was said of old, that “the

mighty God, even Jehovah, hath spoken, and called the earth, from the rising of the sun, to his going down ;” and is it nothing, that in *our* language, by way of eminence, this should have been first so singularly and literally verified ? Such, at all events, is the present high and momentous position of Britain and her sons.

If, from this moral elevation, we could once look down to the valley below, and, guided only by impartial history, observe the singular path by which the nation has been led up to such an eminence, we should better understand what, and how much, is involved in the history of Divine Revelation in our native tongue ; to say nothing of many reflections which could never before have occurred to any mind. The following pages form an attempt to furnish the reader with such a history, from the first sheets thrown off at the press, down to the millions now dispersed and in use, whether at home or abroad.

But, even here, and before we descend—before we begin, where the Almighty, in a manner so peculiar, began with this nation—if, from this summit, we now look round, is there any parallel case to be discerned?—any nation upon ground so high ? No, not one, nor by many degrees : not even Germany, with all her Bibles. Yet is there nothing on which the eye may and should rest, in the way of comparative contrast ? Assuredly there is, for there is one other European language upon which the sun also *never* sets. It is the Spanish, and the contrast may be soon expressed. The Bible in Spain ! The Bible in Britain ! Two languages on which the sun shines with no intermission, yet, in point of supply, are they wide as the poles asunder ! What a contrast is presented here, whether we look to Spain herself, or to her offspring in those colonies *once* all her own ! In the history of Europe at this moment, no two facts of similar magnitude can be placed in opposition before the human mind. One is almost reminded of the sun, in comparison with a star of the smallest magnitude. Let the contrast, the indescribable contrast, at once humble and inspirit a people whom God has so distinguished.

To all those, therefore, who regard the Scriptures, printed in our native tongue, to be infinitely the highest boon ever bestowed on Britain ; or to the English Christian, whether he be at home

or abroad—in Britain, Ireland, or America—in India, China, Australia, or New Zealand—the *providential origin* of that Sacred Volume to which he daily turns his eye, cannot be a subject void of interest. Its progress to completion he will find to have involved a struggle, with which there is no other to be compared—its history since, one that bears directly and with great power on the present day; and, once aware of circumstances, when he himself sits down to the perusal of the sacred page, whether in the temperate, the torrid, or the frigid zone, he will be better able to regard the favour, as one of the innumerable happy consequences of its original triumph over all the enmity and rage displayed of old, and the barriers which were raised in vain, against its reception into his native country or fatherland.

With respect to the commencement of the following history, the first half of the sixteenth century, embracing one of the most eventful periods in the annals of Europe, is familiarly known to have produced, in this country, a number of conspicuous characters, and the lives of almost every one of them have been given to the world again and again. One, however,—and, in the proper sense of the term, as it regards his influence on posterity,—by far the most eminent, has been hitherto all but overlooked. Often confounded or linked with other men of very inferior consequence, there has been no reader of English history who could possibly estimate the amount of his obligations to the modest and immortal William Tyndale. Independently of his ability as one of the most powerful writers of the age, when his name is connected with the Sacred Volume, which he first translated from the original text into English, which he first put to press, and then sent into his native land, we have no other man to be compared with him at the time; and when to this is added, his unspotted personal Christianity, his uncompromising spirit, and genuine patriotism, it is altogether unaccountable that every incident in his valuable life has not been gleaned, and arranged into a distinct memoir, long before the present day. Such a work, including his noble convert and young companion, John Fryth, ought to have been a household book for many generations back.

But in neglecting Tyndale personally, an object infinitely above him has been neglected. In the course of her varied and

singular history, there is no favour, we must repeat, bestowed upon Britain, that is ever to be compared with the Bible in her vulgar or vernacular tongue; to say nothing of this being now her most distinguished and distinguishable feature. But for its free and unfettered perusal, the eminence to which she has attained among the European nations, or confessedly above them, had never been reached. Her rise and progress, in all that is worthy of possession, can never be separated from this heavenly gift or deposit. Yet, if this be granted, and the best of her sons with one voice will do so, then, in the introduction, or first importation, of the Sacred Scriptures in type, at *such* a period, and by *such* means, there must have been certain paths, certain footsteps, in divine Providence, corresponding to the *greatness* of the boon bestowed. In other words, though the cause itself, in the morning of its origin, might seem only like "smoking flax or a bruised reed," one might expect to witness even national affairs, or the Crown itself, and the movements of Government, treated, in many instances, as altogether subordinate. As far, then, as men in power and place were concerned, the reader must now be left to judge whether he does not observe the cause, emphatically in its commencement, and upon all necessary occasions *ever after*, like the star in Joseph's dream, to which "the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance." These, and other singular occurrences, it is true, ought to have been marked and recorded long before three centuries had passed away; but though they have required to be sought out in the pages of original manuscript, and of rare books, and to be traced with scrupulous caution, they are not the less worthy of observation now, and more especially in the existing state of our country. Perhaps some unknown benefit may be involved in so many important incidents having been left for disclosure to the present hour.

The Scriptures in English *manuscript*, the revival of Letters, as well as the Invention of Printing, preceded, by many years, any application of that noble art to our English version. But the entire period may be, or rather ought to be, regarded as containing a series of events, *preliminary* to that memorable occurrence, and, therefore, though but slightly sketched, they require to be noticed in the light of a deliberate, yet appropriate

introduction. This, accordingly, has been attempted, as due to the history following.

It is, however, the English Scriptures in print, and their first introduction, especially into England and Scotland, with their subsequent introduction to North America, which are about to claim particular attention; and as the path has never been trodden before, some explanation becomes necessary, with regard to the sources whence materials have been derived. Having looked into the histories already named, as well as other kindred works, and observing not only the paucity of facts, but various discrepancies among all these authors, the writer's first resort was to that unrivalled store of original manuscript in the British Museum. It was impossible to entertain any previous theory. Various details were expected, though not the slightest hope was then indulged that any very connected series of events could ever be drawn out. On discovering, however, to what extent these manuscript pages had been permitted to remain in oblivion, he persevered. Important original documents, both in the Chapter House of Westminster, and in the State Paper Office, have also been consulted; and, of course, the State Papers, or Correspondence, in five volumes quarto, relating to England, Scotland, and Ireland, printed since 1830, by the Government Commission. After having gone over the entire surface of Tyndale's age, the writer was highly obliged by the perusal and use of various extracts of correspondence, collected by the indefatigable industry of the Rev. Thomas Russell, A.M., the editor of the works of Tyndale and Fryth. It was no trifling corroboration when the author found himself not only unmoved from a single position he had taken, but confirmed in his statements by several incidental circumstances, some of which might have escaped notice.

With reference to rare printed works, as well as scarce editions of the Scriptures, besides the British Museum; the Bodleian at Oxford; the University Library, that of St. John's College, and others, at Cambridge; the Baptist Museum of Bristol; the Althorp Library of Earl Spencer; that of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, while yet entire, with those of Lambeth and St. Paul's, have been consulted in succession; but to no other collection of Bibles and Testaments has

the author been so much indebted as to that of his friend Lea Wilson, Esq., of Norwood Hill. In early days an English merchant of *Antwerp* will be found to occupy a conspicuous and honourable place at the commencement of this history ; and it is in perfect keeping with the entire narrative, that a collection so rich, and in such a perfect state, should now be in the possession of a *London* merchant. Without his assistance as to various minute particulars, the list at the close of this work could not have been so complete. It will be found to contain many authentic editions, which, altogether unknown, have never been inserted in any account previously published. To the polite kindness of the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, the author has been indebted, not only for access to that distinguished library, but for the perusal of the *first* edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments, a folio of which it has been said the inspection "*non cuivis homini contingit.*" For the very accurate sketches of Little Sodbury Manor House, under whose roof the resolution of Tyndale was formed, and which may therefore be regarded as the *starting point* in this vast enterprise, the writer has been obliged to his friend George Joseph Bompas, M.D., of Fishponds, Bristol ; and certain particulars relating to the unique fragment of Tyndale's first New Testament, have been kindly furnished by Mr. Thomas Rodd, of Great Newport Street, London. The portrait of TYNDALE is an exact copy from a rare volume, namely, "*Holland's Herwologia Anglica.*" No. 39. This is considered to be the best likeness.

With regard to Scotland, living in Edinburgh, it need scarcely be added, that satisfaction on certain points could not have been obtained, without access to the invaluable Library of the Faculty of Advocates, so freely granted ; and as to books, among others, my special thanks are due to David Laing, Esq., for the use of several rare pieces, unknown to the English reader, by an illustrious Scotsman, who has been all along better known in Germany than in his own country, Alexander Ales or Aless (Alesius) of Edinburgh. Other acknowledgments will occur throughout these volumes, where every authority, whether in manuscript or in print, has been distinctly noted.¹

¹ While these sheets were passing through the press, the author has enjoyed

The following pages, it is presumed, will be found to possess one recommendation to many readers. They are removed, as far as it is possible to be, from what have been styled *polemics*. Jaded as the human mind has often been for the last three

the advantage of a second journey on the Continent. Taking occasion to visit the principal places about to be mentioned, not only Antwerp and Mechlin, Vilvorde and Brussels, but other cities on both banks of the Rhine, from Cologne to Strasburg, as well as Basil, Berne, Zurich, and Geneva, he has only been more confirmed in the general correctness of the history now given. Some discrepancies may be detected in a work now first taken from the writer's manuscript, in which there are so many references to authority; but the general stream of the narrative, it is presumed, can never be disturbed.

The well-known collection of Bibles and Testaments in the possession of the King of Wirtemberg, time did not admit of his examining. But though it be the only eminent collection which has not been explored, it is believed that there is no *English* edition at Stuttgart which is not to be found in the libraries of our native land. The Royal Library at Paris is not at all remarkable for editions of the English Scriptures.

Into the once imperial city of WORMS, where our first English New Testaments appear to have been finished, and where a printing-press was first set up, three hundred and thirty years ago, any man may now enter, and either reflect on the marriage of Charlemagne, or look on the few remaining fragments of the ancient imperial palace; he may visit the Cathedral or *Dom Kirche*, standing as it did; look into the little Jewish Synagogue, above eight hundred years old; or within a church at the market-place, the site of the venerable *Rathhaus*, stand upon the ground which Luther trode when he appeared before the Emperor; but in reference to the printing-office to which, only four years after, Tyndale had repaired, it was in vain to inquire for the street or the corner where Peter Schoeffer, or any other brother of the trade, had once been so busy. Not one solitary printer was to be found at work throughout the city!

COLOGNE, on the contrary, where Tyndale had commenced his New Testament at the press, exhibited a different aspect. Lately declared to be a free port, and now also to be reached by railway, it promises to rise to greater importance than ever before. It was indeed equally in vain to inquire for the quarter where Ulric Zell, Henry and Peter Quentel, or any other ancient printer, once plied their occupation, but their works were to be found there. In one repository was a catalogue of Bibles and Testaments (1843) such as is scarcely ever to be found with any bookseller in this country. Besides Polyglots, there were Bibles, or parts of the Scriptures, in twenty-seven different languages,—in Hebrew, Greek, Latin (in 240 articles), Ethiopic, Arabic, Syriac, Persic, Armenian, and even Tamulian or Malabar. And of European languages, in Gothic, Finnish, Danish, Russ, Slavonic, Turkish, Polish, German (in 236 articles), Wendish, Hungarian, Bohemian, Swiss, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian, and English. These, however, in general, were ancient, not modern, editions, but amounting to more than 800 articles of sale, in the *Bibliotheca* of J. M. HEBERLE. Here, also, the very rare tracts of Alexander Ales had been recently sold for a trifle, which altogether in this country have fetched above four guineas.

hundred years, and especially in Britain, with controversial divinity, it may be grateful to not a few, if they can find another walk, in past times down to the present, of such a character as lies at the root of all that has ever existed under the name of Christianity within the kingdom; and so important as in vital connexion with its progress throughout the earth. If with the changing scenes through which the history will be found to pass, it had ever forfeited its original cast or character, there it might have terminated, and there it ought. But, on the contrary, as the continuation so singularly corresponds with the commencement, there was to be found no halting-place before the present day.

In point of time, the history of our English Scriptures, from the date of their first appearing in print, will be found to take precedence of all the Institutions, Establishments, or local interests, within our shores. The noble contest, so singularly commenced and conducted, was nearly decided before their origin; at least, the first brunt of the battle was over, and Divine truth had been so effectually sown and rooted in our native soil, that, from that early period, all the power of the enemy has been in vain. This, of itself, gives the story a preference, or a prior claim to consideration, before any other narrative in the form, or under the name, of religious history. Nor is this its only peculiarity. Ever since, the continuation will be found maintaining a higher place, describing a larger, and therefore a loftier circle, than that of any mere class or denomination whatever; embracing, without any interruption, the Christian community of Britain in its widest sense. It will continue throughout as independent of all local interests, as it was before they had existence. That the history of the English Bible has never before been viewed in this light, is freely granted; nor had the author himself the slightest idea of this, its marked or distinguishing peculiarity, before he began. It is now the more worthy of notice, and may prove of some service, in different ways, beside that of promoting modesty of statement by any single community in Britain. No section of Christians, it will be seen, of whatever name, can possess any title to rank itself as having been essential, either to the progress or to the general prevalence of the English Scriptures, much less

to their original introduction. This is an undertaking which has been uniformly conducted above their sphere of judgment. Should this general prevalence turn out to have been almost equally independent of the civil power, from Henry the Eighth down to Charles the Second, or rather to the present hour, it will form altogether by far the most singular fact, as such, in the annals of the kingdom. It is a feature in the history of our Bible, claiming supreme attention from the existing age.

Upon the whole, the present forms a department in past history, with which every Minister of the truth, in English, ought to have been familiar long ago, nay, and every Parent throughout the kingdom. As it regards instruction, as well as ground for new reflections, it will be found to occupy a course or channel peculiar to itself. Perhaps the fifth book in our New Testament Scriptures, may in part explain its character. Men, indeed, have entitled that book "The Acts of the Apostles;" but it is in reality a history of the way and manner in which "the Word of the Lord *grew and multiplied*," — the Apostles themselves, whether as individuals or as a body, being treated in perfect subordination to the grand or leading design. In some faint resemblance to this manner, so ought the history of the Divine Word, in our native tongue, to have been attempted long since; leaving men and things, whether great characters or national events, in the subordinate places which have actually belonged to them. At the same time, such men and such events, viewed as they have now been, sometimes in contrast, and at other times in connexion with the progress of Divine Revelation itself, lend a peculiar zest or life to the entire narrative. Upon the characters of Henry VIII. and Wolsey, of Warham, Tunstal, or Sir Thomas More, of Cranmer and Lord Cromwell, with many other men well known under all the subsequent reigns, certainly no such additional light could have been thrown, till they were brought into immediate contact or contrast with the printing or circulation of the Scriptures in our native tongue.

Even from the commencement, and down to our own times, some such history has become positively essential to a just estimate of our present peculiar condition as a Nation, now by far the most responsible under heaven. It may, and it will furnish motives to action, such as can be drawn from no other retrospect.

It forms a key, if not the only one, to our highest imperative obligations; and it may well be pondered, as the path by which Jehovah led our forefathers, in a way of His own devising, with more than “the pillar of a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night.” In this view, the history, though never written before, and therefore not understood, can never be out of date. It involves the commencement and continuance of a Cause, which is but pursuing its course in our own day, not only to a wider extent, but with greater energy than ever before, and yet to be pursued with greater still.

In conclusion, the Author, it will be evident, is far from placing any reliance on the *mere* dispersion of Bibles, even by the million; but although no man can measure the consequences of the immutable standard of Divine truth having been exhibited to the eye of this nation, the spirit of the age loudly demands, that the history of that exhibition should now be more accurately known. Once understood, it must be left to the judgment of every discerning reader, whether, at the present crisis, in such unparalleled possession of the Sacred Volume, British Christians can close their eyes with impunity on the existing state of other nations—the condition of a world.

EDINBURGH,
19th February, 1845.

PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

THE Edition of the Annals of the English Bible now offered to the public, differs from those issued by the late Author, simply in the omission of those sketches of the civil history of the period, which added greatly to the size and price of the book, but were not necessarily connected with its object, while they often interfered with the narrative instead of illustrating it.

The Author himself, anticipating the desire of many of his readers to peruse only the story of that conflict which ended in the Bible being given to Britain, had printed the sketches in a smaller type to be passed over at pleasure, and thus indicated the only way in which he would have the work abridged, without prejudice to its object, to meet the wishes of those who had less time to devote to the larger volumes.

The late venerable Jay of Bath expressed to the Editor his opinion, that while on the whole he had not read a more interesting book than the "Annals" for many years, its value would not be at all diminished by the omission of the civil history, which he felt to be rather a hindrance than a help in following the narrative, so deeply engrossing, of Tyndale's life and labours, and the fruits of these to his native country.

All the illustrations contained in the former issues will be found in the present edition, together with the valuable List of early editions of the English Bible which cost the Author so much time and labour to complete.

BRATTON,

2nd December, 1861.

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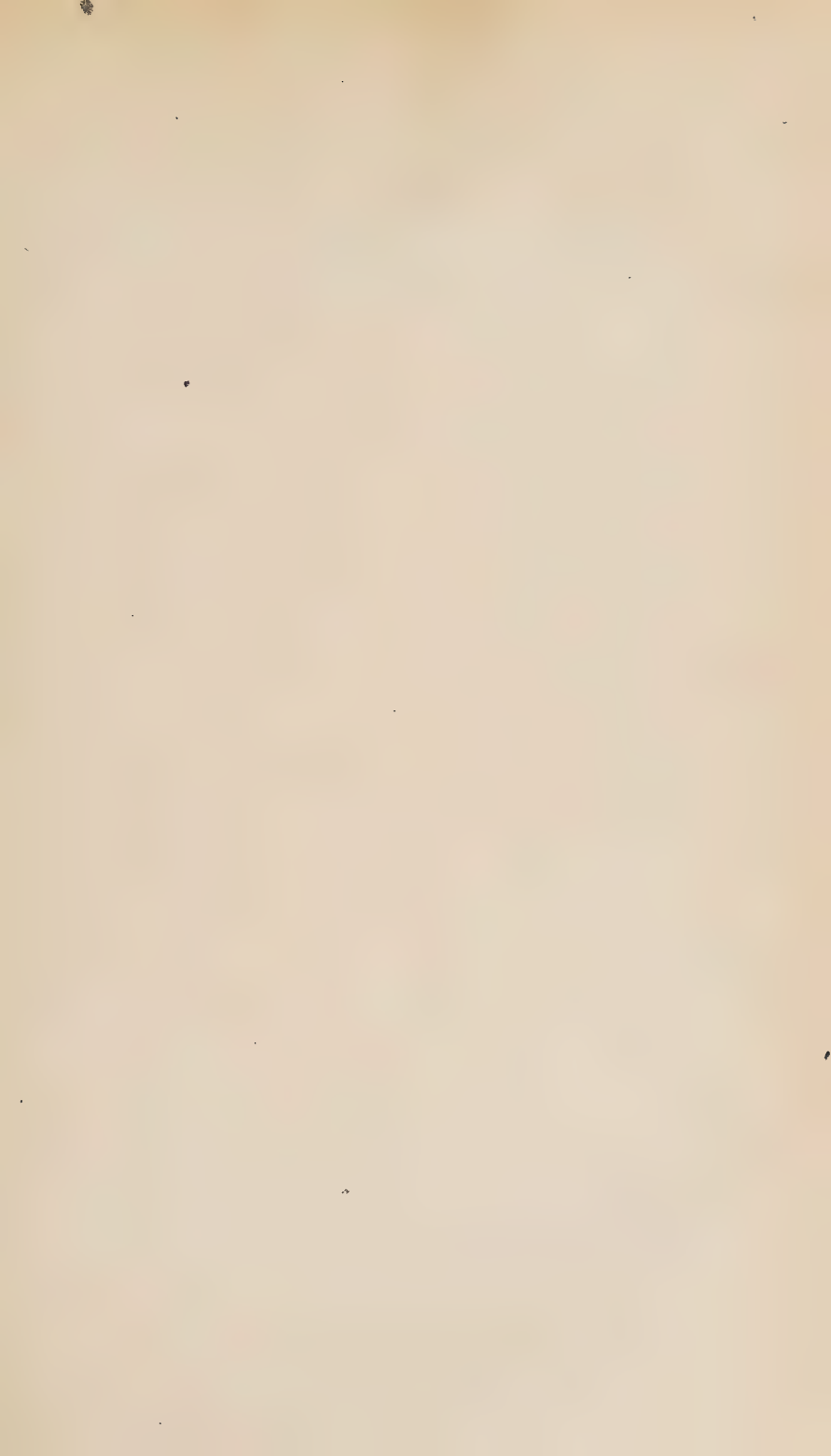
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JOHN WICKLIFFE, D.D.

From a Picture in the Possession of the Duke of Dorset.

INTRODUCTION.

BRIEF SURVEY OF THE AGES WHICH PRECEDED ANY PRINTING OF THE SCRIPTURES IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE—INCLUDING THE REVIVAL AND TRIUMPH OF CLASSICAL LEARNING AND THE ARTS, CONTRASTED WITH THE TIMES OF WICKLIFFE, WITH HIS VERSION OF THE ENTIRE SACRED VOLUME, AND ITS EFFECTS—THE INVENTION OF PRINTING, ITS RAPID PROGRESS TO PERFECTION, AND THE POINT TO WHICH THE EUROPEAN NATIONS, BUT MORE ESPECIALLY ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, HAD BEEN BROUGHT, BEFORE EVER THIS INVALUABLE ART WAS APPLIED TO ANY VERSION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY THE PEOPLE.

THE darkest hour in the night of Europe, is an era respecting which historians are not even yet agreed. It has been regarded by many as being in the tenth century. One or two other writers consider the seventh or eighth century to be the lowest in point of depression, or the *nadir* of the human mind; and they suppose that its movement in advance began with Charlemagne, while England can never forget her own Alfred the Great. A few moderns, too fastidious, or by no means so affected by the gloom and barbarity of the middle ages, profess to be tender of allowance as to the *extent* of this darkness, and would fondly persuade us to adopt a more cheerful retrospect. But speaking, generally, with reference to the people at large, the entire period, from the fifth or sixth to the fourteenth century, presents at the best, but a tedious and dreary interval in the history of the human mind. Individual scholars, indeed, like stars which shed their light on the surrounding gloom, there ever were; and wherever there existed any marked regard for Sacred writ, in the vernacular tongue, there the life-spark of Christianity was preserved. The Albigenes, the Waldenses, and other parties, might be adduced in proof; the persecution and dispersion of whom, had considerable influence in diffusing the light which its enemies laboured to extinguish.

It was not, however, till after a long and profound sleep throughout the dreams and visions of the middle ages, that the human mind was at last effectually roused to action ; and in none of the countries throughout Europe more decidedly than in Italy and England. But still, for some great moral purpose, worthy of infinite wisdom, and to be afterwards disclosed, that mind, throughout all these western kingdoms, was first to be permitted to discover what was the utmost vigour of its native strength.

It is not to be wondered at that Italian writers should claim for their country the precedence of all others in the revival of learning which marked the close of the fourteenth century. "The Italians," says Sismondi, "discovered, as it were, anew the ancient world ; they felt an affinity of thoughts, hopes, and tastes with the best Latin writers which inspired them with the highest admiration. Petrarch, and particularly Boccaccio, passed from this study to that of Grecian antiquity. A passion for erudition spread from one end of Italy to the other, with an ardour proportionable to the dark ignorance of the preceding centuries. It was imagined that *all* knowledge consisted in knowing and imitating the ancient masters. The highest glory was attached to classical learning ; and Petrarch and Boccaccio attained a degree of celebrity, credit and power, unequalled by any other men in the middle ages—not by reason of those merits which we feel at the present day, but as the pontiffs and interpreters of antiquity."

"We owe to the learned of the fourteenth century, and to their school, a deep sentiment of gratitude. They discovered and rendered intelligible to us all the *chefs d'œuvre* of antiquity. Fragments only of classic works remained, scattered throughout Europe, and on the point of being lost. These learned men of Italy collected, collated, and explained them ; without their antiquarian zeal, all the experience of past ages, all the models of taste, all the great works of genius, would never have reached us, and probably, without such guides, we should never have attained the point on which we now stand."

In thus writing, the author, of course, had in his eye, not only the close of the fourteenth, but the greater part of the fifteenth century, when Italy, in truth, became the garden of literature and the arts, the wonder and delightful resort of the learned throughout Europe. As a fact, it is of importance, not only to concede, but observe this, and let the precedence be fully understood as holding a place in the course of events about to transpire. The learning and refinement of Italy, about to assume that position in history which the wisdom of Greece had done in the days of old, must enjoy her long reign of a hundred and fifty years without any superior. Now that the

human mind is waking up, let the Italian "*imagine that all knowledge consisted in knowing and imitating the ancient masters,*" and let "the highest glory be attached to classical learning;" let the "chief works of antiquity be rendered intelligible," and the men of Italy "collect, collate, and explain them." In short, as Greece is coming to the assistance of Rome, and "the great masters" must first rise to show the extent of their powers; since the former, at the commencement of the Christian era, had stood in a peculiar relation to the surrounding nations—so, let Italy now stand in the same relation to Europe. Distinguished for classical learning, and first in the arts, if not the sciences, she claims to be the well-spring of all the less civilized nations in the west. Minute criticism may here be dispensed with, nor does any admirer of the Sacred Volume need to object to the fullest concession. Let Dante and Petrarch for the moment, and Boccaccio and Poggio Bracciolini, lead the way.

In all this, however, it must now be granted in return, there was literally nothing of Divine light, properly so called—no reverent, distinct approach to the Sacred Volume; and this becomes the more observable, as the only country in Europe to which we can look for this, was that which, of all others, was held in greatest contempt by Italy; to say nothing of its being at once the most distant from Rome, if not also the most oppressed by that power. This was no other than our native land. Bracciolini, the last of these Italian scholars, had actually visited it, and viewed this country with chagrin, if not disdain, when compared with the enthusiastic love of classical literature which polished and adorned his country.

Yes, so far as the revival of learning was concerned, it is worthy of particular notice that, in England, it was associated, even from this early period, with a special leaning towards the *Oracles of God*, and that on the part of several eminent men, all alike well known, not only at home, but as distant as Italy. Of these, in proof, we notice three—*Robert Grossteste, Richard Fitzralph, and, above all, our own WICKLIFFE.*

The first of these, indeed, GROSSTESTE, died as early as the year 1253, and, three years before that event, made no scruple, when preaching at Lyon before Innocent IV., to arraign his clergy, in the boldest terms, for their ignorance, and arrogance, and flagitious conduct. Now this was above a hundred years before the erection of Boccaccio's chair for Greek in Florence; and yet certainly Grossteste was not unacquainted with either Greek or Hebrew. He had translated Dionysius the Areopagite and Damascenus into Latin—had facilitated the knowledge of Greek by a translation of

Suidas's Lexicon—had promoted John of Basingstoke because he was a Greek scholar, and possessed of Greek manuscripts, which he is said to have brought from Athens. Nicholas, surnamed Græcus, resided with Grossteste, to help him in translating from the Greek; nor should it be forgotten that, however humble might be the claims of this eminent man to the character of a *Grecian*, all this happened above a century before that *Boccaccio* himself had positively asserted of the Italian scholars, that they did not know so much as the Greek alphabet. Nor was Grossteste unacquainted with Hebrew, though we cannot assert, with Wharton, that he was profoundly skilled in it. At this early period, however, the chief eminence of Grossteste arose from his being a decided friend to *vernacular* translations of the Scriptures. "It is the will of God," said he, "that the Holy Scriptures should be translated by many translators, and that there should be different translations in the Church, so that what is obscurely expressed by one, may be more perspicuously rendered by another." Was there any other country in Europe where as much had been expressed by any man, before the middle of the fourteenth century? If not, then let Grossteste or Greathead be allowed to have sounded, if not the first, one of the earliest feeble notes of preparation; though more than a hundred years must pass away before the subject be taken up in good earnest, and though England, confessedly, will first sink into greater barbarism.

RICHARD FITZRALPH, an Irishman, and the energetic precursor of Wickliffe, in opposition to the Friars, was born, it has been said, at Dundalk, and, at all events, certainly there interred, though he had died at Avignon. Then Primate of Ireland, after preaching indefatigably in that country and in London, he had gone to face Innocent VI. himself, on the subject of those exactions and abuses which had become past all endurance. Still farther to the west than even the "Thule" of the Ancients, at the utmost verge of the Pontiff's authority, even in *Ireland* itself, there was then a thirst after knowledge which could not be satisfied. Fitzralph complained aloud, and told Innocent that "no book could stir, whether in divinity, law, or phisic, but these Friars were able and ready to buy it up,"—"that he himself had sent four of his secular chaplains from Armagh to Oxford, who sent him word again that they could neither find the BIBLE, nor any other good profitable book in divinity, meet for their study, and therefore were minded to return home to their own country."

As for the Primate himself, by his own account, "the Lord had taught him, and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotle's philosophy, to the Scriptures of God." "To thee be

praise," says he, at the commencement of his *Life*, written by himself, once in the possession of Foxe, and which he meant to have printed,—“To thee be praise, to thee be glory, to thee be thanksgiving, O Jesus most holy, Jesus most powerful, Jesus most amiable—who hast said, ‘I am the way, the truth, and the life,’—a way without deviation, truth without a cloud, and life without end. For thou the way hast shown me, thou the truth hast taught me, and thou the life hast promised me. A way thou wast to me, in exile, the truth thou wast to me, in counsel, and life thou wilt be to me, in reward.”

Could the assertion which has been often repeated, only be confirmed, that Fitzralph translated the New Testament into the Irish language, or that such a translation existed in his time, it would form one of the most curious facts in the history of modern literature; pointing out Ireland as that country in Europe which had been the *first* pitied, as it has been the *last*. But, at all events, in the very same year, or 1360, in which Fitzralph expired at Avignon, John Wickliffe, at the age of thirty-six, was allured from his hitherto retired life; and when he came to write his “*Triologue*,” he speaks of Fitzralph as having preceded him, in terms of high commendation.

We have now, however, arrived at a point in history fraught with the deepest interest, and bearing so directly on the subject of the following pages, that it becomes necessary to pause a few moments, and look round. Let Grecian literature, by all means, revive in Italy, for this will be drawn upon, as soon as the proper time arrives; but, in the meanwhile, something else must be accomplished and very far to the west. The event which took place was not only a marked and powerful one, in relation to England, but it formed the first of a series in Europe, although more than an entire century passed away before the precedent was followed by other countries. We refer to the translation of the *entire* Sacred Volume into the language *spoken by the people*. Fragments there had been in several languages, but the present work being complete from Genesis to Revelation, intelligible to the common people of that day, and intended for their express perusal, may be regarded as the first positive instance of its kind in modern Europe, no continental nation having anything similar to produce.

JOHN WICKLIFFE, a native of Yorkshire, was born in the year 1324, and, in 1360, at the age of thirty-six, first came into public view, where he conspicuously remained to the day of his death, or the 31st of December, 1384. For his life and opinions we refer to other sources, and must here confine our attention to that work which will ever give the chief distinction to his name.

Before the commencement of such a design, the position of Wickliffe should be contemplated. To say nothing of the Mahometan and Pagan worlds, two other communities had extended their influence over the nations. Alike opposed to the right of private judgment, and the rising freedom of the human mind, and now equally sunk into a state of unutterable depravity, both had fixed a malignant eye on that very book which Wickliffe had determined to give to his country. These two, it is well known, were the Eastern and Western, or the Greek and Latin Churches. Both had not only, and long since, utterly neglected and contemned the Sacred Writings, but both had interdicted their translation into any vernacular tongue. That it was not only unlawful, but injurious, for the people at large to read the Scriptures, had, indeed, for ages, been regarded as an axiom, by all these nations. Nor was this idea left to pass current merely as a received opinion. Not to mention other proofs, more than a hundred and fifty years before Wickliffe had finished his determined purpose, or in the year 1229, at the Council of Toulouse, when forty-five canons were passed and issued for the extinction of *heresy* and the re-establishment of *peace*, what were two of those canons? One involved the *first* court of inquisition, and another the *first* canon, which forbade the Scriptures to the laity, or the translation of any portion of them into the vulgar tongue. The latter was expressed in very pointed terms.

"We also forbid the laity to possess any of the books of the Old or New Testament, except, perhaps, the Psalter or Breviary for the Divine Offices, or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, which some, out of devotion, wish to have; but having any of these books *translated* into the vulgar tongue, we *strictly forbid*."¹

In the face of all this, and far more than can now be explained, must Wickliffe commence his heartfelt task; and so he did, with his eyes open to the prejudices of a world. His translation, which was finished in the year 1380, is supposed to have occupied him, amidst various interruptions, for many years. Some have imagined that this great work employed the translator for ten years only, but Mr. Baber, with far greater probability, has said,—“From an early period of his life, he had devoted his various learning, and all the powerful energies of his mind, to effect this, and, at length, by

¹ “Prohibemus etiam, ne libros Veteris Testamenti,” &c. Labbei Sacro-Sancta Concilia ii., p. l., p. 430. The profane mixture of human composition with the Divine Word is sufficiently characteristic; and it is of importance to observe that the prohibition expressly referred to the LATIN Bible itself. It seems to have been a step taken to prevent *translation*.

intense application on his own part, and with some assistance from a few of the most learned of his followers, he had the glory to complete a book, which, alone, would have been sufficient (or at least ought) to have procured him the veneration of his own age, and the commendations of posterity."

In accounting for such a movement as this, it has been but too common to inquire after something similar which had happened in the earth, and loosely supposing some connexion between them, as cause and effect, thus leave the extraordinary event, without the slightest reference to the finger of God. Any influential connexion, however, between the Waldenses or Vaudois and Wickliffe has never been clearly proved, and probably never will. At all events, before he could be stimulated by their example, he seems to have taken his ground, as it is only in his latest compositions that a few slight references to them are to be found, as to a people with whose sufferings he sympathised. He was on the Continent, at Bruges, it is true, from 1374 to 1376, but he had commenced, and must have been far advanced in his undertaking, long before then. In short, as far as the term can be applied to any human being, the claims of Wickliffe to originality have now come to be better understood, and every Christian will recognise the "secret mover;" while, in reference to the times following, when tracing the history or influence of Divine Truth throughout Europe, the habit of ascending no higher than *Germany* is past, or passing away.

Down to the period of about two years before Wickliffe had completed his translation, the only ideas or incidents which had any powerful influence upon mankind generally, were such as stood connected with the Pontiff, and his peculiar system of rule or government; but, in reference to this subject, by the year 1378, among the European nations, there had sprung up a marked difference of opinion. One question engrossed them all, and it was nothing less than this—*Who* was Pontiff? In the year 1305, through the influence of France, the Court of Rome had been translated into that Kingdom, and there it remained for seventy-four years, to the great damage of Rome as a city, but without any rent or division in the system. Edward the Third had expired on the 21st of June, 1377, after a reign of above half a century, and about that very moment Gregory XI. had ordered Wickliffe to be seized and imprisoned, till farther orders. Early in the following year, although our translator of the Scriptures had not only stood high in favour with the late King, but still did so with many in Parliament, and was powerfully protected by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, he was summoned by the *Bishops* to answer for himself at St. Paul's. Thus did this

body of men first come out, appearing as a distinct interest in the kingdom, and thus they will remain for above five generations to come; proving ever and anon, upon all occasions of alarm, that they were the determined opponents of Divine Truth. As a body, they will oppose its being conveyed to the people, and at every successive step of progress. Their malice at this time, however, was over-ruled, as it will so often and conspicuously be, a century and a half later; but, in the meanwhile, nothing must prevent Wickliffe from finishing his translation.²

The year 1378 was in truth an important one as it regarded our translator's design. On the 27th of March the reigning Pontiff had died; an event which not only put an end to the bulls against Wickliffe, but gave rise to what was called "*the great schism*;" so that soon after there were two Pontiffs—one beyond the mountains, as the Italians said, and one at Rome—consigning each other to perdition. Of this state of things Wickliffe did not fail to avail himself. "He saw the head of the body cloven in twain, and the two parts made to fight with each other;" and he immediately sent forth two tracts, one upon "the schism" itself, and the other upon "the truth of Scripture." Every city and state became agitated, and as the question soon divided the nations throughout, it so happened that *England* and *Scotland* were of opposite opinions: the former holding fast by Urban VI. of Rome, who had been first chosen; the latter followed Clement VII. of Avignon. England and France indeed became the most ardent supporters of the opposite parties, while such was the extent to which the controversy had gone, that some men of the University of Paris had begun to think of a plurality of Pontiffs, and the appointment of one to every kingdom. The idea of *one* power exercising authority over *all* nations had seemed to them untenable, if not injurious.

Soon after this, in the year 1379, Wickliffe, as divinity professor, had gone to fulfil his accustomed annual duty at Oxford, but there he was seized with an alarming illness. The friars, imagining that his course was now near an end, contrived to visit him. Four of their ablest men had been selected, or a friar from each of the mendicant orders, and they were admitted to a patient hearing. After reminding him of the great injury he had done to their order—for Wickliffe was a determined enemy to all idleness and all extortion—

² The Assembly at St. Paul's having broken up in riot and confusion, there was a second attempt to execute their purpose in a Synod at Lambeth in June, but the Bishops were deterred from coming to any definite sentence by a message from the Queen-Mother by Sir Lewis Clifford.

they exhorted him, as one near to death, that he would now, as a true penitent, bewail and revoke in their presence, whatever he had said to their disparagement. As soon as they had done, Wickliffe calling for his servant, desired to be raised up on his pillow ; when collecting all his strength, with a severe and expressive countenance, and in a tone of voice not to be misunderstood, he exclaimed, "*I shall not die, but live, to declare the evil deeds of the friars.*" Confused, if not confounded, little expecting such a reply, they immediately left him ; and Wickliffe recovered, to finish in the year following his translation of the entire Bible.

Extraordinary, however, as the character of Wickliffe was,—a man confessedly far above all his contemporaries,—it may still be inquired, whether he was qualified for the task of translating the Sacred Volume ? The Scriptures had been originally given in Hebrew and Greek ; but so far from the nations of the West furnishing men sufficiently acquainted with either, England at least had sunk into greater ignorance even since the days of Grossteste ; nay, a hundred and fifty years later, when Tyndale had translated from the original tongues, some of the priests of the day were trying to persuade the people that Greek and Hebrew were languages *newly invented*. Here, it is true, was Wickliffe, an able and acute, a zealous and determined man, and withal an excellent Latin scholar, but of Greek or Hebrew he knew nothing. Nor was it at all *necessary* that he should possess such erudition, *since a translation from either GREEK OR HEBREW would not have harmonized with the first, or the present, intention of Divine Providence*. A reason there was, and one worthy of infinite wisdom, why not only the English translation, but most of the *first* European versions must be made from the *Latin*. These nations, including our own, had nothing in common with the Greek community, but for ages they had been overrun with the Latin. This language, long since dead, even in Italy, had been the refuge and stronghold of their oppressor, from generation to generation ; and upon looking back, no spectacle presented to the eye is so remarkable, as that of so many different nations, equally spell-bound by the same expedient. There was a Latin service, and there was a Latin Bible, professedly received, but the possession of even *this* had been forbidden to the people at large ; very much in the same spirit as the Shasters of India are forbidden by the Brahmins to be looked upon, or even heard, by the people. It was the *LATIN* Bible, therefore, long buried in cloisters, or covered with the dust of ages, which must now be brought forth to view. Confessedly imperfect, it was of importance first to prove that *it* had all along contained enough for mortal man to know, in

order to his eternal salvation; and once translated into any native tongue, not only will the language touch the heart, but the people at last know what that mysterious book was, from which they had been debarred, so wickedly and so long. Although, therefore, the nation was yet a hundred and fifty years distant from the English Bible, properly so called, the present should be regarded as the first *preliminary* step. An all-disposing foresight, far above that of any human agent, is now distinctly visible in drawing first upon that very language which had been employed for ages as the instrument of mental bondage. It shall now be made to contribute to the emancipation of the human mind. Latin, it is true, had been the conventional language of the priests and students of different countries; but still, so long as this language remained untouched by a translation of the Scriptures into any *vernacular* tongue, it is a historical canon that no nation was ever greatly moved. This holds true of our own country, in the age of *manuscript*, but it will become far more emphatically so, even seventy years after the invention of *printing*, when the Scriptures, once translated from the original tongues, come to be printed in the language then spoken, and spoken still.

At such a period as this the translation of Wickliffe could only be diffused, of course, by the laborious process of transcription; but transcribed it was diligently, both entire and in parts, and as eagerly read. There were those who, at every hazard, sought wisdom from the Book of God, and their number could not be few. A contemporary writer has affirmed that "a man could not meet two people on the road, but one of them was a disciple of Wickliffe." This was the testimony of an enemy, and not improbably the language of hatred and fear combined, uttered with a wish to damage the cause; it was the testimony of an ecclesiastic, a Canon of Leicester, in reference to an era hailed by the people; and although the Word of Truth had not "free course," there can be no question that it was glorified in the reception given to it by many. "The soldiers," he says, "with the dukes and earls, were the chief adherents of this sect—they were their most strenuous promoters and boldest combatants—their most powerful defenders and their invincible protectors." A very remarkable admission, as it accounts for the great progress made, in spite of opposition. All this and much more is uttered in the tone of lamentation; and what was the occasion, as expressed by the Canon himself? "This Master John Wickliffe," says he, "bath translated the Gospel out of Latin into English, which Christ had entrusted with the *clergy and doctors* of the Church, that *they* might minister it to the laity and weaker sort, according to the state of the times

and the wants of men. So that by this means the Gospel is made vulgar, and laid more open to the laity, and *even to women* who can read, than it used to be to the *most learned* of the clergy and those of the best understanding! And what was before the chief gift of the clergy and doctors of the Church, is made for ever common to the laity!"³

It was in the same spirit that another contemporary writer urged that "the prelates ought not to suffer that every one at his pleasure should read the Scripture, translated even into *Latin*; because, as is plain from experience, this has been many ways the occasion of falling into heresies and errors. It is not, therefore, politic that *any one*, wheresoever and whensoever he will, should give himself to the frequent study of the Scriptures."⁴

These men specially referred to a period which lasted for about twenty years, or from 1380 to 1400, and it was one, though but too short, which distinguished this country from every other in Europe. However transient, or but like a handful of corn for all England, in any sketch of the times it should never pass unnoticed.

While the nations generally were discussing the respective claims of two rival Pontiffs, amidst all the confusion of the times, and although there were many adversaries, for the last twenty years of the fourteenth century, in England, no authoritative stop must be put to the perusal of the Divine record. The Bishops, it is true, with the Primate of Canterbury at their head, may rage and remonstrate, may write to Rome and receive replies, but in vain. The entire Sacred Volume had been translated, the people were transcribing and reading, and the translator had frequently expressed himself in the boldest terms. "The authority of the Holy Scriptures," said he, "infinitely surpasses any writing, how authentic soever it may appear, because the authority of Jesus Christ is infinitely above that of all mankind."—"The authority of the Scriptures is independent of any other authority, and is preferable to every other writing, but especially to the books of the Church of Rome."—"I am certain, indeed, from the Scriptures, that neither Antichrist, nor all his disciples, nay, nor all fiends, may really impugn any part of that volume as it regards the excellence of its doctrine. But in all these things it appears to me that the believing man should use this rule—If he soundly understands the Sacred Scripture, let him bless God; if he be deficient in such perception, let him labour for soundness of mind. Let him also dwell as a gram

³ Henry de Knyghton, "*De eventis Angliæ.*"

⁴ William Butler, a Franciscan friar.

marian upon the letter, but be fully aware of imposing a sense upon Scripture which he doubts the Holy Spirit does not demand.”⁵

Many other passages, in terms as strong, might be quoted from his writings; and “among his latest acts,” says Vaughan, “was a defence in Parliament of the translation of the Scriptures into English. These he declared to be the property of the *people*, and one which no party should be allowed to wrest from them.”

Now that the cause of such a man, as well as that he himself, should have been so befriended, was one of the distinguishing features of the present period. The Duke of Lancaster continued to be his shield for years; and although, when Wickliffe, in addition to grievances felt, went on to Christian doctrines, the Duke faltered in his support, yet nearly six years after the translator was in his grave, the same voice was heard in favour of the translation. In the thirteenth of Richard II., or 1390, a bill was proposed to be brought into the House of Lords for suppressing it, when Lancaster, in boldly opposing this, told them, “That he would maintain our having this law in our own tongue, *whoever* they should be that brought in the bill;” and once introduced, it was immediately thrown out. But Lancaster was not the only friend: to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, Wickliffe dedicated at least one of his pieces; and on one important occasion, when the former gave way, the Queen-Mother, or widow of the Black Prince, put a stop to persecution. Lord Percy, Earl-Marshal, was also friendly; but perhaps, above all, much was owing to the reigning Queen, and that for ten years after Wickliffe’s death. Ann of Luxemburg, the sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus, and of the King of Bohemia, as consort of Richard II. had arrived in this country in December 1381; an event of great importance in connexion with Wickliffe’s exertions. If he had so far enlightened England, his writings were also to electrify Bohemia, so that Ann had “come to the kingdom for such a time as this.” This lady, already acquainted with three languages, Bohemian, German, and Latin, soon acquired that of this country, and for years was distinguished for her diligent perusal of the Scriptures in *English*. This much was testified of her by a very notable witness—the Lord Chancellor Arundel, then Archbishop of York, when he came to preach at her interment. “Although she was a stranger,” he said, “yet she constantly studied the four Gospels in English; and in the study of these, and reading of godly books, she was more diligent than the prelates, though their office and business require

⁵ Trialogus, lib. iii.

this of them." The Gospels in English, he added, the Queen had sent to himself to peruse, and he had replied that they were "*good and true*." Queen Ann's course of reading was even well known to Wickliffe, before he expired in 1384, so that she must have served as a powerful example to others, for at least ten years. The translator had thus early inquired, whether "to hereticate" her on account of her practice, "would not be Luciferian folly."

The Queen, says Rapin, was a great favourer of Wickliffe's doctrine, and had she lived longer would have saved his followers; but the illustrious foreigner once interred, and thus so remarkably eulogized, a different scene immediately opened to view.

After his Queen's death, Richard II., the grandchild of Edward III., had gone to Ireland, there to prolong the misgovernment of that country; and only four months had elapsed, when this very man, Arundel, who afterwards was the main instrument in dethroning the King, and one of the bitterest enemies of Divine Truth in the next century, was in great alarm. In deep hypocrisy, at Westminster, he might choose to twit the prelates with their ignorance of Scripture, in comparison with a Queen who had to acquire the language, and thus please the ear of his Majesty, as well as seem to lament his loss; but he had no intention that the *people* should take the hint, or advance, and show him, as well as his brethren, the way. The remarkable though transient period, however, to which we now refer, was as distinguished for boldness of sentiment, as for the protection providentially afforded to those who were searching the Scriptures for themselves.

On the 29th of January, 1395, a Parliament was held at Westminster, and the time had come to speak out. The sentiments were not those of a feeble band, whispered in secret. They were expressed in the shape of a remonstrance, and presented to the House of Commons. They were posted at St. Paul's, and also at Westminster. This, let it be observed, was above a hundred and twenty years before Luther's voice was heard; and, taken all in all, the argument throughout may be compared to an arrow, shot from a bow as strong as the intrepid German afterwards ever bent.

Richard, still in Ireland, was preparing to take the field again, when Arundel, our preacher at Westminster in August last, had reached him in May, and accompanied by Braybrook, the Bishop of London. Six or seven years before this the disciples of Wickliffe had been congregating in different places, and actually appointing ministers among themselves to perform Divine service, after their own sentiments: while his "poor priests," as they were styled, had been travelling and preaching, *barefooted*, through the

country; but this pointed and posted remonstrance had filled Arundel, Braybrook, and their brethren with dread. They entreated the King, in name of the clergy, to return, intimating that the least delay might occasion irreparable damage. The followers of Wickliffe, they said, had made instance to set on foot a reformation—they had many friends in the kingdom, nay, in the Parliament itself, and the clergy were afraid they would proceed to action. Richard listened, immediately left the management of his war to the Earl of March, and returned. He took certain measures, it is true, to check the rising tide of sentiment, but still the Scriptures were *not* suppressed, nor was there one drop of blood shed for what “they called heresy,” till the commencement of the next century, under Henry the Fourth.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the fourteenth century, we concede to Petrarch, or Boccaccio and his fellows, all that is demanded as to the revival of learning in Italy; nor has England any occasion to be ashamed of the contrast or distinction between the two countries. The pursuits of both were but in their infancy. In the former, “imagining that all knowledge was to be found in the ancient Masters,” they were beginning to seek after Mount Parnassus and their old Romans; but in the latter they were in search of Mount Zion and the fishermen of Galilee. The Italian had become eager after the wisdom of Greece, and the nervous oratory of his forefathers; the Englishman, after the wisdom of God, and the course pursued by the first planters of Christianity. If any of our countrymen were looking to Greece at all, it might be only to such as had proved to “be the first-fruits of Achaia unto God;” and if to Rome, it was only to those in the imperial city, once so beloved, “whose faith was spoken of throughout the whole world.”

The manuscripts of Wickliffe’s version complete, are numerous still; and perhaps not much less so than those of the New Testament separately, not to mention different pieces, or entire books of the translation. In examining some of these, whether in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in the British Museum, or in private collections, we have been struck with their legibility and beauty. They have all, indiscriminately, been called Wickliffe’s version, but variations of expression are to be found in a few; and it is not so generally known that we possess two distinct versions, one under Wickliffe’s own eye, and another a recension of the entire sacred text.

It is certainly a singular circumstance that this translation of Wickliffe has never been printed! The New Testament, it is true, was published by Mr. Lewis, in the year 1731, or three hundred

and fifty years after it was finished, and once more by Mr. Baber, in 1810; but the Bible entire, now four hundred and sixty-four years old, has never yet been published. By the time that Tyndale was born, indeed, it would not have been intelligible to the people at large; moreover, it was from the Latin Vulgate, and the period had arrived when the translation must be drawn from the original tongues. But still, even as a most interesting literary production, one could never have imagined that above *twenty* sovereigns would have sat on the throne of England since the invention of printing, before such a work had issued from the press. By Fabricius, a foreigner, as well as others, this has been often referred to as a national disgrace; but happily, the reproach, at last, is wiped away. Both these versions to which we have alluded are now published, printed in parallel columns, at the Oxford University press, and under the eye of Sir Frederick Madden and the Rev. J. Forshall, of the British Museum.⁶

Thus then, whatever darkness reigned, or enmity was shown in this country, throughout the whole of the next century, these precious volumes were preserved, and the surviving copies remain, like so many veritable torch-bearers for the time being. They may, and indeed must have shone often in secret, or at the midnight hour, and certainly not without effects, to be disclosed another day: but at all events, here is one palpable existing distinction between this country, and every other, at the moment. It is one which stands in the finest keeping with all that took place in the days of Tyndale. The favour of God, even at this early period, had already begun to place this Island in that conspicuous position which it was afterwards to occupy among the nations of Europe, with regard to the possession and the diffusion of His blessed Word.

Let this ever be regarded as the grand distinction of Britain. And while the Italian historian, down to the present hour, continues to rejoice in the triumph of literature and the arts upon his native soil, nearly five hundred years ago; let not the British Christian fall behind him in joy and gratitude over that contemporaneous triumph which at last led his country to a better hope and a brighter day. Let him rather compare the two countries *now*, and observe the too much neglected, but all-sufficient reason, for the prodigious distinction between the two.

No storm, however, arose in Italy, nor any cloud, to obscure the

⁶ The first, or earliest text, is from a manuscript of the late Francis Douce, Esq., now belonging to the Bodleian, at Oxford; the second is from MS. Reg. i., c. viii., in the British Museum.

rising sun of her classical literature. On the contrary, though Rome itself may still be troubled, that sun is only about to burst upon the country in all its splendour, and the men of Italy are to be allowed ample scope still, for above a hundred years, to do their utmost. Very different was the reception given by our forefathers, as a nation or as a government, to the voice of God. Here at home, in some resemblance to the visit paid by the Almighty to Elijah, there must, it seems, be first the wind, and then the earthquake, and then the fire, before ever the "still small voice" is heard with effect. Nay, and when once it comes through Tyndale's version, and is heard by the people, we shall find, however strange, that no *official* man in England will be able to divine from whence it came, or by what mysterious conveyance it had reached their ears!

We have conceded to Italy the precedence which she claims, as the revivalist of classical learning; and truly the first buds of promise in the fourteenth, were as nothing to the full-blown garden of the fifteenth century. In the first years of its commencement, individual natives of Greece were finding their way into that country, nay, from about the year 1395, their language was taught in Florence and Venice, in Milan and Genoa, by Emanuel Chrysoloras. The Pontiff chosen in 1409, Alexander V., was a Grecian by birth. The whole lives of Italian scholars, we are told, were now devoted to the recovery of ancient works, and the revival of philology; while the discovery of an unknown manuscript was regarded, says Tiraboschi, "almost as the conquest of a kingdom." But "that ardour which animated Italy in the first part of the fifteenth century, was by no means common to the rest of Europe. Neither England, nor France, nor Germany, seemed aware of the approaching change." So says Mr. Hallam, in perfect harmony with Sismondi. Learning, indeed, such as it was, had even begun to decline at Oxford, but the Eastern empire was now hastening to its end, and in 1453 came the fall of Constantinople. Long, therefore, before the close of the century, the roads to Italy will be crowded with many a traveller, and among the number we shall find that Englishmen, though the most distant, were not the last to hasten after classical attainments. Native Italians, we are perfectly aware, have been jealous of our ascribing too much to the event just hinted, but there can be no question that, in its consequences, it proved the first powerful summons to Europe to awake. On the sacking of Constantinople, we know of five vessels at least, that were loaded with the learned men of Greece, who escaped into Italy. Of course they brought their most valued treasure, or their books, with them; and thus by one and another, as well as the eager Italian himself, a stock of manu-

script was accumulated on Italian ground, which was just about to be honoured with a reception, very different, indeed, from that of being slowly increased by the pen of the copyist! Italy thus became the point of attraction to all Europe. But how singular that the scholars of the West, as with common consent, should hasten to this one country for that learning, over the effects of which, the chief authority there, though so pleased at first, was afterwards to bewail, nay, to mourn for ages, or to the present hour!

While, however, Italian scholars were thus busy, and leaving the Pontiff to fight his own battles, they were but little aware of what was preparing for them elsewhere. They were in fact more ignorant of this, than the Western scholar had been of their thirst for learning; and was there no indication here, of but *one* guiding, one all-gracious power?

The Invention of Printing.

An obscure German had been revolving in his mind, the first principles of an art, applicable to any language on the face of the earth, which was to prove the most important discovery in the annals of mankind. At the moment when they were storming Constantinople in the East, he was thus busy; spending all his substance, in plying his new art with vigour upon a book, and upon *such a* book! Neither Kings, nor Pontiffs, nor Councils had been, or were to be, consulted here; nor was he encouraged to proceed by one smile from his own Emperor, or from any princely patron.

No mechanical invention having proved so powerful in its effects as that of printing, it is not wonderful that so much research has been bestowed on the history of its origin and progress. The precise order in which some particular cities *first* enjoyed its advantages, still continues to afford room for minute criticism, but the progress of inquiry has reduced the field of controversy to a very narrow compass. A better history of the art, indeed, and more especially of its curious and rapid progress throughout Europe, may, and should still, be written; but the general results already ascertained, have now approached to such accuracy, as to suggest and justify several important and striking reflections. These results demand our notice at the close of the century, as they will be found to involve one important bearing on the subsequent history of the Sacred Volume, when it came to be first printed in the vernacular tongue.

MENTZ, in the Duchy of Hesse (Mayence or Mainz), on the left bank of the Rhine, and four hundred miles from Vienna, may be regarded as the mother city of printing; and although three individuals shared the honour of perfecting the art on the same spot, if

not under the same roof, the invention itself is due to only one man. Henne Gænsfleisch, commonly called John Gutenberg, (*Anglicé*, Goodhill,) the individual referred to, was born in Mentz, not Strasburg, as sometimes stated, about the year 1400; but, in 1424, he had taken up his abode in the latter city as a merchant. About ten years after this, or in 1435, we have positive evidence that his invention, then a profound secret, engrossed his thoughts; and here, in conjunction with one Andrew Dritzehen and two other citizens, all bound to secrecy, Gutenberg had made some experiments in printing with metal types before the year 1439. By this time Dritzehen was dead; and in six or seven years more, the money embarked being exhausted, not one fragment survives in proof of what they had attempted. Gutenberg, returning to his native city in 1445-6, found it absolutely necessary to disclose his progress. More money was demanded, if ever he was to succeed; and having once opened his mind fully to a citizen, a goldsmith of Mentz, John Fust, he engaged to co-operate by affording the needful advances. At last, therefore, between the years 1450 and 1455, for it has no date, their first great work was finished. This was no other than the Bible itself!—the *Latin Bible*. Altogether unknown to the rest of the world, this was what had been doing at Mentz, in the *West*, when Constantinople, in the *East*, was storming, and the Italian “brief men,” or copyists, were so very busy with their pens. This Latin Bible, of 641 leaves, formed the *first* important specimen of printing with metal types. The very first homage was to be paid to that SACRED VOLUME, which had been sacrilegiously buried, nay, interdicted so long; as if it had been, with pointing finger, to mark at once the greatest honour *ever* to be bestowed on the art, and infinitely the highest purpose to which it was *ever* to be applied. Nor was this all. Had it been a single page, or even an entire sheet which was then produced, there might have been less occasion to have noticed it; but there was something in the whole character of the affair which, if not unprecedented, rendered it singular in the usual current of human events. This Bible formed two volumes in folio, which have been “justly praised for the strength and beauty of the paper, the exactness of the register, the lustre of the ink.” It was a work of 1282 pages, finally executed—a most laborious process, involving not only a considerable period of time, but no small amount of mental, manual, and mechanical labour; and yet, now that it had been finished, and now offered for sale, not a single human being, save the artists themselves, knew *how* it had been accomplished! The profound secret remained with themselves, while the entire process was probably still confined to the bosom of only two or three!

Of this splendid work, in two volumes, at least 18 copies are known to exist, four on vellum, and fourteen on paper. Of the former, two are in this country, one of which is in the Grenville collection; the other two are in the Royal Libraries of Paris and Berlin. Of the fourteen paper copies there are ten in Britain: three in public libraries at Oxford, London, and Edinburgh, and seven in the private collections of different noblemen and gentlemen. The vellum copy has been sold as low as £260, though in 1827, as high as £504 sterling. Even the *paper* Sussex copy lately brought £190. Thus, as if it had been to mark the noblest purpose to which the art would ever be applied, *the FIRST Book printed with moveable metal types*, and so beautifully, was the BIBLE.

Like almost all original inventors, Gutenberg made nothing by the discovery, at which he had laboured for at least twenty years, from 1435 to 1455. The expenses had been very great; and, in the course of business, after the Bible was finished, the inventor was in debt to the goldsmith, who, though opulent, now exhibited a character certainly not to be admired. He insisted on Gutenberg paying up his debt; and, having him in his power, actually instituted a suit against him, when, in the course of law, the whole printing apparatus fell into Fust's possession, on the 6th of November, 1455. According to Trithemius, one of the best authorities, poor Gutenberg had spent his whole estate in this difficult discovery; but still, not discouraged, he contrived to print till 1465, though on a humbler scale. Having been appointed by Adolphus the Elector of Mentz one of his gentlemen, (*inter aulicos*;) with an annual pension, he was less dependent on an art which to him had been a source of trouble, if not of vexation. He died in the city of his birth in February 1468.

Fust had, from 1456, pursued his advantage, and with great vigour, having adopted as his acting partner Peter Schoeffer, (*Anglicè*, Shepherd,) a young man of genius, already trained to the business, to whom he afterwards gave his daughter in marriage. The types employed hitherto had been made of brass, cut by the hand. An advance to the present mode of producing types by letter-founding was still wanted, and the art of cutting steel punches and casting matrices has been ascribed to Schoeffer.

The first publication of Fust and Schoeffer was a beautiful edition of the Psalms, still in Latin, finished on the 14th of August, 1457, and there was a second in 1459; but the year 1462 arrived, and this was a marked and decisive era in the history of this extraordinary invention; not merely for a second edition of the Latin Bible, in two volumes folio, *dated* 1462, and now executed according to the

improved state of the art; but on account of what took place in Mentz at the same moment.

A change had arrived, far from being anticipated by these the inventors of printing, and one which they, no doubt, regarded as the greatest calamity which could have befallen them. Gutenberg had been the father of printing, and Schoeffer the main improver of it, while Fust, not only by his ingenuity, but his wealth, had assisted both; but all these men were bent upon keeping the art *secret*; and, left to themselves, unquestionably they would have confined the printing-press to Mentz as long as they lived. Fust and Schoeffer, however, especially eager to acquire wealth, had resolved to proceed in a very unhallowed course, by palming off their productions as *manuscripts*, that so they might obtain a larger price for each copy. The glory of promoting or extending the art must now, therefore, be immediately and suddenly taken from them. Invention, of whatever character, like Nature itself, is but a name for an effect, whose cause is God. The ingenuity He gives to whomsoever He will, but He still reigns over the invention, and directs its future progress. At this crisis, therefore, just as if to make the reference to Himself more striking, and upon our part more imperative, we have only to observe what then took place, and the consequences which immediately followed.

Fust and Schoeffer had completed their first dated Bible, of 1462, but this very year the city of Mentz must be invaded. Like Constantinople, it was taken by storm, and by a member too of that body, who in future times so lamented over the effects of printing. This was the Archbishop, or Adolphus, already mentioned. The consequences were immediate, and afford an impressive illustration of that ease with which Providence accomplishes its mightiest operations. The mind of Europe was to be roused to action, and materials sufficient to engage all its activity must not be wanting. But this demanded nothing more than the capture of *two* cities, and these two, far distant from each other! If when Constantinople fell in the East, the Greeks, with their manuscripts and learning, rushed into Italy, to join the already awakened Italian scholars: Mentz also is taken, and the art of printing spreads over Europe, with a rapidity which still excites astonishment.

This city, once deprived, by the sword of the conqueror, of those laws and privileges which belonged to it as a member of the Rhenish Commercial Confederation; all previous ties or obligations between master and servant were loosened, and oaths of secrecy imposed under a former régime, were at an end. Amidst the confusion that

ensued, the operative printers felt free to accept of invitations from any quarter. But whither will they bend their steps, or in what direction will the art proceed? Where will it meet with its warmest welcome, and in which capital of Europe will it be first established? The reader may anticipate that the welcome came from Italy, but it is still more observable, that the first capital was *Rome*! Yes, after the capture of Mentz, Rome and its vicinity, the city of the future *Index Expurgatorius*, gave most cordial welcome. The art, while in its cradle in Italy, must be nursed under the inquisitive and much amused eye of the Pontiff himself!

One might very naturally have presumed, that the enemies of light and learning, or of all innovation, would have been up in arms; and it is certainly not the least extraordinary fact connected with the memorable invention of printing, that no alarm was expressed,—neither at its discovery, nor its first application, even though the very first book was the *Bible*. The brief-men or copyists, it is true, were angry in prospect of losing their means of subsistence; and in Paris they had talked of necromancy, or the black art, being the origin of all this; but there was not a whisper of the kind in Italy. Indeed, as to an existing establishment of any kind, anywhere, no dangerous consequences were apprehended, by a single human being as far as we know; but most certainly none by the reigning Pontiff himself, or even by the conclave with all its wonted foresight. On the contrary, the invention was hailed with joy, and its first effects were received with enthusiasm. Not one man appears to have perceived its bearing, or once dreamt of its ultimate results. No, the German invention was to be carried to its perfection on Italian ground. Residents and official persons in Rome itself, are to be its first promoters, and that under the immediate eye of Paul II., a man by no means friendly, either to learning, or to learned men.

This curious incident is rendered much more so, by one or two others in immediate connexion with it. Even while the art was yet a *secret* in Germany, the very first individual of whom we read as having longed for its being brought to Rome, was a Cardinal, Nicholas de Cusa; the first ardent promoter of the press in that city was a Bishop, John Andreas, the Bishop of Aleria and Secretary to the Vatican Library. He furnished the manuscripts for the press, prepared the editions, and added the epistles dedicatory. It had been on the summit of a hill, twenty-eight miles east of Rome, near Subiaco, and close by the villa once occupied by the Emperor Nero, that the first printing-press was set up. In the monastery there, by Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz from Germany, an edition

of Lactantius' Institutions was finished in the year 1465; but next year, they removed, by invitation, into the mansion house of two knights in Rome itself. They were two brothers, Peter and Francis de Maximis. Here it was that, aided by the purse of Andreas, the first fount of types in the *Roman* character, so called ever since, was prepared; and all other materials being ready, they commenced with such spirit and vigour, that the Secretary of the Vatican "scarcely allowed himself time to sleep." Let him speak once for himself, in one of his dedications prefixed to Jerome's Epistles.

"It was," says he to the Pontiff, "in your days, that among other Divine favours this blessing was bestowed on the Christian world, that every poor scholar can purchase for himself a library for a small sum—that those volumes which heretofore could scarce be bought for a hundred crowns may now be procured for less than twenty, very well printed, and free from those faults with which manuscripts used to abound—for such is the art of our printers and letter makers, that *no ancient or modern discovery is comparable to it*. Surely the German nation deserves *our* highest esteem for the invention of the most useful of arts. The wish of the noble and divine Cardinal Cusa is now, in your time, accomplished, who earnestly desired that this sacred art, which then seemed rising in Germany, might be brought to Rome. It is my chief aim in this epistle to let posterity know that the art of printing and type-making was brought to Rome under Paul II. Receive, then, the first volume of St. Jerome graciously,—and take the excellent masters of the art, Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, Germans, under your protection."

This Pontiff, named Peter Barbo, and a *Venetian* by birth, had no sooner come into office, in 1464, than he immediately suppressed the College of *abbreviators* and turned out all the clerks of the breves, regardless of the sums they had paid for their places. And although this body was composed of the most distinguished men of learning and genius in Rome, he chose to say they were of no use, or unlearned! Yet now, scarcely two years after, the same man was sauntering into the *printing* office, nay, it is affirmed that he visited it "frequently and examined with admiration every branch of this new art!" Would he have done this had he foreseen the consequences? And what must future Pontiffs have sometimes thought or said as to his idle simplicity, or his lack of foresight?

Meanwhile, so zealous were these men, that in five years only, or from 1467 to 1472, they had printed not fewer than twelve thousand four hundred and seventy-five volumes, in twenty-eight editions, some of them of large size, and all beautifully executed. Among these we find the Latin *Bible* of 1471. It was the second edition with a *date*, the first printed in Rome, and however beautiful in execution, well known to be by no means distinguished for its accuracy; a circum-

stance which ought, in common modesty, to have infused a forbearing or lenient temper with regard to all future *first* attempts. It by no means followed, however, although Rome had taken the lead, that it was also to furnish a ready market for the sale of books. On the contrary, the printers now laboured under such a load of printed folio volumes, that unless relieved, they must have sunk altogether, as no doubt they suffered. Yet still, by the year 1476, twelve other works had issued from the press. Among these were the "Postils," or Notes of Nicholas de Lyra, the *first printed Commentary* on the Scriptures. But the Commentary brought them down! They had better have never touched it, as it was by this huge work, in five folio volumes, they were nearly, if not entirely, ruined in business. Such, however, was the fruit of only one printing office, and in less than ten years. Ulric Han, or Gallus, had commenced printing soon after these, the first two, and at least thirteen other printers followed; so that, before the close of the fifteenth century, the different *works* published in the Imperial city alone, had amounted to nearly one thousand!

We have been thus particular as to the capital of Italy, not forgetful of the place it then occupied in the world, and especially afterwards, in the sixteenth century. The facts now mentioned place that power in a point of view not unworthy of observation ever since. Before long, no invention was to occasion such perplexity to Rome and her conclave as that of *printing*, and yet the art enters Italy, and the Pontiff himself, as it were, cordially sanctions the insertion of a wedge which all Italy will drive; or, in other words, he breaks the ground, and gives the first onset in a direction which his successors have toiled in vain to arrest. Little did PETER BARBO, the Venetian Pontiff, know what he was about, when wandering into the printing office for his amusement. When examining, with a mixture of wonder and delight, the different movements of the printing machine, had he only suspected the mighty and irresistible consequences, how soon would he have reduced the whole concern to ashes, and discharged the thunders of the Vatican in every direction! But no, and in Rome itself, the printers, compositors, and pressmen, shall go on issuing folio after folio, and of works which still exist and enrich the libraries of Europe.

Independently, however, of all this, what signified Rome, when compared with the extent to which the art had now reached? Had a single city or town waited for the concurrence or sanction of the Pontiff? So far from it, Bamberg in Franconia, and Cologne, had preceded Rome, and in ten years only after the capture of Mentz, the

art had reached to upwards of *thirty* cities and towns, including Venice, and Strasburg, Paris, and Antwerp; in only ten years more *ninety* other places had followed the example, including Basil and Brussels, *Westminster*, *Oxford*, and *London*, Geneva, Leipsic, and Vienna. With regard to Germany, the mother country of this invention, Koberger of Nuremberg was supposed to be the most extensive printer of the fifteenth century. Having twenty-four presses, and one hundred men, constantly at work, besides employing the presses of Switzerland and France, he printed at least twelve editions of the *Latin Bible*. And when we turn to the native capital of the reigning Pontiff, Venice, where printing had commenced only two years after Rome, what had ensued in the next thirty, or before 1500? Panzer has reckoned up not fewer than *one hundred and ninety-eight* printers in VENICE alone, more than sixty of whom had commenced business before the year 1480, and altogether, by the close of the century, they had put forth at least two thousand nine hundred and eighty distinct publications, among which are to be found more than twenty editions of the *Latin Bible*. As the *roman* letter was first used in Rome, so the *italic* was in Venice, where ALDUS had offered a piece of gold for every typographical error which could be detected in any of his printed pages.

In short, before the close of this century, a space of only thirty-eight years from the capture of Mentz, the press was busy, in at least two hundred and twenty different places, throughout Europe, and the number of printing-presses was far above a thousand! This rapidity, rendered so much the more astonishing from the art having risen to its perfection *all at once*, producing works so beautiful that they have never been excelled, has been often remarked, though it has never yet been fully described. To mark its swift and singular career throughout Europe with accuracy and effect, would require a volume, and, to certain readers, it would prove one of the deepest interest.

Such an extraordinary revival of the arts and of literature could not fail to affect and greatly improve the external appearance of our Island. Witness those beautiful specimens of architecture in Britain peculiar to this age, and still regarded by so many as its appropriate glory. Or, what is more to our purpose, witness the encouragement given to literature by such men as Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, John Earl of Worcester, and Earl Rivers, and the deep interest taken in William Caxton, the father of printing in our native land. With the exception, indeed, of the Slavonian or Northern nations, all others in Europe had contributed to the interests of science; but

in Italy, by way of eminence, the human mind had been permitted to exhaust its power. The utmost that human ingenuity and patient perseverance could effect had been accomplished. Works begun in one age, had been carried on and finished by the next. *Man* had been allowed to expend all his energy. The models left for his posterity to admire, can only be feebly and imperfectly copied, for as yet they have never been excelled.

But what then, we are now bound to inquire, what had all this goodly array accomplished for the heartfelt refinement, the best or true enlargement of the human mind? To see such intellectual relish, such sensibility and taste spring up amidst general ignorance and barbarity, was the wonder of the age; but what had all this painting, and statuary, and architecture, nay, this learning and printing, effected, and more especially for the *masses*, or the people as such?

What had they done for the emancipation of the soul from bondage, or its clear escape from tyrannizing lust? What, for its way of access unto God, or the only way of acceptance with Him? Absolutely nothing; nay, to speak correctly, if the uses to which all things had been converted be observed, far worse than nothing. Those venerated and confessedly beautiful piles throughout Europe, with all that they contained, and in many instances *now* contain, assume a very grave and sombre aspect, whenever it is remembered that in them we behold but the ingenious and laborious efforts of the blind, mistaking their way to "a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." They stand before us as the professed and united homage of thousands, in their lifetime and by their dying testaments to that Being, before whom all external display, all outward adorning, the magnificence of building or the melody of sounds—nay the extended hands, the bended knee and the uplifted eye, are as nothing without the intelligent exercise of the *inward* faculties.

Now, not to speak of other nations, what in Britain had yet been done with regard to *these*? Were the inward faculties cultivated, or even allowed to be so? Was there any attention yet paid to a *vernacular* literature which could interest or enlarge the general mind? So far from it, for any one man to read a fragment of Scripture in his native tongue, though yet merely in manuscript, was sure to expose to oppression; and for the first half of this very century, whether in England or Scotland, the barbarity of burning to ashes, and of severe persecution for opinions held, had been practised by all the authorities. Nor were they, in England, diverted from such cruelty till engrossed by war with France. Then came those

intestine divisions and heartburnings—the wars of the White and Red Rose—those deadly feuds between the Houses of York and Lancaster, when, as Fuller has expressed it, in reference to any who thought for themselves, “the storm was their shelter.” These wars, however, so far from affecting the hold which the Pontiff had of this country, were only so many too evident proofs of the secret but prodigious influence of his votaries, in murdering one man and setting up another. At the close of the long conflict, therefore, by the downfall of Richard III.—after thirteen pitched battles—at the expense of more than a hundred thousand men—Henry the Seventh, or the first prince of the House of Tudor, most dutifully allied himself with the paramount power of Rome; and began to educate his second son as an ecclesiastic, afterwards to be known as Henry the Eighth. The father had, indeed, humbled the Barons of England while he himself remained the devoted vassal of the Pontiff; and, at the end of the fifteenth century, the capital of Italy was still, in its own ancient sense, the capital of the world.

At the close, then, of this brief sketch, however imperfect, it must now be evident that to have overlooked, what have been styled by way of courtesy, the immortal trophies of painting, music, and song, of sculpture and architecture, nay, and of printing, for the first *seventy* years of its existence, would have been doing great injustice to what was about to follow, in the sixteenth century. Of all these sources of attraction, that singular power which held court and council at Rome, had been permitted to take the fullest advantage; nor was she slow to perceive the power they possessed, to charm both the eye and the ear. Printing, however, was the most *intellectual* of all the arts, and yet it will now be manifest, that Infinite Wisdom was by no means in any haste to employ it. The orators of Greece and Rome had been allowed to try their skill once more in improving mankind. The classics were permitted to enjoy their second, and more splendid triumph, and appear before the world in a richer dress than they had ever done; and since the colloquial dialect, the tongue spoken by the people, was *not* the language of what was called the *Church*, in any nation of Europe, and Latin alone was her language everywhere, then let that tongue, through the press, also enjoy, unprecedented scope. Let no Pontiff, ever after, have any reason to complain that ample justice was not first done to *his* system. Let *him* first have his fill of *letters*, even to overflowing. Let him richly enjoy the first fruits, or the highest place, nay, the monopoly of all the arts, and even the printing-press to boot; and before the close of the fifteenth century, let there be issued from the press, above a

hundred editions of the LATIN Bible,—for such was the fact : and throughout Europe, let there be hourly spoken still, more than “ten thousand words in an *unknown* tongue.”

After all this, and with an especial reference to our native land, we now ask,—could there have been a more marked approach towards the importation of Divine Truth into our Island, in the language then *spoken by the people*, and spoken still? A more impressive series of events, as introductory to the printing of the Scriptures in our vernacular tongue? The sacred boon was about to be conferred, and, at last, by millions of copies. To the inhabitants of Britain, by way of eminence, and for three hundred years, were about to be committed the oracles of God ; at least the translator to be employed, was now growing up. But before Divine Revelation is permitted to assume the shape of a *printed* volume, are we not now bound to look back, and do justice to the manner of its introduction? If there be certain points in the history of every country at which the inhabitants would do well to pause ; to us, at least, and as living apart from the Continent in the adjoining sea, this was, or rather still is, one of the first importance, as the commencement of a new and unprecedented epoch.

The mighty movement of the sixteenth century was at hand. The outward forms of society had undergone a great change, and this, it is freely granted, had produced a class of less fearful thinkers. But the tide of human activity having been first permitted to rise so high, and accomplish so little, ought never to have been overlooked. The distinction was about to be drawn, between mere intellectual culture and mental vigour, or, in other words, between all that *man* had been able to effect, and what the Saviour of the world was about to do, by means so simple, and an agency soon to be so deprecated by human authority ; or rather by only one selected individual then so generally despised, and since so unaccountably forgotten !

Thus are we imperatively bound to distinguish between the oratory of Greece and Rome, or the feeble language of literature, and the voice of Jehovah in His word, when it once reached the ear or the eye of our forefathers, in their native tongue ; to distinguish as carefully, between *the power of the press*, and the power of *what* issued from it ; between printing, however splendid to the eye, and *what is* printed, when addressed by the Almighty to the heart ; between all the wisdom of this world, and that which cometh down from above ; between printed books without exception, and “the oracles of God.”

Twenty-five years of the sixteenth century have indeed still to

pass away, before the New Testament in English, as translated and committed to the press by Tyndale, will be given to England and Scotland, but these years will only render the event more striking,—an event which, even in our own day, and at such a singularly momentous period as the present, will be found to deserve and reward far more thoughtful consideration, not in itself merely, but especially in its consequences, than it has ever yet, for three hundred years, at any previous point of time, received.

THE accuracy of the Author in charging the Greek Church with interdicting the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, having been called in question by a highly respected correspondent, Mr. Anderson made the following reply :—

“I am obliged by your directing me to the expression in page xxxvi. of the Introduction. I at once perceived its ambiguity, nay, strictly speaking, its incorrectness. I have said, ‘But both had interdicted its translation,’ &c. More accurately I should have said, ‘But the Eastern for more than a century had, to all intents and purposes, identified herself with the Western Church, which had now interdicted,’ &c. The Greek Church cannot be exonerated at that period as to the Sacred Scriptures. This was what was meant, and had it been so put, would have still more enhanced the boldness of Wickliffe, who did not quail before this dominant Mystery of Iniquity.

“I am perfectly aware that there is a distinction to be observed between the Greek Church in its earlier stages, and the Roman ; and that, nominally, the Canon of Scripture held by the former is nearly, if not precisely, the same with our own, though they plead for the Divine authority of the Septuagint. At the same time, it must ever be borne in mind that, long as the Eastern Church fought for an independent existence, the Greeks were bent upon the *traditions*, as well as the authority, of their Church, no less than the Romans on theirs ; the former esteeming the acts of the Seven Greek Synods of *equal* authority with the sacred volume ! But more to the point.

“The Greek Church, you are aware, never recovered the blow it received from the Latins in 1204, when Constantinople was taken. I have, in passing, specified the Council of Tholouse ; but fourteen years before, the Eastern Church had identified herself with whatever Rome *determined*. Many of her members might dissent, but this by no means has any—the slightest place in history. Hence, in the Twelfth General, or Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, Innocent III. crowned all former invasions of the Eastern Churches by claiming servile obedience from all by name, and in this order : 1. Constantinople ; 2. Alexandria ; 3. Antioch ; 4. Jerusalem.

“Then came the Council of Tholouse in 1229 ; and in sixteen years after, under Innocent IV., at Lyon, in the Thirteenth General Council, he carried triumphantly every point. The Greek Emperor himself, nay, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, were present, while the Pope was deposing the *Emperor of the West*, and releasing *his* subjects from their allegiance. Constantinople and Antioch were at this period merely fiefs of the Roman Pontiff. Moreover, it was here also, for the first time, that the red hat was proposed and established, the appointed token that the Cardinals were to shed their blood in the defence and for the dominance of the Roman Catholic faith.

“Thirty years after that, in 1274, the Eastern Emperor is swearing to the Roman Catholic faith, recognising the supremacy of the Pope ; and the Prelates of Greece swore allegiance by their legates. All appeals from the Greeks were to be made to Rome. Before the Moguls on the one hand, and the Latins on the other, Constantinople was nodding to her fall in 1453. Even after the invention of printing, the Greek liturgies for centuries have been printed at Venice, under Papal influence. Under the same influence, successive Greek Synods have been convoked, *e. g.*, at Constantinople in 1642, and at Jerusalem in 1672. Among the acts of this last is prohibited the general reading of the Scriptures.”

EXPLANATION OF THE FAC-SIMILES.

No. I.—Fac-Simile of his Prologue.

If there be a peculiar charm in contemplating the veritable origin of a great undertaking, by many readers the following page in black letter cannot fail to be valued. It is the more worthy of inspection as being a pleasure denied to most of our ancestors, the edition to which it is the prologue or preface having fallen into utter oblivion for more than three hundred years. We need only refer to its history, pp. 46, &c., in proof that this was the page immediately following the title, with which Tyndale commenced his Testament, in quarto, at the press of Peter Quentell in Cologne, anno 1525.

No. II.—Fac-Simile of the New Testament in quarto.

Cochlæus having artfully interrupted Tyndale at Cologne in 1525, and got into the same printing office; in the large wood-cut of the Evangelist Matthew, the reader has now one curious proof before him. Cochlæus having left Cologne early in 1526, one of the first works he engaged Quentell to print was “*Ruperti in Matthæum*,” &c., a folio volume of 325 pages. At the end of this we find him addressing Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, as early as 20th April, and the work was finished at press on 12th June, 1526. But at the very commencement of this folio, on p. 2, we find this identical wood-cut which Quentell had formerly used for Tyndale’s Testament; only there, it will be observed, the block has been pared down, two-eighths at the bottom and left side, so as to deprive it of the white ground below, and at the side to encroach upon the angel’s wing. This was to fit it for his folio page; and it being a work on Matthew, and this a favourite device, he inserted it again on the title-page. Consequently, the cut, as it is now to be seen, entire, must have been the *prior* publication, or in 1525. Again the same block, as thus cut down, was used by Quentell in printing the Latin Bible of Rudelius in 1527, at the beginning of *Matthew*; and in the beginning of *John* we have his letter Y, with which this prologue commences, which letter in fact first led to the discovery of what this fragment is, and where it was printed. See pp. 29, 37; 69, 72.

No. III.—Fac-Simile of the smaller New Testament.

The first two pages of the New Testament commenced and finished at Worms, in the same year, is here exhibited. The only perfect copy in existence, now at Bristol, it will be observed, has manuscript notes, neatly written on the margin by a former possessor. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the word “married” in the second page, Tyndale altered to “betrothed,” the term which was adopted by Beck, by Whittingham, in 1557; the Genevan translators, in 1560; and Parker in 1568. Coverdale, who had used the first term, never altered it, at least it is in his Bible of 1550, 1553, and Cranmer had followed Coverdale. Taverner adopted *espoused* from Wickliffe, the term preferred by our last revisors, though in point of perspicuity Tyndale’s corrected term has been considered the best. See the *History*, pp. 40, 46; 69, 72.



The gospel of S. Mathew.

The fyrst Chapter.



Thys ys the boke of

the generaciō of Iesus Christ the sonne of David / The sonne also of Abrahā

Abrahā begatt Isaac: (hā.

Isaac begatt Jacob:

Jacob begatt Judas and hys brethren:

Judas begatt Phares: (thren:

and Saram of thamar:

Phares begatt Esrom:

Esrom begatt Aram:

Aram begatt Aminadab:

* Abraham and David are fyrst rehearsed / because that christe was chiefly promysed vnto them.

Aminadab begatt naassan:

Naasson begatt Salmon:

Salmon begatt boos of rahab:

Boos begatt obed of ruth:

Obed begatt Jesse:

Jesse begatt david the kynge:

David the kynge begatt Solomon / of her that was the

(wyfe of davyd)

Solomon begatt roboam:

Roboam begatt Abia:

Abia begatt asa:

Asa begatt iosaphat:

Josaphat begatt Joram:

Joram begatt Osias:

Osias begatt Joatham:

Joatham begatt Achas:

Achas begatt Ezechias:

Ezechias begatt Manasses:

Manasses begatt Amon:

Amon begatt Josias:

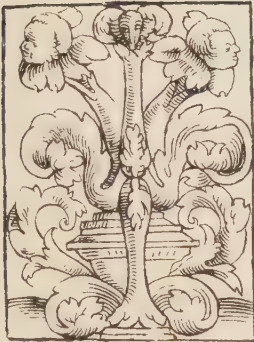
Josias begatt Jechonias and his brethren about the tyme of

the captivite of babilon

After they were led captive to babilon / Jechonias begatt

Saynet mathew levethe out certeyne generacions / & describeth the lineages from solomō / after the lawe of Moses / but Lucas describeth it accordyng to nature / fro nathan solomōs brother. For the lawe we calleth them a mannes childre which his broder begatt of his wyfe lest he behynde hym after his descente. deu. xxv. c.

The prologge.



Haue here translated

(brethern and susters moost dere and tenderly beloued in Christ) the newe Testament for youre spirituall edifyinge/consolacion/and solas:

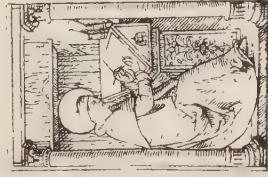
Exhortynge instantly and besechynge those that are better sene in the tonge then y / and that haue hyer gyfts of grace to interpret the sence of the scripture / and meanyng of the spyrite/then y/to consydere and pondre my laboure / and that with the spyrite

of mekenes. And yf they perceyve in eny places that y haue not attayned the very sence of the tonge / or meanyng of the scripture / or haue not geuen the right englyssh worde / that they put to there handes to amende it/remembryng that so is there duetie to doo. For we haue not receyved the gyfts of god for oure selues only/or for to hyde them: but for to bestowe them vnto the honouringe of god and christ/and edifyinge of the congregacion / which is the body of christ.

The causes that moved me to translate / y thought better that other shulde ymagion/then that y shulde rehearce them. More over y supposed yt superfluous / for who ys so blynde to axe why lyght shulde be shewed to them that walke in derkenes / where they cannot but stamble/and where to stamble ys the daunger of eternall dammacion / other so despyghtfull that he wolde enuye eny man (y speake nott his brother) so necessary a thinge / or so bedlem madde to affyrme that good is the naturall cause of pnyell/and derkenes to procede oute of lyght / and that lyeinge shulde be grounde in trouthe and veritie / and nott rather clene contrary / that lyght destroyeth derkenes/and veritie reproveth all manner lyeinge.



The First Chapter.



Thys is the booke

off the generation off

Jhesus christ the sonne of David /

the same also of Abraham.

Abraham begat Isaac:

Isaac begat Jacob:

Jacob begat Judas and hys

brethren:

Judas begat phares and zarahair:

Phares begat Esrom:

Esrom begat Aram:

Aram begat Aminadab:

Aminadab begat Naasson:

Naasson begat Salmon:

Salmon begat Boos of Rahab:

Boos begat Obed of Ruth:

Obed begat Jesse:

Jesse begat David the kynge:

David the kynge begat Solomō / of her that

was the wyfe of Dyr:

Solomon begat Roboam:

Roboam begat Abia:

Abia begat Asa:

Asa begat Josaphat:

Josaphat begat Joram:

Joram begat Othias:

Othias begat Joatham:

Joatham begat Achas:

Achas begat Ezechias:

Ezechias begat Manasses:

Manasses begat Amōn:

Amōn begat Josias:

Josias begat Jechonias and hys brethren ab-

oute the tyme of the captivete of Babilon.

After they wer ledde captivete to Babilon / Jes-

chonias begat Salathiel:

Salathiel begat Zorobabel:

Zorobabel begat Abiud:

Abiud begat Eliachim:

Eliachim begat Azor:

Azor begat Sadoc:

Sadoc begat Achim:

Achim begat Eliud:

Eliud begat Eleasar:

Eleasar begat Matthan:

Matthan begat Jacob:

Jacob begat Joseph the husbāde off Mary / of

whome was boren that Jhesus which is called

Christ.

All the generations from Abraham to David

ar fourtene generaciōs. And from David vnto

to the captivete of Babilon / are fowrtene genes-

rations. And from the captivete of Babilō vnto

to Christ / are also fowrtene generations.

The byrthe off Christe was on thys wys

se / When hys mother mary was maryed vnto

Joseph / before they cam to dwell togedder / she

was founde with chylde by the holy goost. The

her husbāde Joseph beinge a perfect man / ad

loth to defame her / was mynded to put her awys

aye secretly. Whill he thus thought / he hold the

āgell of the lord apered vnto hym slepe saige: Jo

4. Regum. 25.

1. Esre. 2.

II.
Luce. tercio.

Luce primo




THE ANNALS OF
THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BOOK I.

Reign of Henry the Eighth.

MD.—MDXXIII.

FROM THE BIRTH OF TYNDALE, THE ORIGINAL TRANSLATOR, TO HIS
EMBARKATION FOR THE CONTINENT, IN PURSUIT OF HIS DESIGN.

HE opening of the sixteenth century, a period so big with interest to all Europe, has been presented in very different lights, both by British and Continental authors. Some have very carefully brought into one focus a number of concurrent events, and then rested in this conclusion; that if there had never existed such men as those with whose names we have been long familiar, all that occurred must have taken place. These are believers in what has been styled, the “force of circumstances,” and though there be a power which governs the world independently of man, they rise no higher; our men of circumstances can see nothing great in individual character. Other writers, from too fond partiality for their native land, and scarcely looking beyond it, have assigned exclusive renown to their own great men. An Italian, on behalf of his own Italy, assumes the undivided glory of the revival of literature, philosophy, and the fine-arts; and then all the refinement or enlargement of the human mind

which ensued, he traces to this one source. While a German author, in regard to the revival of Christianity, insists that his country led the van, and by that path in which others only followed. He will perhaps admit Wickliffe, rising in England a century and a half before, to be the morning star; but, after this, Luther is his sun, or great planet, and other countries have been regarded as stars, revolving in wider or narrower circles around it, like satellites drawn after it by its movement. The figure may be considered beautiful, and please the fancy, but it has the disadvantage of being incorrect. It not only violates the order, but obscures the peculiar character or glory of what actually took place.

"If we regard *dates*, we must then confess that neither to Switzerland nor to Germany belongs the honour of having been first in the work, although, hitherto, only those countries have contended for it. That honour belongs to France. This is a fact that we are the more careful to establish, because it has possibly, till now, been overlooked."¹ And at this crisis, or the opening of the sixteenth century, as far as these countries are concerned, he has proved his assertion. But, on the other hand, if Britain be included, we must be allowed to hold fast by the fourteenth century; the age of Wickliffe, or the translation of the Sacred Volume, *entire*, into the language of the people. From that period, to say nothing of the New Testament separately, or of various beautiful fragments; possessing, as we do still, about thirty copies of that Bible entire, seventeen of which are perfect, we trace the effects, from that early age down to the days of Tyndale. The reading of the Scriptures in *manuscript*, however obnoxious to the authorities, will, in the following history, link itself most distinctly with the more eager perusal of those first imported in *print*. Opposition to the latter, will bring out evidence as to both.

All questions, however, as to priority or dates, become of inferior moment when compared with another ascertained fact. If we look at the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Lefevre in France, and Zuinglius in Switzerland, Luther in Germany, and Tyndale in England, appear before the world, and to the

¹ Merle D'Aubigné.

eye of *man* in this order; they were contemporaries, living in their respective countries; Lefevre being by far the oldest of the four, and Zuinglius the youngest. But then it is no less evident, that the *first* impressions of these four men were altogether independent of each other. They were individually influenced by a power, though unseen, equally near to them all. From that moment they were already destined to the work assigned them, but not one of them had exchanged a single thought with another. "Germany," says the same author, "did not communicate the light of truth to Switzerland, nor Switzerland to France, nor France to England: all these lands received it from God, just as no one region transmits the light to another, but the same orb dispenses it direct to the earth." We now speak of the origin, or the one great though secret cause of all.

But the secret and universal Mover being once acknowledged, upon advancing only a single step farther, we instantly discover that a marked distinction has been drawn, between our own separate Island, and all other countries on the adjoining Continent. In France, but more especially in Switzerland and Germany, there was the living voice, throughout life, of the man raised up, calling upon his countrymen to hear and obey the truth; and so God had ordered it in England, a century and a half before, in the case of Wickliffe. But, now, his procedure is altogether different, and out of the usual course pursued in other lands. Tyndale had lifted up his voice, it is true, boldly, and with some effect, but he is withdrawn from his native land, and never to return. The island is left behind by him, and left for good. In other countries the man lives and dies at home. Lefevre, when above a hundred years old, weeps, because he had not felt and displayed the courage of a martyr; Zuinglius dies in battle for his country; and Luther, after all his noble intrepidity, expires in his sick chamber: but Tyndale is strangled and burnt to ashes, and in a foreign land. Englishmen, and Scotsmen, and Germans, are gathered together against him; yes, against the man who enjoyed the honour of having never had a Prince for his patron or protector all his days; men of three nations at least concur to confer upon him the crown of martyrdom, so that, among all his contemporaries,

in several points of view, but especially as a translator of the Scriptures, he stands alone.

Whether, therefore, in England or in Scotland, the consequence has been, that, at this early period, we have no great or powerful character to present, as warring upon his *native* soil, with the darkness, whether of ignorance or error, and leading on to victory. *Our* man is abroad, and is pursued, but cannot be taken, till his work is done; while the Almighty himself appears as so much the more in immediate contact with this country. The work is, by way of eminence, *His own*. Divine truth, it is granted, is but an instrument, yet as an instrument, it was now shown to be perfect for its purpose; and the design goes on, till men of authority, and power, and wrath, are baffled, overcome, and overruled. Moreover, there has been ever since a providential superintendence of this work, an uninterrupted care, lest it should be confounded with any thing else in this Kingdom, all which we are the more bound both to mark ourselves, and point out to other nations.

That the eyes of his countrymen have never been turned towards Tyndale, as they ought to have been long ago, but more especially to that work which God did by him in the midst of our land, is one of those mysteries, which, at this moment, we do not even attempt to explain; but it will be the object of the following pages, to trace the footsteps of our Translator, from his origin to his end; and especially the history of that Version which he first gave to his country.

Let any one direct attention to the first quarter of the sixteenth century; let but the state of our native land be surveyed; and so far from there being any, even the slightest token of the Divine Word being about to be laid open to the common people; the political state of England, and the literary, such as it was, but, above all, her intimate and complicated connexion with Italy, decidedly forbade the idea of such a thing. Where, then, throughout all England, was any individual to be expected, sufficiently bold to cherish the noble design?

Now, it was such a time as this; it was in the midst of hostile circumstances, in the very diocese of Worcester, which from 1484 to 1534 was held by four Italians in succession, that

a man according to God's own heart had already been found! It was in the centre of this diocese that he was born! From about the year 1484, this district, above all others, had fallen under the power of Italy, or, like a ripe fig, into the mouth of the eater; but it may now be added, "about which time William Tyndale was born."

Great characters have not unfrequently been raised from an obscurity which has baffled all research. So it has happened emphatically in the present instance. Not only are the statements hitherto advanced altogether erroneous; but even after the utmost diligence, whether in searching the Parish Registers themselves, the Visitations in the Herald's Office, or the manuscript stores of our British Museum, still there hangs, at least, some degree of obscurity over the precise year of Tyndale's birth, as well as his immediate parentage. Without, therefore, encumbering the page, we now confine attention to what appears to be morally certain.

Among the picturesque beauties of Gloucestershire, there is one from the top of Stinchcomb Hill, fifteen miles south-west of the city, which commands the Severn, from Gloucester to Bristol; having the Vale of Berkeley, with its venerable castle, on the left bank of that river, and the Forest of Dean, Chepstow, and the Welsh mountains, on the right. From this point more than seven counties are visible, and about thirty parish churches; but to every admirer of England's best hope, her Sacred Volume, the spot acquires by far its deepest interest, from his having immediately below his eye, the birth-place of its original Translator. There can be no question that Tyndale was born within the hundred of Berkeley, whether at the village of Stinchcomb itself, or more probably at North Nibley, two miles to the left, now also full in view. His family, however, stands long in connexion with *both* villages.

Before the birth of our Translator, his progenitors, for two, if not three descents, had lived under the western brow of Stinchcomb Hill, where, for a limited period, they had passed under the name of *Hitchins*. The removal of the family into Gloucestershire, as well as the temporary assumption of this name, have been ascribed to the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and such may have been the occasion; but the

temporary adoption of the name of Hitchins, may just as probably have arisen from a deadly *local* family feud which long agitated the very spot where they now dwelt. The violence of the civil wars had loosened the authority of government, and this part of the country afforded one of the most striking proofs; for though, in the contentions of York and Lancaster, the neighbouring castle of Berkeley had no share, yet it had suffered greatly from the disputed title to its possession, between the heir of the Barony, and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Perhaps there never existed, in the history of England, a hereditary family contention equal to this; as it continued to smoulder on for nearly two hundred years, from 1417, and in its earlier stages burst out with great violence. Mutual reprisals had been made again and again, till a final period was put to such a mode of settlement, by the fierce contest on Nibley Green in March 1470. This is indeed the only event by which the village itself has *hitherto* been distinguished. Now, the Tyndales were then living at Stinchcomb; and as the number, on both sides, amounted to 1000 men, most of whom were gathered, in one night, from the lands of Berkeley hundred, *they* must have taken part in the fray. While, therefore, the quarrel was at once local and personal between William, the seventh Lord Berkeley, and Thomas, Lord Lisle, then living at Wotton-under-Edge, it must be observed that the former was on the Lancastrian side of politics, and, as tenants at least, so were the Tyndales. The consequence was, that although Berkeley was victorious, the encounter being fatal to Lord Lisle himself and 150 more; and although Government was prevented from taking cognizance of the result at the time, owing to the far greater affairs of the civil war, still afterwards Lord Berkeley had to humbly sue for forgiveness from Edward the Fourth, the royal head of the house of York. At all events, from whatever cause, the name of Hitchin had been assumed by this branch of the Tyndale family, for years, as will appear presently.

The family of our Translator is to be traced to an ancient Barony, by tenure, which, however, in *his* name, became extinct so early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. From the second son of Adam, the *last* Baron de Tyndale and Langeley, in Northumberland, or Robert Tyndale, who removed southward

in the reign of Edward I., who settled at Tansover, or Tansor, near Oundle in Northamptonshire, and was living in 1288, there gradually sprung different families; so that, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, respectable proprietors of the name of Tyndale were living at Tansover and Deane, in Northamptonshire; at Hockwold, in Norfolk; at Pull Court, in Worcestershire; and at Stinchcomb and North Nibley, in the county of Gloucester; as there were soon afterwards at Eastwood, in the same county; at Bathford and Bristol, in Somerset; at Mapplestead, in Essex, and, still later, at Bobbing Court, in Kent. All these families claim descent from Robert of Tansover; and even that of our William Tyndale has been supposed, by no inferior genealogist, to have sprung from him.² This it certainly had done, though in a very remote degree, as we shall presently meet with ground to believe that there was some affinity between it, and that of Tyndale of Pull Court, a branch of the house of Tansover.

Of the family resident at Stinchcomb and North Nibley, we have two distinct genealogies. The first, under the head of *Hunt's Court*, Nibley, is to be found in the account of the hundred of Berkeley, drawn up by Mr. Smythe, the factor of Lord Berkeley, resident in the old manor house of Nibley. The second genealogy is founded upon a *deed* under the reign of Henry VIII., the best of all evidence;³ while, so far as the latter goes, and the authority quoting it, there is a perfect agreement with the former as to the descents, viz. :—

I. Hugh Tyndale, father of John, f. of Thomas, f. of Richard, f. of Richard, f. of Thomas.

II. Thomas, f. of Richard, f. of Richard, f. of Thomas.

The first individual mentioned by Mr. Smythe, is said to be Hugh Tyndale, *alias* Huchens, the name which, for a season, the family had adopted. This is confirmed by Tyndale himself, who, in his first publication, gave both names—"William Tyndale, otherwise called Hitchins,"—though ever *after*, he used only the former. Whether John Tyndale ever resumed the name without the *alias*, we have no evidence; but to a

² Mr. Jekyll's genealogies, quoted in the Biog. Brit.

³ Rudder's Gloucester, under Stinchcomb, p. 695.

certainly *Thomas* did, and, after his example, so did our Translator. "Some of his ancestors," says Bigland, "having taken an active part in the Lancastrian cause, migrated to Stinchcombe, in this county; and, as it appears from the Register of *North Nibley*, bore, for concealment, the name of Hutchins or Hitchens, but resumed their own in the reign of Henry the Seventh."⁴

But why should the neighbouring parish of North Nibley be introduced? This brings us to the deed already mentioned, or the second genealogy, and the following fact. "Thomas Tyndale," the first man of that name, "died sometime before the 33rd Henry VIII., or 1541-2, as appears by a deed of *that* date, to which Edward Tyndale, of Pull Court in Worcester, was a witness." And, still using the deed, the writer proceeds,—“By Alicia his wife, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Hunt, (of Hunt’s Court,) he had five sons, Richard, *William*, Henry, Thomas, and *John*, and one daughter, Elizabeth.” Was this Thomas Tyndale the brother or the father of the Martyr? Now there is no positive evidence to show that this Thomas had a brother named William; while, on the other hand, this family of Thomas happens to be at once the first and only one throughout this genealogy where all the children are named. However, here is the family to which the Martyr belonged, and from it we are able to come down, without any obscurity, nearly to the present day. The male line was not extinct in 1791. As for the female line, from the great-grand-daughter of the above Thomas Tyndale, a descendant is now living in the City of London—John Roberts, Esq., Temple.

The year of our Translator’s birth, could it be positively ascertained, might help us to fix his parentage; but as nearly as it can be, it seems to harmonise with the idea of Thomas being his father. Tyndale himself, unrelentingly persecuted, was cautious of ever saying one word respecting his relatives. Even his younger brother John became involved, in consequence of receiving letters from him, and not delivering them up! But the future martyr would have borne the pelting of the pitiless storm all alone, sooner than involve his family in

⁴ Bigland’s *Glos.*, p. 293.

distress; and more especially that father, to whom he had been indebted for the expenses of his education. His keen and voluminous opponent, however, Sir Thomas More, provoked his triumphant answer; and if we knew the year of the Lord Chancellor's birth, Tyndale himself will help us to fix, very nearly, that of his own. In the course of his writings there may be some other references; but we shall quote only one passage in the defence of his translation, quite to the point.

It is now generally understood, that Sir Thomas More was born in 1480, and most probably in the spring of that year, as this harmonises with the statement of Erasmus, who says 1479, their year running on to the 25th of March. In 1497 More was sent to Canterbury Hall, Christ Church, Oxford, where he studied Greek, as well as Latin, under Linacre and Grocyn, for two years. Now, what says Tyndale, when defending his translation of the New Testament from the Greek? "He (Sir Thomas) rageth because I turn *χρητις* into favour and not *grace*; and that I use this word knowledge (in the sense of acknowledge) and not *confession*, and this word repentance and not *penance*. In all which he cannot prove that I give not the right English unto the Greek word. These things to be even so, M. More knoweth well enough; for he understandeth the Greek, *and he knew them long ere I.*" Since then Tyndale was brought up to learning from his youth, and at Oxford afterwards, there can be no question, that this is the language of a *junior* scholar, at least by four or five years, and that consequently the birth of Tyndale must have been correspondingly later. Now, without having observed this, it is rather a curious coincidence, that the first gentleman, well qualified, in our own day, and most solicitous to ascertain the point, has fixed upon the year 1484. "Probably," he says, "Tyndale was born about 1484." He also maintains, not merely from Bale, Atkyns, and other authorities, but from *domestic tradition* in Gloucestershire, where he himself resided, that our Translator was born *at North Nibley*; then, if we are to believe the *deed* already quoted, and so attested, we seem to have the entire family of Thomas Tyndale once more brought in view.⁵ A very

⁵ We quote from the letters of Mr. O. Roberts, in the British Museum.

strong probability, therefore, is now presented, that our first and eminent Translator, was the son of Thomas Tyndale, by Alicia Hunt of North Nibley; that his brother John was the youngest son by the same mother, and that Tyndale himself was born in the year 1484, 5, or 6. This would make him about the age of fifty at his death; and this exactly corresponds with the full persuasion of old John Foxe in 1573, who calls him middle-aged.

But if the obscurity of our Translator's parentage must still remain, there is one curious fact, of which there is now no doubt. As the Marquis of Berkeley had conveyed his castle and estates to Henry VII., descending as they did to Henry VIII., Tyndale was nurtured upon ground held immediately by the *Crown*, which was afterwards *farmed* for Italian bishops, by Cardinal Wolsey! And before he is driven from his native county, we shall find him brought, by persecution at least, into remote contact with the most conspicuous characters, who were about to figure in the great drama of European politics.

Tyndale was brought up, from his earliest years, at Oxford, and as a scholar, where, after a lengthened residence, he proceeded in "degrees of the schools;" or, as Foxe has said—"By long continuance, he grew up and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures; insomuch, that he read privily to certain students and fellows in Magdalen College some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures." His education "in grammar, logic, and philosophy, he received," says Wood, "for the most part, in St. Mary Magdalen's Hall," immediately adjoining the College of that name. At this Hall, first called *Grammar Hall*, from the attention paid to classical learning, and where Grocyn, as well as W. Latimer and Linacre, had lectured, the members stood, as they do now, on the same footing with those of the other Colleges; their course of study, tuition, length of residence, examination, and degrees, being precisely the same as the rest of the University. In those early days, however, these Halls, having no exhibitions nor endowments for scholarships, many of the students lived at their *own* charge; and since no man has ever once been mentioned as patronising Tyndale, throughout his whole life, the

presumption is, that his expenses while at College must have been defrayed by his parents. Tyndale's zeal, however, had at last exceeded the endurance of his contemporaries, and exposed him to some danger. There is no ground for supposing that he was expelled; "but," says Foxe, "spying his time, he removed from Oxford to the University of Cambridge, where he likewise made his abode a certain space," and, it has been vaguely conjectured, took a degree. At all events, his residence in that city had terminated by the year 1519.

Possessed of such an education as he must have then acquired, as well as of such an ardour to improve, we cannot here disturb the narrative by any discussion as to its merits or extent. Sufficient evidence of both will occur in the following pages. We only remark here, that the incontrovertible proof of Tyndale's erudition, whether as a Greek or Hebrew scholar, is to be found in the *present* version of our Bible, as read by millions. "The circumstance of its being a *revision* five times derived, is an advantage altogether peculiar to itself, and doubly valuable from that circumstance."⁶ While, notwithstanding this five-fold recension of the Greek and Hebrew original, large portions remained untouched, or verbally as the Translator first gave them to his country. It is, indeed, extraordinary that so many of Tyndale's correct and happy renderings should have been left to adorn our version, while the terms substituted, in other instances, still leave to him the palm of scholarship. When the incorrect, not to say injurious, sense, in which certain terms had been long employed, is duly considered, the substitution of *charity* for love, as Tyndale translated, of *grace* for favour, and *church* for congregation, certainly cannot be adduced as proofs of superior attainment in the original Greek.

In a historical point of view, however, and independently of his merits as a translator, it would be of some importance if we could ascertain what had been the state of his mind, even before leaving the University, in reference to that great system of impiety and oppression, which, single handed, he was afterwards to assail with such decisive effect. Had he already seen through its character? Was he even already engaged in

⁶ Whitaker.

marking it, as he never after ceased to do? If he was, this would go a great way in proving him to have been an instrument raised up by God, as independently of Luther, as were Lefevre and Zuinglius. His lectures at Oxford, which must have been about 1517, if not earlier, and his being obliged to desist, certainly say as much as that he was in advance of the age, but how far, from this source, we have no intimation. If Tyndale himself would afterwards give us but one hint, we could not desire better evidence. By those, however, who are familiar with his writings, it must have been observed that he very seldom has introduced his own personal feelings, with any precision as to *dates*, not caring to establish himself, in point of priority, to any man : and yet there is one passage, with which he casually concludes his Exposition of the Epistle of John, which seems to glance as far back as the year 1518, if not to some time before it. He had been exposing the policy of the hierarchy, in raising the cry of sedition or insurrection, in the days of Wickliffe,—“And so,” he adds, “the hypocrites say now likewise, that God’s Word causeth insurrection; but ye shall see shortly that these hypocrites themselves, after their old wont and ensamples, in quenching the truth that uttereth their juggling, shall cause all realms Christian to rise one against another, and some against themselves. Ye shall see, then, run out, before the year come about, that which they have been in brewing, as I have *marked, above this DOZEN years*. This much have I said, because of them that deceive you, to give you an occasion to judge the spirits.”

Now, this language was published in September 1531; but “*above a dozen of years*,” brings us back to 1518, if not to an earlier period. We leave the reader to form his own conclusion; but, at all events, such a state of mind was in perfect consonance with the course which Tyndale so immediately pursued, with all his characteristic vigour.

Returning to his native county, Tyndale was soon actively engaged, and so continued to be, from Stinchcomb Hill down to Bristol, to the close of 1522. As the place where he lived, only eight miles south from that of his birth, is well known; nay, and the house under whose roof he spent his best and zealous exertions, in discussing and defending the Word of God, is

happily *still* in existence,—to all such as may take an interest in the following history, there is not a more heart-stirring spot in all England. The Halls of our Colleges, wherever they stand, have never given birth to a design, so vitally important in its origin, so fraught with untold benefit to millions, and now so extensive in its range, as that which ripened into a fixed and invincible purpose, in the Dining Hall of Little Sodbury Manor House.



LITTLE SODBURY MANOR HOUSE IN 1839.

It was in this house that Tyndale resided for about two years, as a tutor ; and adjoining to it behind, there still stands, with its two ancient yew trees before the door, the little Church of St. Adeline, where of course the family and tenants attended. Foxe has said of Tyndale, while at Antwerp, that when he “read the Scriptures, he proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly, and gently, much like unto the writing of John the Evangelist, that it was a heavenly comfort to the audience to hear him ;” and so it may have been, under some of his earliest efforts, within the walls of this diminutive and unpretending place of worship. At all events, let it be observed, when his voice was first heard, Luther had not yet been denounced even by Leo X. at Rome, much less by Cardinal Wolsey in England.

“About A.D. 1520,” we are informed, that “William Tyndale used often to preach in Bristol.” This he did on the great

Green, sometimes called the Sanctuary, or St. Austin's Green. "He was at that time resident with Sir John Walsh at Little Sodbury, as tutor to his children, and on Sundays he preached at the towns and parishes in the neighbourhood, and frequently he had debates with the Abbots and other clergy who frequented the house."⁷

This small parish, with its manor house and inmates, thus become objects of no little interest; and for the sake not of Tyn-dale only, but especially of the *design* there formed, as well as of the circumstances that led to it, we must not refrain from giving some farther particulars.

In this part of Gloucestershire there are three contiguous parishes of the same name — Old Sodbury, Chipping, *i. e.* Market Sodbury, and the third, named Little Sodbury, by way of distinction. This last, consisting of about 900 acres, chiefly in pasture, lies on the side of Sodbury hill, and extends to its summit. On the edge of this hill is a strong Roman camp of an oblong square, where first Queen Margaret, and then Edward IV. in pursuit, had rested before the battle of Tewkesbury. Immediately below this camp, on the side of the hill fronting south-westward, stands the Manor House, an ancient building, from which there is a beautiful and extensive prospect over the vale, as far as the Bristol Channel. Four clumps of large trees growing above, objects very observable, are taken notice of through a large extent of country on that side of the hills. In the sketch already given, one of these clumps may be seen on the left, but a nearer view will give a better idea of the house itself.

Inhabited by different families from the thirteenth century, it was now in possession of Sir John Walsh, Knight, as inherited from his father. Happening to have been Champion to Henry VIII. on certain occasions, and to please his royal master, the heir of Little Sodbury had been knighted, and received from him in addition, the Manor House of Old Sodbury, then in the gift of the Crown. Intimate as Walsh had been, both with the young king and the court, and now given to hospitality, his table was the resort, not only of the neighbouring

⁷ Memoirs of Bristol, from old authorities, by Seyer, vol. ii. p. 215.

gentry, but of the Abbots and other dignified ecclesiastics, swarming around him. Thus it was, that, whether in com-



LESS DISTANT VIEW.

pany, or alone with the family, where he was treated as a friend, Tyndale enjoyed one of the best opportunities for becoming intimately acquainted with the existing state of things, whether civil, or ecclesiastical so called. Sir John had married Anne Poyntz, (the daughter of Sir Robert Poyntz, of Iron Acton, by Margaret, daughter of Antony, Earl Rivers, after whom her brother was named,) a lady who took as warm an interest as her husband in the discussions at their table.

“This gentleman,” says Foxe, “as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times, sundry Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, with divers other doctors and great beneficed men; who there, together with Master Tyndale sitting at the same table, did use, many times, to enter into communication. Then Tyndale, as he was learned and well practised in God’s matters, so he spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment; and when they at any time did vary from his opinions, he would show them in the book, and lay before them the manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings.” It was not long, however, before Sir John and his lady had

been invited to a banquet given by these great Doctors. There they talked at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. On returning home, both Sir John and his lady began to reason with Tyndale respecting those subjects of which the priests had talked at their banquet; one decided proof, that some considerable impression had been made. Tyndale firmly maintained the truth, and exposed their false opinions. "Well," said Lady Walsh, "there was such a doctor there as may dispend a hundred pounds, and another two hundred, and another three hundred pounds: and what! were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?"⁸ To this, Tyndale at the moment gave no reply, and, for some time after, said but little on such subjects.

He was at that moment busy with a translation from Erasmus of his "*Enchiridion Militis Christiani*," or Christian Soldier's Manual, the second edition of which, with a long and pungent preface, had appeared at Basil, in August 1518. Once finished, Tyndale presented the book to Sir John and his lady. "After they had read," says Foxe, "and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often invited to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, which before they had." This they marked, and supposing the change to have arisen from Tyndale's influence, they refrained, and at last utterly withdrew. They had grown weary of our Translator's doctrine, and now bore a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

A crisis was evidently approaching. The priests of the country, clustering together, began to storm at ale-houses and other places; and all with one consent, against one man. Fortunately the tutor has left on record his own reflections as to this period of his life.

"A thousand books," says he, "had they lever (rather) to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine, than that the *Scripture* should come to light. For as long as they may keep *that* down, they will so darken the right way with the mist of their sophistry, and so tangle them that either rebuke or despise their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and with wrest-

⁸ The money referred to by Dame Walsh, was equal to from £1500 to £4500 of our present money.

ing the Scriptures unto their own purpose, clean contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text; and so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories; and amaze them, expounding it in *many* senses before the unlearned lay people, (when it hath but *one simple literal sense*, whose light the owls cannot abide,) that though thou feel in thine heart, and art sure, how that all is false that they say, yet couldst thou not solve their subtile riddles.

“Which thing only moved me to translate the *New Testament*. Because I had perceived by experience, how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, *except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue*, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text: for else, *whatsoever truth* is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again.”

Accordingly, “not long after this,” says John Foxe, “there was a sitting of the (Italian) Bishop’s Chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the Priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. Whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, is uncertain; but certain this is, as he himself declared, that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he, by the way, in going thitherward, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his word.” But let us hear Tyndale’s own expressions.

“When I was so turmoiled in the country where I was, that I could no longer dwell there, the process whereof were too long here to rehearse, I this-wise thought in myself,—this I suffer, because the priests of the country be unlearned, as God knoweth, there are a full ignorant sort, which have seen no more Latin than that they read in their Portesses and Missals, which yet many of them can scarcely read. And therefore, because they are thus unlearned, thought I, when they come together to the ale-house, which is their preaching place, they affirm that my sayings are heresy. Besides they add to, of their own heads, that which I never spake, as the manner is, and *accused me secretly to the Chancellor*, and other the *Bishop’s Officers*. When I came before the Chancellor, he *threatened me grievously*, and *reviled me*, and rated me as though I had been a *dog*; and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth, as their manner is not to bring forth the accuser; and yet, *all the Priests of the country were there the same day*.”

Tyndale’s future footsteps will frequently discover him to have been a man, who, in the history of his country, stood literally *alone*; and here, it should seem, this peculiar feature had already begun to discover itself. As standing before the Chancellor of any diocese, we read of no second individual, in whose appearance there were so many curious coincidences. The reader will now recollect the thoroughly *Italianised* character of

the district, and the questions very naturally present themselves —Who was this Chancellor? Who the Cardinal that had recently appointed him? Who was the non-resident Italian Bishop? nay, and who the reigning Pontiff himself, the fountain of all this oppressive authority? The *Pontiff* was Adrian VI., who, to appease Wolsey, had recently made him “Legate a latere” for life; the *Bishop* was Julio di Medici, the future Clement VII., and who, without even visiting England, had been made Bishop of Worcester by Leo X. The man who had lately appointed the Chancellor to the diocese was *Wolsey* himself, who farmed the whole district for his Italian brother; and the *Chancellor*, who had raised himself to this unenviable notoriety by so treating the man destined by Divine Providence to overcome all above him, as far as Rome itself was concerned, was a creature of the English Cardinal, a Dr. Thomas Parker, who lived to know more of Tyndale’s power and talents, than he then could comprehend. Had such men only known who was then within the Chancellor’s grasp, with what eager joy would they have put an end to all his noble intentions!

Escaping, however, out of Parker’s hands, the Tutor departed homeward, and once more entered the hospitable abode of Little Sodbury, but more than ever firmly resolved.



ENTRANCE TO LITTLE SODBURY MANOR HOUSE, FROM THE EAST.

It is some alleviation to find that every man in the country

was not of the same opinion with the reigning Chancellor. "Not far off," continues Foxe, "there dwelt a certain doctor, that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and also favoured him well. To him Tyndale went and opened his mind on divers questions of the Scripture, for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. To whom the doctor said—'Do you not know that the Pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life;' adding, 'I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works.'"⁹

It was not long after this that Tyndale, happening to be in the company of a reputed learned divine, and in conversation having brought him to a point, from which there was no escape, he broke out with this exclamation, "We were better to be without God's laws, than the Pope's!" This was an ebullition in perfect harmony with the state of the country at the moment, but it was more than the piety of Tyndale could bear. "I defy the Pope," said he, in reply, "and all his laws; *and if God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough, to know more of the Scripture than you do!*" It was one of those significant bursts of zeal, which will sometimes escape from a great and determined mind, and meant even more than met the ear.

After this, as might have been anticipated, the murmuring of the priests increased more and more. Such language must have flown over the country, as on the wings of the wind. Tyndale, they insisted, was "a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, and now also a heretic in divinity." To this they added that "he bare himself *bold of the gentlemen there* in that country, but that, notwithstanding, he should be otherwise spoken to."

It was now evident that Tyndale could no longer remain, with safety, in the county of Gloucester, or within the *Italian* diocese of Worcester. He has therefore been represented, by

⁹ Who could this "old familiar" be, if not William Latimer the Greek Scholar? He retired to Saintberry and Weston-sub-Edge as rector, and these were both in Gloucester County.

Foxe, as thus addressing his Master :—"Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, *though you would*, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality ; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth ; for the which I should be right sorry." Searching about, therefore, not so much for an avenue to escape, as for some convenient place to accomplish the determined purpose of his heart, by translating the Scriptures, he now actually first thought of Tunstal, Bishop of London, one of the future *burners* of his New Testament ! From Sir John Walsh's intimate knowledge of the Court, there was no difficulty in procuring the best access to him ; and so Tyndale must bid farewell for ever to his interesting abode on Sodbury Hill. It was his first and last, or *only* attempt throughout life to procure a *Patron*, and he will, himself, now describe his own movements.

"The Bishop of London came to my remembrance, whom Erasmus praiseth exceedingly, *among other*, in his Annotations on the New Testament, for his great learning. Then, thought I, if I might come to this man's service I were happy. And so I gat me to London, and through the *acquaintance* of my master came to Sir Harry Gilford, the King's Grace's Comptroller, and brought him an Oration of *Isocrates*, which I had translated *out of Greek into English*, to speak unto my Lord of London for me. This he also did, as he showed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself, which I also did, and delivered my epistle to a servant of his own, one William Hebilthwayte, a man of mine old acquaintance. But God saw that I was beguiled, and that *that* counsel was not the next way to my purpose. And therefore He gat me no favour in my lord's sight. Whereupon my lord answered me—"his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised me to seek in London, where, he said, *I could not lack a service.*" "

This memorable interview between these two individuals, happened about three or four months after Tunstal's consecration as Bishop of London ; and there was a singular propriety in Tyndale having first called upon this man, above all others, previous to his going abroad. All parties agree as to Tunstal's attainments in learning—the specimen presented to him was a translation from the *Greek* of *Isocrates* into English ; and, after receiving it, the Bishop replied,—“Seek in London, where *you* cannot lack a service.” If there was any meaning in the words employed, it was this,—“You are a competent translator from Greek into English.” Tyndale, it is true, was now evidently

led, like a blind man, by a way that he knew not; but it certainly was something, to have received such an answer or attestation to his scholarship from such a man, before he proceeded farther with his intended work. It was equal to the Bishop having said, *Go forward*—though, if Tunstal had only divined what was the main object in view, no such answer had been returned; nay, an authoritative stop would have been put to all farther progress.

Meanwhile, and on the contrary, by the *advice*, and therefore the authority, of the Bishop of London himself, Tyndale was now authorised to seek for some situation throughout the metropolis. No ecclesiastic, however, afforded him any permanent abode; but, in a little time, and for fully the last six months of this year, namely, 1523, he was most kindly entertained under the roof of Mr. Humphrie Munmouth, a wealthy citizen, and future Alderman of London, when he used to preach at St. Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street. Although he sought in vain for a situation, "almost a year," yet the residence itself was not without its value in future life. It had a similar effect upon him, which a visit to Rome had upon some others, and tended not only to ground him more firmly in his views of Divine truth, but to inflame his zeal for translating the Scriptures. He had opportunity for more closely observing many things which he had never seen before; and, in reference to the scene around him, witness his own language, in 1530:—

"And so in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, and heard our preachers, and beheld the pomp of our Prelates, and how busy they were, as they yet are, to set peace and unity in the world; though it be not possible for them that walk in darkness to continue long in peace; and saw things whereof I *defer* to speak at this time; and understood, at the last, not only that there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also, that there was no place to do it, *in all England*, as experience doth now openly declare."¹⁰

But before that Tyndale embarked for the Continent, was there no other step already suggested, which might operate in direct hostility to such a design as that which he contemplated? Yes, there was, and in this very year, one of the most powerful and magnificent character. It may be regarded as the climax

¹⁰ Preface to the Pentateuch, 1530.

in the triumph of literature, or as a phalanx in opposition. The attempt too is the more worthy of notice, since it has often been loosely regarded as the only redeeming trait in Wolsey's character. We refer to the establishment of Cardinal College, Oxford. "He patronised letters," it has been said, "and may be classed among the benefactors of the human mind." But even in the cultivation of letters, we must observe the end in view; and in order effectually to secure us against all unfair or even harsh conclusions, we shall take the explanation from the best of all authorities; or from the devoted friend of Wolsey, the Confessor of Henry VIII. and his Almoner, John Longland, the Bishop of Lincoln. Immediately after explaining Wolsey's whole intentions to the King, he wrote to the Cardinal on the 5th of January, 1523, to say how he sped; and this letter, yet extant, divulges the secret purpose of the proposed institution, which was no other than a systematic attempt, under the guise of learning, to retain the human mind in bondage; to prevent, if possible, the entrance of Divine truth into England, and thus far retard its progress in Europe. There was first to be a sermon preached before the King against Luther and Lutheran books, and their introduction into the kingdom; then there was to be a "*secret search* in divers places, and that *at one time*;" then a proclamation was to be made, giving notice to all having heretical books to bring them in under pain of the greater excommunication, and should any "contumaciously persist in their contumacy, then to pursue them by the law (*ad ignem*) to the fire." All this was called the "quarrel of God;" and the necessity of maintaining it urged on the King, "as the World is marvellously bent against us, which only His Grace and the Cardinal can remedy." Then followed, as part of the scheme, the new College, and "the notable Lectures which should be there, and the exercitations of learning, and that the *Students* should be *limited* by the Readers *to the same*; likewise *in the exposition of the Bible*."

All these purposes were literally fulfilled, the secret search, the sermon, the books found and burnt; *but then*, it is a most remarkable fact, that all these we shall see deferred—nay, deferred for exactly three years, or till immediately after Tyndale's New Testaments had arrived in the country! Wolsey, it is

true, will have quite enough to divert him all the time, but it was just as if Providence had intended that the writings of no human being should have the precedence, but that His own Word, being so treated, should thus enjoy the distinction of exciting the general commotion of 1526. The burning of the *New Testament* was to be the head and front of their offending.

We have now done with Tyndale upon English ground ; and, disappointed of employment, he also was done with “ marking the pomp of our Prelates,” or hearing the whole fraternity “ boast of their high authority.” But certainly when he was to be seen walking up Fleet Street, from the hospitable abode of Mr. Humphrie Munmouth, to preach at St. Dunstan’s in the West, nothing in this world could have been more improbable, than that in a short time he was so to agitate the whole hierarchy of England, and the city which he was now about to leave for ever !

Here then, and before he embarks, let us pause for a moment. The copies of the Sacred Scriptures in the English tongue, now far exceed in number, not only that of every other nation, but they have been supposed to surpass the number in all other languages when put together ! With us they are familiarly enumerated by millions, and myriads of our countrymen have lived in peace, and died in joy, full of the genuine consolation thus imparted ! As far, therefore, as *human* agency was employed, it becomes a sacred duty to trace this, the highest favour of Heaven, up to its source ; and certainly it is not a little singular, at the distance of nearly three hundred and twenty years, that we should be able to contemplate the origin of the whole, within the bosom of one disappointed and neglected, if not despised individual ! There was, indeed, one young man, his own convert, with whom he may have communed on the subject, John Fryth, whether in London, which is most probable, or at Cambridge, but he was *not* to accompany him ; no, nor even an amanuensis. Solitary and alone he went out, like the patriarch of old, “ not knowing whither he went.” By faith, it may be truly said, he left his native country, not unmindful of it, but, on the contrary, loaded with a sense of genuine pity for its inhabitants, from the king downward.

MDXXIV., MDXXV.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN ENGLISH PREPARING BY TYNDALE, FOR CIRCULATION IN HIS NATIVE LAND; AND IN TWO EDITIONS FROM THE PRESS BY THE CLOSE OF 1525.



WE are now entering upon a war of opinion, and one of paramount importance to this kingdom, which, as far as our first translator of the Sacred Volume was concerned, lasted, without one moment's interruption, for twelve years. It must appear singular, that no detail of such a contest, ending as it did, has ever been written. Such, however, being the fact, and such the variety of character, as well as the strange incidents involved in the struggle, without keeping rigidly to our narrative, *year by year*, as the subject never has been, so it never can be understood.

Tyndale, though strongly attached to his native country, having now fully resolved on going abroad, Munmouth "helped him over the sea." We know that he sailed direct for Hamburg, and the question is, whether he did not there remain for more than a year. At all events, a period of about fifteen months, or rather two years, has to be accounted for, from January 1524; but so much obscurity has rested upon it, owing to the mere affirmations, both of friends and foes, that it becomes necessary to call for proof, and to proceed no farther than it will carry us.

Two general assertions have been hazarded, and too long received. One is, that, upon leaving his native land, Tyndale went directly to Luther, and completed his translation in confederacy with him. The other is, that he dwelt at Wittenberg while thus engaged.

This idea of Tyndale's immediate and intimate confederacy with Luther, and his dependence upon him, originally imported from abroad, through men who were, at the moment, under the torture of examination in England, has been repeated from Sir Thomas More and John Cochläus, two determined enemies, not to say John Foxe, a decided friend, down to Herbert Marsh in our own day; but it is more than time that it should be exploded. Considering that these are nothing more than asser-

tions, it is strange that they should have prevailed with any, after Tyndale's own language to Sir Thomas More, who had asserted that our Translator was with Luther in Wittenberg, where he wrote his marginal glosses; and again that "the confederacy between Luther and him is a thing well known." To this, Tyndale, in his "Answer," replies with emphasis, "When he saith, Tyndale was confederate with Luther, *that is not truth*;" but, as a man traduced, gives his adversary no farther positive information.

But even independently of this pointed denial, was he even resident in Wittenberg, nay, in any part of Saxony, during this period? If not, then both assertions fall to the ground.

That he saw and conversed with Luther at some period, may be supposed, though we have not a shadow of proof; but that he had done either, or even set his foot in Saxony, before *the publication of his New Testament*, will very soon appear to have been impossible, in the nature of things. On the contrary, if we are to depend on the distinctly recorded testimony of the generous man with whom he resided in London; delivered, too, in very peculiar, because responsible, circumstances, and involving pecuniary transactions with Tyndale himself, which account for his *support*, a different place of residence must be assigned to him.

On the 14th of May, 1528, Munmouth being sent for by Sir T. More, was the same day committed to the Tower. His petition for release, on the 19th, is addressed to Wolsey and the King's Council. Now, in this we have the following evidence, that Munmouth heard Tyndale preach four years and a half and more before at St. Dunstan's, London; that on Tunstal's refusal to employ him, he took him into his house for half a year; that "when he made his exchange to Hamburg," he paid him ten pounds; that *within a year* after he sent *from Hamburg* for other ten pounds which he had left in his hands, and that *thither* he had sent it to him. From this, and what follows, it is evident, he remained in Hamburg throughout 1524, and that he had means of support for even a longer period.

We presume it will now be admitted, that the residence of Tyndale at Wittenberg has been nothing more than an assumption, serving powerfully, at the moment, the purpose of Sir

Thomas More, his calumniator. The evidence, as yet, is distinctly in favour of Hamburg, and as for "confederacy with Luther," that has been pointedly denied. More had affirmed that Tyndale "was *with* Luther *in* Wittenberg;" and Tyndale replies, "that is not truth." Indeed, these words are his emphatic answer to all that his opponent had either of malicious purpose, or by mistake, asserted in both of his sentences, already quoted.

We, however, now know the movements of Luther better than did Sir Thomas More; and it may be worth while to enquire how *he* was engaged at the moment, and throughout the greater part of this year. Most unfortunately he had just fallen out violently with Carlostadt, and taken that step which has so often been lamented since, as a memorable instance of human imbecility. It only requires to be observed, that the time of Tyndale's sailing from London, and that of Carlostadt leaving Wittenberg, were simultaneous, or the beginning of 1524. The vexatious controversy respecting the Lord's Supper had already commenced. Luther was posting after Carlostadt, and, by the month of August, at Jena, they were pledged antagonists, after which the latter had to seek refuge in Strasburg. The approach of any man to Luther, at this period, who was not of his opinion, would have been fatal to any advice or confederacy with him. Now, as Tyndale was not at present, nor indeed *ever was*, a Lutheran, and since, as a scholar, he needed neither assistance nor advice, from a man with whom he could have conversed only through the medium of Latin; to send him into Saxony for *such* purposes, and at *such* a time, was equally absurd. On the contrary, if there were strong reasons for seeking no such intercourse at this moment; there were stronger still, gathered by Tyndale himself from the state of England, as already described, whether in Gloucestershire or in London, for his immediately sitting down to his work; and, instead of hastening away from Hamburg into Saxony, if we at once assume that Tyndale *remained* in this city throughout 1524, as Munmouth has told us, and then, in 1525, was first at Cologne, and then at Worms; we shall leave the reader to judge, as he proceeds, whether a day was left for visiting other places, except such as

lay in his way, and more especially one so far distant as the usual abode of Martin Luther.

To return, therefore, to our history. Tyndale had now entered, with great vigour, on *two* of the most important years of his existence; and if, when his productions are once discovered in England, it shall come out in evidence, that, *in that time*, he had translated and printed first an edition of the gospel of Matthew, then another of the gospel of Mark, with two editions of the New Testament; this will demonstrate, that neither his residence, nor his labours, have ever yet been understood.

At the moment of Tyndale's arrival in Hamburg, it is not unworthy of remark, that he had found the city in a state of great excitement, but, at the same time, one by no means unfavourable to the commencement of his design. Nor was this excitement of recent origin. In 1523, the burghers had already agreed, in a body, to oppose the usurpations, the taxes, and the excommunications of the Chapter, while they were divided in their opinions respecting points of belief and ceremonies. One party, and that supported by the Senate, were for reforming both. A Franciscan friar, named Kempe, newly come from Rostoc, had been requested to preach the gospel in its purity, and was now so engaged; with better success than Henry Zuphten, who had been burnt alive at Mehldorf, by a decree of the official at Hamburg.

But if Tyndale, in 1524, *abode* in this city, had he the benefit of any assistance, or did he meet with an amanuensis *there*? With regard to the first enquiry, he himself informs us, that he "had no man to *counterfeit* (*i. e.* imitate), neither was holpen with English of any that had interpreted the same, or such like thing in the Scripture before time." As for an amanuensis, and one who was also able to compare the text with him when translated; he seems to have had first one, and then another, who remained in his service for a considerable time. The first of these, we cannot name, though he was highly esteemed by our translator; the second was William Roye, a friar observant of the Franciscan order at Greenwich, "a man," says Tyndale, in his "Parable of the Wicked Mammon," "somewhat crafty, when he cometh unto new acquaintance, and before he be

thorough known. Nevertheless, I suffered all things till that was ended, which I could not do alone without one, both to write, and to help me to compare the texts together. When that was ended, I took my leave, and bade him farewell for our two lives, and, as men say, a day longer. After we were departed, he went to Argentine (Strasburg). A year after that came one Jerome, a brother of Greenwich *also*, through Worms to Argentine—which Jerome, I warned of Roye's boldness, and exhorted him to beware of him, and to walk quietly, and with all patience and long suffering, according as we have Christ and his apostles for an ensample, which thing he also promised me."

With regard to the progress actually made during this year, or how much Tyndale may, if not must, have accomplished in Hamburg, there has never been any distinct information. This, however, may be accounted for from the fact never having been before known, that previously to the publication of his New Testament; whether in quarto, with glosses, or in octavo, without them; Tyndale had printed an edition of Matthew, as well as of Mark, by themselves, although not a single copy has ever yet been identified. In the eager search for the Scriptures, with a view to their being destroyed, they may have been sometimes given up, to *save* a Testament; but there can be no question that we have here before us Tyndale's earliest effort for the benefit of his country.

After John Foxe had printed his loose statement in his Acts and Monuments, when he came to publish Tyndale's works, in 1573, he glances at this fact, though no attention has ever been paid to his words. In his life of Fryth, talking no more of Saxony, he has said—"William Tyndale first placed himself in Germany, and there did *first* translate the Gospel of St. Matthew into English, and *after*, the whole New Testament," &c. His mention of Matthew, by itself, certainly appears to imply some distinction; but the real state of the case was this—that Tyndale not only "first translated Matthew," but printed it, and the Gospel of Mark also. Both of these we shall find to be most bitterly denounced in the beginning of 1527, after having been read; and as a publication, not only *separate* from the New Testament with its prologue, but as printed previously.

It is worthy of notice, that Munmouth, in his memorial to

Wolsey and the Council, who had been in possession of the earliest New Testament, distinctly confesses that he had "received a little treatise," which Tyndale had *sent* to him, "*when* he sent for his money," in 1524. This, at least, shows that he had been busily engaged in the city where he had first landed. But if this was not the well-known tract, which was ere long to produce such effect, entitled, the "Supplication of Beggars," by Mr. Fish, it may have been these gospels, or one of them.

We do not, however, farther anticipate. The fact of both gospels having been printed, and styled emphatically, "the first print," is certain; and we simply add, that the place where they were printed, we have been led to believe, *must* have been Hamburg. Of this there will be farther evidence.

Were it now possible to relate, in full detail, the history of the printing of the two first editions of our New Testament in the English language, it would unquestionably form one of the most striking illustrations of the superintending providence of God over his own Word; and only exceeded by its introduction into England and Scotland, immediately after being printed. The account, however, even as far as it may be traced, cannot fail to interest all those who desire to mark the hand of the Supreme Being, in by far the greatest gift which He has ever bestowed on Britain.

It has been usual to represent the first edition of Tyndale's New Testament as printed at Antwerp in the year 1526, and so dismiss the subject. We shall have occasion to show that, though not printed under his eye, this was the *third* edition; and that the history of the two first editions, printed in 1525, by Tyndale himself, elsewhere, has never yet been properly understood. Indeed, so defective have the statements hitherto been, that although *two* editions were distinctly denounced, both by the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1526; no one had thought, till very lately, of either enquiring after the missing book, or even allowing the quarto edition with glosses, to have then existed. Every particular circumstance, therefore, which can be properly authenticated, respecting these two first productions of Tyndale's own hand, the source of so many subsequent editions both abroad and at home, ought to be

recorded ; and more especially, since so diligent was the “secret search” after them, and so frequent the flames which consumed them, that, of the *octavo* impression, only one copy of the sacred text remains complete, one other imperfect, and of the *quarto*, nothing more than a venerable fragment. This last, however, happily includes his original prologue entire, or the very first sheets thrown off at the Cologne press.

We proceed, therefore, to give a general statement of the movements of Tyndale, explaining it more fully, and confirming it afterwards. Having left the place of his abode, which we have assumed to be Hamburg, he arrived at Cologne on the Rhine, in the end of April or beginning of May 1525, perhaps earlier, accompanied by his amanuensis William Roye. He commenced his labours by committing to the press his New Testament, in the form of a quarto volume. Not only was the entire sacred text then translated, but his prologue, extending to fourteen pages, was composed before he began to print. This appears to be evident, not merely from the language of the prologue itself, but from its commencing with sign A ij, and the letters running on regularly through the sacred text.

* The printers, however, had only proceeded as far as the tenth sheet, or letter K, when an alarm was raised, the authorities of the place informed, and the work interdicted. Tyndale and Roye contrived to secure the sheets printed off, and sailing up the Rhine to Worms, where much greater liberty could at this time be enjoyed, they proceeded with their undertaking. This interruption, though felt to be most grievous at the moment, as Tyndale afterwards obscurely hinted ; far from damping, only inflamed his zeal, and the remarkable result was, that *two* editions were accomplished by him, in the same period in which very probably he had contemplated only one. These statements, however, admit of ample confirmation, and, on account of the confusion which has hitherto prevailed, they demand it.

In the illustration of historical truth, except attention be paid to all that the chief opponents have written, we must occasionally be unable to recount the facts as they occurred. Invaluable information may be drawn from an enemy, and if his statements can be authenticated, they often fill up a chasm, and explain matters which otherwise must have remained in oblivion.

Besides, in all instances where an opponent could have no motive to falsify, his narration of facts should be the more respected. We have a striking illustration of these remarks now before us.

Perhaps the most virulent enemy to the Word of God being translated into any vernacular tongue, who ever breathed, was John Cochläus. He at least rose above all his contemporaries of the sixteenth century, and with an unwearied perseverance, worthy of a better cause, he not only strove to prevent the diffusion of the Scriptures, and longed to strangle every attempt at their translation in the very birth, but even gloried in his enmity to all such proceedings. We are indebted to this opponent for statements, curious and minute, of the accuracy of which there will be no reason to doubt, before we come to the close of this narrative.

Certainly, at the moment, nothing must have been more lamented, than that the most inveterate living opponent on the Continent should come, nay, be *driven* into Cologne, soon after Tyndale had commenced at press! How much more so, when it turned out that Cochläus was shut up to the necessity of remaining there throughout the rest of the year 1525! Such, however, was the fact; but what was the result? Why that, whether we ascribe it to his opposition or not, there were, as already stated, two editions of the New Testament printed, instead of one.

According to Cochläus, the "two English apostates," as he styles Tyndale and Roye, first contemplated an edition of six thousand copies, but for prudential reasons, they began with three thousand. He tells us, that Pomeranus had already sent forward his letter to the saints in England, and that Luther himself had written his conciliatory letter to Henry VIII. Now this letter, we know, was dated the 1st of September, 1525. He then adds, that it had been anticipated, this English New Testament in quarto would soon follow; but that the Lutherans, overjoyed, broke the secret before the time; or in other words, he himself ferreted out the secret, as will be seen by his own confession. We have only, therefore, to verify the residence and occupation of this opponent during 1525 and 1526, in order to ascertain the precise period to which his account refers.

During the year 1525, Cochlæus was actually resident in Cologne, but *not* in 1526. While there, he was as usual, busily occupied in writing against Melancthon, Velenus, and Luther, as well as in searching after the writings of Rupert, an Abbot, formerly in the Monastery of Deutz, immediately opposite to Cologne. This Abbot, who flourished four hundred years before, had written certain commentaries on the Scriptures, besides several other pieces; and as *some* of his sentiments were thought to be favourable to the cause of Divine truth, its friends were eager to procure any of his works, and publish such of them, with notes, as might at once serve their cause, and prove that their doctrines were not so *new* as their opponents represented. One of his little pieces, "Of the Victory of the Word of God," had been already printed, with annotations by Osiander of Nuremberg, and the Lutherans were actually in treaty with the then Abbot of Deutz, expecting from him other works of Rupert, intending to convey them for examination to Nuremberg. Cochlæus interposed, alarmed the Abbot, and, lest the notes and prologues of his opponents should make Rupert appear in favour of their doctrine, contrived himself to gain possession of the whole. He had then to engage parties willing to publish, and though he found considerable difficulty, at last he prevailed on Peter Quentel, and Arnold Byreckman, well known printers of the place.

Now it was while *thus* engaged at Cologne, in 1525, that Cochlæus discovered this *first* impression of the English New Testament, proceeding briskly, as he says, or swiftly at the press; yet, with such caution had both Tyndale and Roye conducted themselves, that, although Cochlæus succeeded in stopping the press, he was never able to meet either the one or the other; a striking proof, by the way, of their intimate acquaintance with his character.

On making the discovery, Cochlæus says that he was agitated by *fear* as well as wonder and surprise; but why so? Let it be observed, that, in connexion with his proposed publication of Rupert's works, his situation was a very critical one. Before his arrival, Tyndale was going on at the press; and if it shall turn out that Byreckman, as well as his brother, and Quentel were at all concerned in *his* progress, though merely in the way

of business, what is Cochläus to do; or how is he to proceed? As for Francis Byrekman, we know, that, as a bookseller, he had connexions with Quentel, and also with England. Indeed, for such an early period, he had an extensive business, having a warehouse not only in Paris but in London; his shop was then, and for ten years before this, “in cemiterio Sancti Pauli,” in St. Paul’s Church Yard. But, besides, we shall present the strongest presumptive, if not positive evidence, that *Quentel* was the printer. If, therefore, Cochläus now aimed at the interruption or suppression of a work in the English tongue, to the printer a foreign one, and already so far advanced at press; Cochläus being not even a citizen of Cologne, but only an exile, and but recently arrived, his circumstances were embarrassing, and most probably, he had a very difficult game to play.

Be this, however, as it may, Cochläus succeeded dexterously.

From himself we learn that having become familiar with the Cologne printers,

“He heard that there were two Englishmen lurking there, learned, *skilful in languages*, and fluent, whom, however, he *never could see or converse with*. Calling, therefore, certain printers into his lodging, after they were heated with wine, one of them, in more private discourse, discovered to him the secret by which England was to be drawn over to the side of Luther—namely, that 3000 copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, were in the press, and already were advanced as far as the letter K, *in ordine quaternionem*. That the expenses were fully supplied by English merchants, who were secretly to convey the work when printed, and to disperse it widely through all England, before the King or the Cardinal could discover or prohibit it.” He farther states that, casting in his mind by what means “he might expeditiously obstruct these very wicked attempts, he went secretly to Herman Rinck, a patrician of Cologne, familiar both with the Emperor and the King of England, and a Counsellor, and disclosed to him the whole affair, as, by means of the *wine*, he had received it. He, that he might ascertain all things more certainly, sent another person into the house where the work was printing, according to the discovery of Cochläus; and when he had understood from him that the matter was even so, and that there was great abundance of paper there, he went to the Senate, and so brought it about that the printer was interdicted from proceeding further in that work. The two English apostates, snatching away with them the quarto sheets printed, fled by ship, going up the Rhine to Worms, that there, by another printer, they might complete the work begun. Rinck and Cochläus, however, immediately advised by their letters, the King, the Cardinal, and the Bishop of Rochester, that they might take care lest that pernicious article of merchandise should be conveyed into all the ports of England.”¹

¹ Cochläus, *Com. de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri*—Moguntium, 1549. Or Colonia, 1568, pp. 153—156.

Although this arch-enemy had never written another word, there can be no question as to the period of this vexatious interruption. He has fixed it himself, by telling us, he was then an *exile* at Cologne. In 1523, Cochläus was at Rome, in 1524 he was at Frankfort and Mentz, and, driven from both, he fled for refuge to Cologne in 1525. There he remained stationary till the beginning of 1526, when, recalled to Mentz, he went in June to the Diet of Spire, and remained till August. Returning to Mentz, he paid a transient visit to Cologne in 1527, but *not* as an exile. "In 1525," says Dupin, "Cochläus, who had been obliged to quit first Frankfort and then Mentz, because of the popular seditions of the cities, was at Cologne, where Eckius *going into England*, had an interview with him."² Yes, and Eckius not only went, but would no doubt enforce all that both Rincke and Cochläus had written.

Now, we have here a very distinct testimony as to the secrecy and prudence with which Tyndale had conducted himself, and, moreover, a frank confession from Cochläus. He was bent on crushing the work, and then all methods were fair. He intoxicates the workmen, and gains his purpose; a method in perfect keeping with his character, and in 1549, or twenty-four years afterwards, he was not ashamed to make the avowal!

We find, however, also from himself, that throughout the whole of this business it was not blind zeal only by which he was actuated. He had not only notoriety, but *gain* in view, and we shall see him sadly mortified in obtaining neither. Meanwhile, no means are left untried to procure distinction, and, if possible, some money from England; as well as to secure friends at Cologne, after what he had done. He therefore immediately employs Quentel himself, but in very different work.³ In 1526, though not at Cologne, he is writing to Rincke, and following up his letters to England by a present to the same parties to whom he had formerly written, and through the same medium.—"The said Sir Herman Rynge showed me a letter that he had received from one Doctor Johannes Coeleus, containing only the overthrow, without any mention of the King, and those of Vienna

² See the *Nouvelle Bibl.* of Dupin, 1703, vol. xiv. p. 185.

³ J. Cochläus *adversum Lutherum. Coloniae Petr. Quentel, 1525.*

in Austria be greatly afraid. Also he showed me to have received *three Books* from the said Doctor, the one for the King's Highness, the other for your Grace, and the third for my Lord of Rochester." ⁴ In 1527, Cochläus was publishing Luther's letter to Henry VIII., with the King's Reply, and his own virulent comments, intended as a compliment to the English Monarch, and then, also, he must flatter both Birekman and Rincke. But all was in vain. Henry VIII. communicated only with Rincke, and never even answered Cochläus, or sent him any reward; a mortification which he felt the more, as he ever afterwards regarded his interruption of Tyndale, to be one of his most notable and praiseworthy exploits. Again and again did he refer to it in future life, for which we are the more obliged to him, as every fresh allusion only corroborates or explains the movements of our Translator of the Scriptures. Whether he be writing to Scotland, England, or even Poland, Cochläus cannot omit mention of the subject.

Thus, in writing to Scotland on the 8th of June, 1533, it is his boast, that he had *eight years ago* thus interrupted the printing of the Scriptures, which had been commenced by an impression of three thousand copies, *after the war of the peasants*. By this expression he intends to mark either the beginning of May 1525, when the great battle with Muncer was fought, or it may be a little earlier, when the commotion at Cologne in particular had been suppressed.

The allusion, however, to his interruption of Tyndale, which must have been most mortifying to the pride of Cochläus, was that to which he was provoked by severe chastisement, in 1538. Cochläus before then had, of course, *changed* his opinion of Henry VIII., and more especially since he had neglected him. Sir Richard Morysin, one of our ambassadors, having in his "Apomaxis," posted Cochläus in his title-page, as "a petty professor of arts, bold in sarcasm, who had attempted to attack the reputation of Henry the Eighth," Cochläus then published his "*Broom of Cochleus versus the cobwebs of Morysin*;" in which he charges the King with ingratitude.

⁴ MS. Cotton, Vitell. B. xxi. 10, b. Sir Jo. Wallop to Wolsey, 30th Sept. 1526.

"For," says he, "in 1525, when I was poor, and by the seditions of the people and tumult of the rustics settled an exile of Cologne, did I discover to him, by a private epistle, the secret wicked machinations of two Englishmen against his kingdom, by whom the New Testament (of Luther) translated into the English language, was printed at Cologne, that it might be transmitted secretly, in many thousands, into England. But, notwithstanding, he still remained silent, and took no notice of me, altogether unmindful of my poverty and exile, although at *that* time he was a most determined enemy and opposer of the Lutheran sect."

The evidence thus presented by Cochläus, at successive periods, has never before been submitted to the English reader. That statements, so graphically minute, as to carry evidence of their correctness; so pointed as to the year and place of printing, and in perfect harmony with each other; should have been disregarded for three centuries, only shows how little attention has been paid to the subject: but this becomes the more observable, when the first denunciations of "the New Testament in our English tongue," by the official authorities next year, had expressly affirmed, "of which translation there are many books printed, some *with* glosses, and some *without*." Instead of inquiring after these Testaments *with* glosses, or at least admitting their existence, all parties have been satisfied with having it erroneously stated, that there had been but *one* edition, and that said to be printed at *Antwerp* in 1526, or the same year in which it was denounced!

To some persons, no doubt, this long detail must have appeared to be altogether unnecessary, and to others tedious; though should it now be inquired what has given birth to it, every reader will be pleased to learn, that it is not merely the confusion that has prevailed hitherto; but nothing less than the recovery from oblivion of Tyndale's first pages at the Cologne press, after the lapse of *three hundred and ten years*—a fragment of the very book which was thus interrupted in its progress, by Cochläus, and the only remnant known to be in existence of the three thousand copies of the first and quarto New Testament, commenced at Cologne;⁵ but when once the reader comes to witness the powerful and unceasing exertions of the

⁵ This fragment was found attached by the binding to a 4to tract of *Oecolampadius* by Mr. Rodd of London, who, comparing it with other works printed at Cologne by Peter Quentel, found, from the type, the initials and the cuts, that it must have come from his press.

public authorities to seize these books and burn them ; as well as the rage excited against this prologue and these glosses ; the wonder will be that a single leaf escaped. This precious relic having been stitched up at the end of another book, might more easily pass unheeded, or it may have remained abroad till long after the fires had ceased to rage in England. Bound up in blue morocco, with as many leaves as the book originally composed, it adorned the library of the late Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, now in the British Museum ; but before leaving the place where it was printed, we give the collation of all that has yet been found.

Title A i wanting, as it is in the octavo. The prologge commences with A ij, and occupying seven leaves, ends on the reverse of B iij. The first page of the next sheet, or letter C, contains the table of *all* the books of the New Testament, on the reverse of which is the woodcut of Matthew, as exhibited in our fac-simile. On the following leaf, therefore, is folio C ij, continuing correctly to fol. xxiiii, where the fragment terminates in the 22nd chapter of Matthew. The type is a German Gothic. Size of the frame-work, including head-line, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; breadth, 5 inches ; but the breadth of the prologue only 3 $\frac{1}{2}$; including the head-line, 38 lines in a page ; no paper mark. *N.B.*—Tyndale being on the point of placing sheet letter L in the press, he must have been pretty far advanced in the gospel of *Luke*, and consequently this fragment is not to be confounded with the gospel of *Matthew* printed previously, which, at the same time, could have had no such *prologue*, nor any such *list* of all the books in the New Testament.

Cologne, therefore, and Cochläus also, we gladly leave for the present ; and, with increasing interest, now follow our Translator to his next place of abode.

Tyndale having taken up his residence in Worms, remained there till the year 1527,—a far more favourable place for the prosecution of his design. The commotions of the people, which at Frankfort and Mentz had ended in triumph over the old opinions, at Cologne, on the contrary, had been subdued, and hence it was that Cochläus had made that city *his* refuge ; for at Worms he could not then have effected what he had done at Cologne. Worms, on the contrary, Cochläus has told us, was “under the full rage of Lutheranism,” or, in the more sober style of Seckendorff, “was already wholly Lutheran.” So much the better for our Translator, though *not* a Lutheran ; for his enemy will turn out to have been only promoting, unintentionally, the very undertaking which he meant to crush.

We have, however, now come to a period in the labours of Tyndale, which demands some notice, of all previous accounts. The author is perfectly aware that it may, and will be said, by those who have ever attended to the subject, or been conversant with the octavo edition of Tyndale's New Testament, "How are we to receive all this account, when we find Tyndale himself, in his address 'To the Reader,' at the *end* of the octavo volume, 'beseeching them that are learned christianly, that the rudeness of the work now *at the first time* offend them not?'" Nay, and we may strengthen the objector's language, by adding—How are we to reconcile the previous statements, with the first words of Tyndale in his preface to the Pentateuch? "When I had translated the New Testament, I added an Epistle unto the *latter end*." For more than a hundred years has it not been understood, that the first New Testament in English was printed most probably at Antwerp? Have not Ames, Herbert, Panzer, and others, all assigned it to this city? Has not Mr. Russel, more recently, in the notes to his edition of Tyndale's works, even specified the printer there, as being Christopher Endhoven? Nay, did not Dr. Gifford, the former proprietor of the only perfect copy of the octavo, now in Bristol, consider the words "now at the first time," as sufficient evidence that nothing had been *printed* before? And, finally, have not almost all parties agreed as to the year of printing having been 1526?

All this is granted, and yet when we come to the edition actually printed at Antwerp, in 1526, and by C. Endhoven; the peculiarly interesting account of which has *never yet* been submitted to an English reader; it will be distinctly proved to have been the next, or, as we now affirm, the *third* edition. Nor will any advocate for the octavo, printed at Worms, under Tyndale's own eye, have much ground for hesitation, if he finds that *it* was printed in 1525; since it was being read in England as early as January and February 1526. The only mystery to be solved is, that of the octavo being "now at the first time" perhaps sent out, though *not* the first begun. For although the quarto turns out to be, as it certainly was, the commencement of Tyndale's labours, and his long prologue at the beginning of it, the *very first language* addressed by him to the Christians of England; nay, and finished at *press*, before ever his epistle

“To the Reader,” at the end of the octavo, was written or even *contemplated*; there did exist an all-powerful reason for our translator’s mode of procedure, as well as for his afterwards referring to the *one* edition, in preference to the *other*. Meanwhile, whatever of mystery there be in the matter, it has yet to be curiously contrasted with *both* editions being upon English ground, nearly, if not positively at the *same* period. Yet though such be the fact, and to be abundantly proved, Tyndale’s peculiar circumstances this year, may, even now, furnish us with some explanation.

Upon his arrival at Worms, we are not left to inquire, whether he lost a day, as, by the event, we know full well that every hour had been improved. Nor is it difficult to perceive his sagacity in his mode of procedure. His quarto Testament had been not merely interrupted, but *exposed* by a malignant enemy, whose very eye he had evaded; the book had been *described*, and even to the highest authorities in England, as well as marked out for seizure, if possible. Now, in the face of all this, would it have been prudent to have proceeded with this book *alone*? Changing, therefore, the size, leaving out the prologue and the *glosses*, which, by the way, was a great improvement, an octavo edition must have been immediately commenced at press, though certainly the quarto was not consigned to oblivion. No, for the fact is, that the reader will, before long, find it difficult, if not impossible, to say, which was actually the *first* that had reached the shores of Britain, whether of England or Scotland. Suffice it now only to state, that copies of these precious books, it will appear, were being read in England early in 1526; nay, and we shall find the *quarto* had been purchased, and “read thoroughly,” in the spring of that year; eight months before the formal denunciation of Tunstal, or nine months before that of Warham; when *both* were denounced, and said to abound, not only in the diocese of London, but throughout the province of Canterbury. The reader will be still more surprised to find that copies of one edition, if not both, had also reached Scotland in the same year!

Tyndale, at all events, with his amanuensis, had now found refuge within the noted city of Worms. It was but little more than four years since Martin Luther, attired in his friar’s frock

and cowl, and seated in his vehicle, preceded by the Emperor's herald on horseback, had entered the same place; where the Saxon nobles meeting him and forming in procession, two thousand persons accompanied him through the streets to his inn. It was a larger assemblage than that which had graced the Emperor's own approach to the Diet. Then too, and there, *Cochleus*, who had occasioned our English Translator's flight from Cologne, could hold up his head, and even force himself into Luther's presence; now, he dared not enter the place. With this memorable scene and its consequences, Tyndale must have been intimately acquainted; but when discussing the subject on Sodbury Hill, how strange must it have seemed to him, had any one added:—"And *you too* must, before long, enter Worms; not to leave it in haste as Luther had to do, but to fulfil the desire of your heart, which you will never be able to accomplish in all England!" Yet what a contrast have we between Luther's entrance, surrounded by his Electors and Princes, and the humble approach of Tyndale, with his bale of printed sheets! This becomes still more striking, if we recollect, that four years ago, it was from this very city that Luther, hardly escaping, was carried off to his *Patmos*, or his castle on the heights of the Wartburg, there, in quiet repose and solitude, to translate his New Testament. Tyndale now entered to print his; to finish also in Worms, what he had commenced in Cologne; and to pursue his design, even after the Testaments were off to their destination.

Of the small octavo New Testament here printed, the fruitful parent of so many editions, only *one* perfect copy of the text remains, and no place of safe deposit in all England could be more appropriate than Bristol, the city where Tyndale himself used to preach. The unique fragment of the *quarto* was discovered only, as it were, the other day; but the history of this precious *small octavo* volume we can trace for more than a hundred years—and it will be found somewhat curious. Above a century ago it formed one of the volumes in the Harleian Library of Lord Oxford, though how long it had been there is not known. Mr. John Murray, one of his lordship's collectors, had picked it up somewhere. The Earl gave ten guineas for the book, says Mr. Ames; twenty, says Dr. Gifford; but both agree that he

also settled £20 a-year *for life* on Murray, who had procured it. The Earl of Oxford died in 1741, without male issue, and his Library of printed books was sold to Mr. Thomas Osborne for £13,000. This book, therefore, in the Harleian Catalogue, prefaced by Dr. Samuel Johnson, is thus described:—

“No. 420. The New Testament, black letter, ruled with red lines, and all the initial letters at the beginning of each book, representing the subject, finely coloured, as likewise all the capital letters to each chapter throughout the book adorned with different colours, and raised with gold, neatly bound in red morocco.”

After such a description, Mr. Osborne, much to his own cost, had not been aware of the rarity and value of his book, for after thus describing it, he adds:—“In this book no date is left, but it appears to be Tyndale’s version, and is probably one of the editions printed in Holland, before his revisal” in 1534. Accordingly, he marked the price at no more than *fifteen shillings*! At this price Mr. Ames bought it, when he not only congratulated himself on purchasing what he styled the Phoenix of the entire Library; but writes, on the 30th of June, 1743, in a letter to a friend, that the annuity of twenty pounds was *yet* paid to Mr. Murray, he being still alive. One hundred pounds more, however, was still forthcoming, for the annuity was honourably paid, until Murray’s decease in 1748! On the 13th of May, 1760, Mr. Ames’ books came to be sold by Mr. Langford, and the Testament was bought for fourteen guineas and a half, by Mr. John Whyte the bookseller. He possessed it sixteen years to a day, having sold it on the 13th of May, 1776. On the book itself, therefore, there is the following note in manuscript. “*N.B.*—This choice book was purchased at Mr. Langford’s sale, 13th May, 1760, by me, John Whyte; and on the 13th day of May, 1776, I sold it to the Rev. Dr. Gifford for 20 guineas, the price first paid for it by the late Lord Oxford.”

Before proceeding farther, we now give the collation of this beautiful and unique volume.

The book commences, like the quarto, on sign A ij. The Gospel of Matthew to the end of Revelation occupies ccliii folios; not 333 leaves only, as it has been lately, but erroneously stated. On the reverse of the last is the epistle “To the Reader,” occupying three pages, and then “errours committed in the

printyng." A full page contains thirty-three lines. *N.B.*—There is only one other copy in existence, in the Library of St. Paul's, but that is very imperfect; defective at both the beginning and end, and wanting twenty-five leaves in various places, or forty-eight in all. When first discovered by Dr. Cotton, it was entitled on the back, "*Lant's Testament*," for what reason has never been divined. There was one Richard *Lant*, chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, but this does not resolve the mystery. It had been recommended, that the deficient leaves should be made up in manuscript, and the book elegantly bound; instead of which, and as it was, it has been miserably botched in the binding!

Here, then, are two separate editions of the New Testament, both finished at Worms by the close of the year 1525; and printed, we believe, by Peter Schoeffer, son of the associate of Guttenberg and Fust. But on comparing one with the other we are furnished with several important remarks, as corroborative of all that has been already advanced.

The parties in opposition, let it be first observed, generally mark out the quarto *with* glosses; while the only distinct reference of Tyndale himself, is to the octavo, *without* them, in his preface to the Pentateuch. The explanation is of no little importance. The prologue and glosses, as we shall see presently, excited great fear in the breast of the enemy. Thus, when Sir Thomas More refers to the period of Tyndale's first efforts in translating, he will have it, that "at that time he set certain glosses in the *margin*;" an undoubted fact, though not done, as he affirms, "at Wittenberg." In these glosses, as well as the text itself, there was ample room for denunciation, if *typographical* errors were to be set down as so many heresies. "There is not so much," said Tyndale, "as one *i* therein, if it lack a tittle over his head, but they have noted it, and number it unto the ignorant people for an heresy." Tunstall, after his return from Spain, or late in 1526, had busied himself in marking these, till he had got up to the number of 2000; although more than *ten* times that number have been found in one of our Testaments, printed above a hundred years later. Now, in this view, the precious relic lately discovered, when compared with the octavo in Bristol, affords striking proof that the quarto sheets must have been *first* printed. The spelling, indeed, even of the octavo, is irregular, as might be expected at that early period, but still the two editions admit of pointed comparison. Witness the following words:—

1. QUARTO.	2. OCTAVO.	1. QUARTO.	2. OCTAVO.
prophettes	prophets.	moore	more.
moththes	mothes.	pierles	pearles.
synners	sinner.	yooke	yoke.
mooste	most.	burthen	burden.
streached	stretched.	sekyng	seking.

In every other case, this would be at once admitted as decisive evidence, that the octavo *followed* and did not precede the quarto. That Tyndale should improve, as in the octavo, was natural; but, although it has actually been done, to suppose that he would spell as in the quarto, *afterwards*, is absurd. That it was this quarto on which Tunstal so foolishly expatiated, next year, at St. Paul's, after having issued his inhibition, there can be little or no doubt. For, although Le Long merely mistakes one year, he expressly states, that "his lordship made this reflection of no fewer than 2000 texts, on an English translation of the New Testament, printed at *Cologne and Worms*, 1526, 4to." Lewis, after quoting this, adds as the only reason for his scepticism, "but no such edition *appears*." Now, however, a sufficient portion of it *has* appeared, nearly a century after Lewis, or above three hundred years after it was printed. This, too, is the identical book to which Royce alludes, when treating the hypercriticism of Tunstal with ridicule; it is from *this* prologue that he quotes, and it is the burning of this book entire, which Royce so graphically describes in his Satyre. "It is reported," said Cochläus at the close of *his* statement, "that Lord Cuthbert Tunstal, a most eloquent man, then Bishop of London, now of Durham, when he had obtained *one of these copies*, publicly affirmed, in a most ample oration to the people of London, that he had detected above 2000 depravations and perversions in *this* one work." Tunstal, after all, was not the first who took alarm. Far from it—he was not in England; and though we must not anticipate, there is coming a higher denunciator of this very book, eight months before the Bishop, when he was as far distant as Madrid.

Tyndale, on the contrary, alludes to the octavo edition *without notes*, and it was by this that he *abode*. This allusion, however, let it be observed, was made in the year 1530. Now, the truth is, and it should never have passed without special observation by posterity, that it was upon *this* ground, that Tyndale and his

devoted friend Fryth had then long entrenched themselves,—the Scripture *without note and comment*. “I assure you,” said Tyndale, the very next year to his Majesty’s ambassador, then hunting for him on the Continent,—“I assure you, if it would stand with the King’s most gracious pleasure, to grant only *a bare text of the Scriptures to be put forth among his people*, I shall immediately make faithful promise *never to write more*.” And so afterwards, in 1533, said Fryth, upon English ground, to the Lord Chancellor More:—“Grant that the Word of God, I mean *the text of Scripture*, may go abroad in our English tongue; and *my brother, William Tyndale, and I have done, and will promise you to write no more*.”

The burning zeal of no two men born in Britain, ever had less of self and private interest in it, than theirs had. It was not for glosses, or comments, that they stood and fought so nobly, all alone. To form any mere sect, they never longed, and they died without any such consequence following; an event deeply instructive, and one, which might be of infinite importance at the present hour, were it properly understood. It is a singular fact, that, throughout these manuscripts, the term *Tyndalian* occurs only once, in the letter of an enemy, but it never took; and Tyndale left the world without leaving any circle of mere partizans to hand down his name to posterity.

Here, then, let it be observed, were our two first witnesses; the two men, not only first engaged in translating, but who led the van in pleading for the Scriptures “going abroad” *without note or comment*. And is there now no tribute imperatively due to their memory and character, for having so done? Let the mere sectarian, of whatever name, throughout this kingdom, make of this fact what he may; we must not, even thus early, withhold another, which is never to be separated from it. To their bold and first appeal, therefore, we simply add, as an *historical* axiom, of the deepest import, and one which, for three hundred years, we shall have occasion to observe—that *the Sacred text, without note and comment*, has proved not only the best mode of procedure for meeting the enemy; but that which time and Providence have distinctly sanctioned, down to our own day; when it has prospered to an extent, far, very far beyond the anticipations of the most sanguine. Events themselves,

during that long period, will often speak, and say, or seem to say,—“He that hath my word, let him speak,” and disperse “my word faithfully.”

If, therefore, there had been even unbroken silence on Tyndale's part, with respect to the quarto Testament, the circumstances we have already explained, would sufficiently account for this. But there is a reference, we think, though in measured language, to the vexatious interruption of the quarto book by Cochläus. It is to be found in this very Epistle, “To the Reader,” at the close of the octavo Testament. Having craved the candour of the reader, that “the rudeness of the work offend him not,” he adds,

“Moreover, even very necessity and *combraunce* (God is record) above strength, which *I will not rehearse*, lest we should seem to *boast* ourselves, caused that many things are lacking, which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing *not* having his *full shape*, but, as *it* were, born *afore* his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished.”

Now, what could this perplexity or embarrassment, this vexatious toil, possibly be, this *combraunce above strength*, of which God was witness, if not that which we have detailed? And what this *full shape*, if not the quarto before commenced, and then nearly finished? And what this *boasting*, if not the exultation felt, when he cherished the hope of baffling his opponents, by sending out the octavo first, it not being the book reported, and held up to scorn?

There is now only one concluding remark forcibly suggested by comparison of the Epistle to the Reader in the octavo, with the Prologue prefixed to the quarto. The former, brief in itself, and abrupt in its commencement, has all the appearance of eager despatch; on the contrary, the opening of the quarto Prologue wears all the formality and precision usually adopted, when introducing to the reader a *first* attempt. Witness the commencement of the *Epistle*,—

“Give diligence, Reader, (I exhort thee,) that thou come with a pure mind, and, as the Scripture saith, with a single eye, unto the words of health, and of eternal life: by the which, if we repent and believe them, we are born anew, created afresh, and enjoy the fruits of the blood of Christ.”

Contrast this with the deliberate and formal language of the *Prologue*, so worthy of special notice now. It has never before

been presented *entire*, and as it stands, since the day on which the sheet was thrown off at Cologne. They are not a few who will admire the modesty, the diffidence, not to say the simple beauty of the following sentences :—

TYNDALE'S FIRST LANGUAGE IN PRINT TO THE PEOPLE OF GOD IN ENGLAND.

"I have here translated, brethren and sisters, most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ, the New Testament, for your spiritual edifying, consolation and solace : Exhorting instantly, and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues than I, and that have higher gifts of grace to interpret the sense of the Scripture, and meaning of the Spirit, than I, to consider and ponder my labour, and that with the spirit of meekness. And if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them : but for to bestow them unto the honouring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ.

"The causes that moved me to translate, I thought better that others should imagine, than that I should rehearse them. Moreover, I supposed it superfluous ; for who is so blind to ask, why light should be showed to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble, is the danger of eternal damnation ; either so despiteful that he would envy any man (I speak not his brother) so necessary a thing ; or so bedlam mad as to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light, and that lying should be grounded in truth and verity ; and not rather clean contrary, that light destroyeth darkness, and verity reproveth all manner (of) lying.

"After it had pleased God to put in my mind, and also to give me grace to translate this fore-rehearsed (before mentioned) New Testament into our English tongue, howsoever we have done it, I supposed it very necessary to put you in remembrance of certain points."

The reader, we presume, cannot but be gratified, by a facsimile of these words, in their original orthography. He will observe the letter Y, then generally used for I ; which first led to the discovery of what the fragment is ; and here he may contemplate not merely the first page of text, in the first sheet of a work thrown off at press, in the year 1525, at Cologne ; but the veritable origin of all those millions of English Scriptures now reading in so many different and distant parts of the globe—parts, utterly unknown to our immortal Translator, when he sent the sheet to the press—parts, then untrodden by any Englishman—parts, then undiscovered !

The last sentence of our extract, however, or that with which the next page of the prologue begins, is full of meaning. It shows that Tyndale, with all gravity, recognised no *instigator*

under God, and ascribed to his grace alone, the entire glory of his work. Such had been his language in print, before ever Cochläus had set his foot in Cologne. But now, that he had been so defamed by this enemy, hear his emphatic disclaimer from Worms. "Beseeching the *learned* to consider that he had *no man* to follow as an example, neither was holpen with English of *any* that had interpreted the same, or *such like thing* in the Scripture before time." Sir Thomas More had read this, though he did not choose, as it was not convenient, to believe it. But surely, if any individual of that age may be regarded as an agent, walking independently of his fellows, it will turn out to have been our English exile,—a man, whose character and powerful talents have been so grievously misrepresented, and so misunderstood, up to the present hour.

We are now just upon the eve of returning into England, after spending two years abroad, in company with our Translator; but before we do return—before the uproar and the consternation begin—before the wrath of 1526 burst out—while these precious volumes are only coming over that sea, which Tyndale had passed over to send; and before either the quarto or octavo had arrived in our native land; there is one additional event which must not be omitted even here, though it has to be explained more distinctly three months hence, at the moment of its occurrence.

If there was any advantage anticipated by Tyndale, from sending over the octavo without notes "now at the first time"—if it was indeed *so* sent—there must have ensued a second momentary disappointment. If there was any device or contrivance adopted, then it certainly failed, completely failed! This quarto, with glosses, had been the first-born of his imagination, and we have seen that his whole heart was set upon giving the sacred text, what was strangely styled "*its full shape*." But the Divine Author will as distinctly say *nay* in London, as he had already done at Cologne! For, after all, we shall find next year, that this quarto book was *first* held up in warning to the people. The book "with glosses and prefaces" was first condemned,—condemned, too, by no less authority than that of Henry VIII. himself, with Wolsey's full concurrence, if not his advice,—and condemned *eight* months before

either Tunstal or Warham held up also the octavo, without notes, for destruction.


Tyndale certainly intended that the book with glosses should follow "in time to come," however short. Providence caused it to *precede*, and, at the same time, over-ruled it as a *decoy* for several months! All that time, therefore, the precious little volume must have been fulfilling its commission, and passing into its hiding-place in unknown directions!

Nor is the curious fact of the New Testament "*with glosses and prefaces*" being first condemned, and then passing into oblivion through all history, for above three hundred years, an event carrying no instruction or monition. Quite the reverse. All who venerate Divine Revelation in its purity, will remember that this was the commencement of a new *era* for Britain, more important than she had ever witnessed, or in truth has witnessed since. Comments, therefore, or glosses, additions of man's devising, professedly to make the sacred language more intelligible than that of its Divine Author, or turn it to a certain meaning, were not to be treated as of small account. As matter of history they were not, and have not been so treated. These glosses sunk the book into the shades; just as those notes, sometimes styled contemptuously the Geneva spectacles, afterwards operated on that otherwise valuable translation.

Never, then, let it pass unobserved, how soon, and how clearly, Tyndale and Fryth saw through this; how soon our Translator put the King of England upon the alternative of receiving, or not receiving, the sacred text alone; or how decidedly, and upon English ground, Fryth repeated the bold appeal to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. The warfare was at once reduced to a single point. *Receive, or not receive, THE SACRED VOLUME, without note or comment*; so that we have now to witness *the man* who, by way of eminence, fought on one side, and *the men* who, by way of eminence, or we might say the nation, who fought against him. This important fact not only affords us a notable commencement to our history, but it will connect itself, very powerfully, with the close of this work, or the larger movements of the present day.

MDXXVI.

MEMORABLE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT INTO ENGLAND—THE TWO FIRST EDITIONS—THE FIRST ALARM IN LONDON, OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE—THE FIRST BURNING OF BOOKS—NEW TESTAMENT DENOUNCED BY THE KING AND WOLSEY—THEN BY TUNSTAL AND WARHAM—THE THIRD EDITION—VIOLENT CONTENTION RESPECTING IT—BURNING IT ABROAD AND AT HOME—BUT IN VAIN.

HAT interesting period when the Word of God, printed in our native tongue, was first found in England, had now arrived. It was in January 1526. On the banks of the Rhine, Tyndale had finished his New Testaments at the press, but how was it possible for them ever to be conveyed into our country? Had not Rincke and Cochlæus warned the Cardinal himself, the King, and the Bishop of Rochester, that they might “with the greatest diligence take care” lest one of them should come into any port in all England? They certainly had, and in good time, so that it is no fault of theirs, if all opposing parties were not now on the alert. Yet here are the dreaded books, and upon English ground, and not only in the metropolis, but in both universities, to say nothing of the country at large!

It is natural, however, first to inquire whether there were any circumstances, at the moment, favourable to their introduction. Of all other men, the two most able and most likely to have prevented their arrival, or immediately suppressed them, were Wolsey and Tunstal, the Bishop of London. But the former was now completely engrossed by affairs of state policy, both abroad and at home—abroad he was urging, nay, rousing the French Cabinet to renewed war with the Emperor; at home, he was concluding peace with Scotland, and also busily engaged in reforming his master’s household, or framing what were called “the Statutes of Eltham.” The Bishop of London was not in the country, having been happily removed out of the way eight months before; he was still ambassador in Spain, and not to return till August or September; so that his name never should have been associated, as it has generally been, with the *first* reception of Tyndale’s New Testament. More than this, the winter was peculiarly unhealthy, and such was the alarm

created by great mortality, that the courts had been adjourned—the authorities were out of the way—the King was keeping his Christmas at Eltham, in private, with a few friends, “for in the King’s house,” says Halle, “this was called *the still* Christmas”—and Wolsey, after carousing at Richmond for a few days, had to attend His Majesty on business at Eltham, from the 8th to the 22nd of January.

Such a conjunction of circumstances but seldom occurred, and, without straining a point, they may surely be regarded as providential; for they afforded certain opportunities, which, we shall find, had been most busily improved. So easily can the Divine Being “scatter the proud in the imagination of their hearts,” when He is about to “exalt them of low degree.” The country had been first long harassed by oppressive and vexatious exactions, to carry on expensive foreign wars, and now it is assailed by disease and death! Such was the period chosen by Infinite Wisdom to introduce the Word of Life, that “sovereign balm for every wound!” England’s surest hope, the true secret of all her future stability, and the only security for it still.

The earliest importations of these precious volumes would furnish a very curious subject of inquiry. The various methods adopted for several years in order to secure their entrance into this country, can never now, indeed, be fully detailed; but the conveyance of Tyndale’s New Testaments into England and Scotland, with other books illustrative of the Sacred Volume, could only the half be told, would form one of the most graphic stories in English history. No siege, by sapping and mining, which Britain has ever since achieved, could furnish the tenth part of the incident, or evince half the courage, by which she was herself assailed. But the materials have never yet been examined and compared, with that regard to accuracy as to names, and succession as to events, which would have brought out some of the finest specimens of faith and fortitude and persevering zeal.

From what particular port on the Continent the first copies were sent, and to what port in England they came, may remain for ever a secret. The probability is, that some came from Antwerp, while others were sent from Worms down the Rhine through Holland, and so from different places. Be this as it

may, we know for certain of two gentlemen, who engaged in very early, if not the first, active measures as to the importation itself; namely, Simon Fysh, of Gray's Inn, London, and George Herman, a citizen of Antwerp, and merchant in the English house there; while, during this month of January 1526, we shall find that not a few of the most learned young men in England were eagerly perusing Tyndale's first productions. Nothing then, however, could have been more unlikely, than that London and both the Universities should be in a ferment the very first week after that month had expired.

It was on the 2nd of February, that an insignificant incident gave birth to the first great alarm. It well deserves, therefore, to be noticed. Simon Fysh, already mentioned, a native of Kent, after receiving his education at Oxford, had taken up his residence as a lawyer in Gray's Inn, London. A play, or tragedy, as Foxe calls it, composed by a Mr. Roo or Row, of the same Inn, in one part of which Wolsey thought himself deeply impugned, was about to be acted in private; and this part, after others through fear had declined, Fysh undertook to perform. He did so once, but never could a second time, for "the same night that this tragedy was played," Fysh was compelled to leave his own house, and finally escape to the Continent. How often did the Cardinal, with all his sagacity, put forth his hand to his own downfall? Though, confessedly, a deep politician, he was far from understanding the policy of non-interference. This attempt at apprehension must have occurred before the end of 1523, if it be correct, as Foxe affirms, that "the *next* year following" he composed the tract entitled "the Supplication of Beggars."¹ Mr. Fysh is stated to have been with Tyndale abroad, and if so, "the little treatise" which Munmouth depones that Tyndale "sent to him from Hamburg in 1524, when he sent for his money," may have been this publication, if it was not the gospel of Matthew. But, whether the one or the other, the "Supplication" must have been in existence in 1525, from what we know of its history.

¹ "Scripsit," says Tanner, "ad regem Henr. VIII. A. MDXXIV." "Compiled by Symon Fyshe, anno MCCCCXXIV.," is printed on the title of the "Supplication of the poor Commons, 1546."—Herbert's Ames, iii. p. 1537.

In the shape of a "Supplication" addressed "to the King our Sovereign Lord," it conveyed the most wholesome and astounding advice to Henry VIII., and the parties interested were so very fortunate as to reach his ear through one of his confidential servants or footmen, whom Foxe calls Edmund Moddis. This man had read the book himself, and told his Majesty, that "if he would pardon him, and such men as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as was marvel to hear of." The King fixed a time, and thus two merchants, George Eliot and George Robinson, were favoured with a private audience. His Majesty, whose curiosity had been excited by the representation of his confidential servant, patiently listened to every line, as it was read to him by Eliot.

This powerful tract, for it was nothing more, written in a popular style, contained an unmeasured attack on the whole fraternity of "Monks and Friars, Pardoners and Sumners," into whose hands an immense proportion of the nation's wealth had already passed. Their growing power, already impairing and threatening to destroy that of the Crown itself, was denounced in the strongest terms. "This is the great scab," said Fysh, "*they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue*, lest men should espy that they, by their cloaked hypocrisy, do translate, thus fast, your kingdom into their hands."

At the close of its being read, and after a long pause, the King is reported to have said, "if a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall on his head;" then taking the book, he put it in his desk, commanding the men on their allegiance, that they should not disclose to any one that he had seen it.

Copies of this tract must have been possessed by not a few, when the King's own servant knew its contents so thoroughly. This, however, would not suffice, and so it had been determined that the people at large should read it for themselves; and, also, that no doubt should remain, whether the King had seen it. John Foxe, therefore, thus describes it—"A Libel or Book entitled, the Supplication of Beggars, thrown and scattered at the procession in Westminster, *on Candlemas day*, before King Henry the Eighth, for him to read and peruse." This was on

Friday the 2nd of February, 1526. Many copies might be thus disposed of, but, by another account, they had been scattered about the streets *by night*.

The moment of alarm had now come. This very trivial incident had excited the greatest fear and dread! Wolsey immediately went to his Majesty, complaining of "divers seditious persons having scattered abroad books containing manifest errors, desiring his Grace to beware of them;" but what must have been his mortification, when the King, putting his hand into his bosom, and taking out one of these very books, delivered it into his hands! At this period Henry was not a little gratified by any information which he could procure, independently of his domineering Prime Minister.

Wolsey, once roused, became fully awake to the importance of his *intentions* in the year 1523. Engrossed as he had been with political affairs, some of these intentions had remained unfulfilled. But now there was to be "*the secret search*," and in divers places at *one* time, and a sermon to be preached, by Fisher, the very man whom Henry had then named. It was resolved to strike terror into the heart of the enemy, and give one vital stab to all that was now run down under the nickname of Lutheranism; for Divine truth had been slowly gaining its way, and was now to spread, as it had done, independently of Luther. The fact is, that the crusade, under which our country long groaned and bled, was about to begin; and as the authorities of the day were now going to treat the people of God after the primitive fashion, when they first put them in bear skins, and then baited them, a word of terror was wanting. Lollard had been the term for above a hundred years, as it especially was under Longland, in 1521; but *Lutheran* was now a far more effectual, because *opprobrious*, epithet; involving all those who either read the Scriptures, or appealed to them as authority.

Before, however, we can rightly understand the course of events, the evidence afforded by original manuscripts, by Foxe and Strype, Bishop Tanner and Anthony Wood, as well as two or three other authorities, must be carefully compared. After this, when we look at London, Oxford, and Cambridge, as well as the country at large, a scene, full of the deepest interest, opens to view.

Not a day was now to be lost. London, though far from its present size, was large enough even then to be favourable to secrecy; but London, Cambridge, and Oxford, must all be searched at *one* time, and Cardinal College, too, must not be overlooked. Wolsey could not have been with the King sooner than next day, Saturday the 3rd. The simultaneous orders for both Universities must have been the same day, as the Sergeants-at-Arms had arrived at both by Monday or Tuesday.

In London they commenced immediately. Among the very *first* places where the "secret search" began, was a narrow lane in Cheapside, nearly opposite to Bow Church. In a church there, "All Hallows in Honey Lane," Robert Forman, S. T. P., was Rector, and Mr. Thomas Garret, Curate. Strong suspicions rested on the *latter*, as being at once a receiver and distributor of books. The first of the Articles finally objected against him furnishes an important link in the following narrative.

"*First*, for bringing divers and many books, treatises, and works of Martin Luther and his sect, as also for dispersing abroad of the said books to divers and many persons within this realm, as well *Students* in the University of *Oxford and Cambridge*, as other spiritual, temporal, and religious men, to the intent to have advanced the said sects and opinions. *Item*, for having the said books in his custody—for reading them secretly in privy places and suspect company, declaring and teaching here, lies and errors contained in them."

Such were some of the charges formally brought against Mr. Garret, and not without reason; but among all the books imported, in Latin and in English, we have now to inquire whether there was not one, infinitely above them all in value, though at the first unknown to the authorities, namely, Tyndale's New Testament.

During part of January, Garret must have been busy in the *City and Diocese* of London, but in the beginning or first week of February, when sought for at his own abode, he could not be found. He was then "searched for through all London," when the Cardinal ascertained that "he had a great number of those books, and was gone to Oxford to make sale of them there, to such as *he knew* to be lovers of the Gospel." The truth is, that this future martyr had been for some time in the habit of conveying books to both Universities, and of visiting Oxford personally. He was down there at the preceding Christmas, and, with regard to the present occasion,—“About the year 1526,”

says Foxe, "Master Garret, Curate of Honey Lane in London, came unto Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the first part of 'Unio disidentium,' and *Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English*, the which books he sold to divers scholars in Oxford."

"After he had been there *a while*, and *despatched those books*, news came that he was searched for through all London, to be apprehended and taken as a heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling those heretical books, as they termed them." Not finding him in London, "they had determined *forthwith* to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his foresaid books, and him too, if they could, so burning hot was their zeal." By the time, however, that the Sergeant-at-Arms had arrived, Cole of Magdalen College, who was afterwards cross-bearer to the Cardinal, but an acquaintance of Garret's, gave him warning. So in the morning of "Wednesday before Shrovetide," on the 7th of February, he left Oxford, but returning again, he changed his dress as far as he could, and disappeared on Friday night. There is a beautifully graphic account of this, part of which we must quote; for which we are indebted to Anthony Delaber, one of the students, devotedly attached to Mr. Garret.

"When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber," says he, "I straightways did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and took *the New Testament* in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear, I did, with much deliberation, read over the tenth chapter of Saint Matthew his gospel: and when I had so done, with fervent prayer I did commit unto God, that our dearly beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, his only begotten Son, our Lord, that he would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies; but also that he would endue his tender and lately born *little flock in Oxford*, with heavenly strength by his Holy Spirit, that they might be able thereby valiantly to withstand to his glory all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly to their own salvation, with all godly patience, bear Christ's heavy cross; which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burden, without the great help of his Holy Spirit. This done, I laid *aside* my book, *safe*."

In this first attempt to escape, however, Garret had, most unwisely, yielded to worldly policy, in consequence of his friends thinking it best that he should change his name, and then engage himself as Curate to a brother of Delaber's, Parson of Stalbridge in Dorsetshire, (though known to be a decided

enemy,) till the first opportunity should present itself of escaping beyond seas. But he was too conscientious a man to proceed in this way, and so, seized with fear, he returned to Oxford on Friday evening. That night he was apprehended, but escaped again, and was finally taken at Hinksey, about two miles distant; when he, and all besides, who were suspected as receivers of books, were very soon in safe keeping!

We have now, then, to witness what has come over *Cardinal College*, as well as others; for the future eminence of the young men now imprisoned, fills the present story with no common interest.

“Divers others, indeed,” says Foxe, “were now constrained to forsake their colleges and seek their friends;” but still he favours us with the names of the captured; corroborated and increased by Strype, as well as Wood. Thus, we find expressly mentioned, John Fryth, with the Chaplain, his fellow-prisoner, Thomas Lawney, John Clarke, Godfrey Harman, Henry Sumner, William Betts, Richard Taverner, Richard Coxe, Michael Drumm, and — Radley, *all* of *Cardinal College*; Nicholas Udall and John Diot of *Corpus Christi*; Eeden and others of *Magdalen College*; Goodman, William Bayley, John Salisbury, Robert Ferrar, of *Glo’ster*, Bernard, and Mary’s Colleges; Langport, a Monk of *St. Austin’s of Canterbury*, and Anthony Delaber, of *St. Alban’s Hall*.

Garret and Delaber, as convicted heretics, were made to carry a faggot, in open procession, from *St. Mary’s* to *Cardinal College*; the former, as Master of Arts, having his red hood on his shoulders. These young men, besides others not named, followed in procession, all of whom were obliged, in passing, to cast *a book* into the large fire which had been kindled to receive them. Garret and Delaber were then incarcerated at *Osney Isle*, till further orders from London, when the former was called up to appear before Tunstal, as we shall see towards the close of the year.

As for the other young men, along with Clarke, they were all immured in a deep cell, under *Cardinal College*, the common repository of their salt fish, a noisome dungeon, where the air and food together proved but too fatal. *Betts*, no suspected books being, at least, detected in his chamber, through entreaty

and surety, got out of prison, and, as soon as he could, went to Cambridge. *Taverner*, though deeply implicated, as having concealed Clarke's books under the floor, being skilful in music, was excused by Wolsey; but the rest remained in this most miserable abode; where, eating nothing but salt fish from the beginning of March to the middle of August, four of them died in a short time! After this, but in consequence only of a letter from Wolsey, they were all released, on condition of not moving above ten miles from Oxford. How many thus continued as prisoners at large does not appear; but *John Fryth* being so far at liberty, and now aware of the treatment of Garret and Delaber, he "escaped by flight over the sea to Tyndale." He left Oxford for the Continent, therefore, in August or September 1526.

It will now be allowed that an event such as this, so rich in incident, and so fraught with consequences, was worthy of being fully traced; though, as far as Tyndale's New Testaments were concerned, of course every thing depends on the *time* in which all this took place. Fortunately, however, the period can be fixed, not only to a month, but to a day; and it is the more remarkable, as coinciding with the same month in which it will be afterwards deponed, that New Testaments were *purchased* by other people. Foxe has said that this happened *about* 1526; Strype says *about* 1525 or 1526; and the fact is, that being in February, when the year ran on to the 25th of March, it would be called either the one or the other. The year 1526 is pointedly fixed by Wood, for to any one who observes the early history of these eminent young men it is indubitable. Thus, "Clarke of Cardinal College was incorporated M.A. of Oxford in 1525, but ejected *soon after* for Lutheranism." Udall had passed B.A. in 1524, and "two years after supplicated for the degree of A.M., but in vain, as 'tis probable, because he was much addicted to the opinions of Luther." Taverner escaped imprisonment; but being in disgrace, did not pass A.M. till 21st May, 1527. Ferrar was a canon of St. Mary's, "where," says Wood, "I find him in 1526, in *which* year T. Garret did supply him with prohibited books."

The season of the year, the *month and day*, are no less certain; as it was on "the Wednesday before Shrovetide" that Garret

first departed from Oxford. Shrovetide, this year, fell on the 13th, so that Wednesday before was the 7th of February. This date must be observed in connexion with what took place at Cambridge.

As for the whole transaction, there need be no surprise at so much being made of it at the time. In the year 1525, Rincke and Cochläus had put the highest authorities on their guard, and these were not mistaken, in now regarding this as no trivial affair, no inferior triumph. Students drawn away even from other Colleges was sufficiently mortifying; but *Cardinal College*, a favourite project of Wolsey's, was one in which he had felt almost absorbed. It was to be "*the most glorious in the world.*" Every other College had been made subservient to this, and, at his command, had yielded up its most choice young men. All these Canons had passed before his own eye, having either been selected or approved by himself, on account of the eminence of their attainments. What, then, must have been his disappointment, when, after all his pains, he saw the scale turning in the opposite direction from that which he had all along intended? And what his indignation, when such a proportion, if not a large majority, of these fine young men were found to be infected with that *new learning*, as it was termed, which, instead of yielding to the *old*, was ultimately to triumph, and maintain its ground in spite of the fiercest opposition?

Besides all this, the books distributed were a mighty grievance in addition, and they were now gone into corners, they knew not where; but of all that had been circulated or sold, there were none to be compared with Tyndale's New Testament. This was the Word of Life, and felt to be so. We have already seen it, in the grasp of Delaber, to have been their sheet anchor in the raging storm. It is therefore well worthy of remembrance, that one of Tyndale's earliest blows, dashed to the ground the insidious design of the lofty Cardinal. It was an attack upon the lion in his own den; while as to the young men, now branded as heretics, whether caught or escaped, Tyndale had given them, not a book of *new learning* merely, but the volume of Divine Mercy—it was not the owl of Athens, but Mount Zion's dove.

If Oxford had been thrown into a ferment during these early

days in February, the commotion at Cambridge was, if possible, still greater; but there had been some powerfully exciting causes, and now in full operation, which were peculiar to this University. A very brief retrospect will explain, as well as lend additional interest to the present burst of opposition.

The publication of the Greek Testament by Erasmus, in 1516, was one of the most important events in the progress of letters; but Cambridge seems to have been inferior to Oxford in their cultivation. Even the Priests, in their confessions of young scholars, had cautioned them against the acquisition of Greek and Hebrew, on account of the consequences they dreaded. Standish, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, was one great promoter of this hostility; and, upon one occasion, on his knees before the King and Queen, is said to have conjured them, by every thing sacred, to go on as their ancestors had done, and put down Erasmus. When, therefore, his Testament appeared, at Cambridge it was absolutely proscribed by some of the doctors of the day, and one College forbade it to be brought within the walls! Yet the book they had thus contemned, was the *very same* by which God intended to promote His own designs, and in Cambridge itself.

Not long, therefore, after the publication of this Testament, which contained the Latin and Greek in parallel columns, the heart of one student was smitten with it; and this, in the hand of God, was sufficient to produce a great moral change. An LL.D., and Fellow of Trinity Hall, he had already excelled in the study of the Civil and Canon Law, to which he had intended to devote his future life; but falling into great distress of mind, he applied to the Priests. They appointed him fastings and watching, with the purchase of pardons and masses; but after having spent almost his all on these ignorant physicians of no value, it had fared with him, as with one of old, to whose situation he compares his own; for "he was nothing the better, but rather grew worse." His case is the more interesting, in that no human agent was employed to relieve him. Having bought a copy of the Greek Testament of Erasmus, he happened at the first reading to light upon the well-known passage, 1 Tim. i. 15.

"It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus

came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am the chief.' This one sentence," he writes, "through God's instruction and inward teaching, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that *my bruised bones leapt for joy.*"

This was no other than Thomas Bilney, the future martyr of 1531. His preaching was followed by great and powerful effects, for, among others, Hugh Latimer and Robert Barnes owed their conversion to him. So early, therefore, as 1523, before Tyndale went abroad, Cambridge lay under strong suspicion of heresy; and yet it is curious enough, that in that year, when certain Bishops moved, that there might be a visitation appointed to go down, for trying who were "the fautors of heresy" there, the Cardinal forbade it! "Upon what grounds," says Burnet, "I cannot imagine." It seems to have been, either because he then meditated a reform of the Church, after his *own* fancy, as already disclosed in the letter of Longland, and of which his own sovereign authority as *Legate* should appear to be the only fountain; or if not, to show at the moment his authority over the clergy. His mind, we know, was then engrossed with affairs of State, abroad as well as at home. At all events, the over-ruling hand of God is manifest, in preventing all interference for at least *three* years, or from January 1523, to February 1526.

The order for Oxford we have stated to be the third of this month; that for Cambridge must have been at the same moment; but in this case, previous information through Dr. Tyrell, after-mentioned, had suggested the necessity for two individuals being sent. One Gibson, the Serjeant-at-Arms, a creature of Wolsey's, hated by the Aldermen and Common Council of London, was therefore accompanied by Dr. Capon, one of the Cardinal's chaplains. They had arrived on Monday, as upon Tuesday the Sergeant "suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the Convocation-house, to make all others afraid;" and by Wednesday evening, (on the morning of which, Garret first escaped from Oxford,) Dr. Barnes stood before Wolsey.

Robert Barnes, born near Lynn in Norfolk, after proceeding through the schools at Cambridge, had entered the Monastery of Augustine Friars there, in the year 1514. Having then gone to Louvaine, where he studied, and passed as Doctor of Theo-

logy ; after his return he was made Prior and Master of his Monastery, in 1523. In conjunction with another Louvaine scholar, Mr. Thomas Parnel, whom he had brought over with him, he became, says Strype and others, “the great restorer of good learning at Cambridge.” He had introduced the study of the classics, and was reading Terence, Plautus, and Cicero ; but being brought to the knowledge of the truth through Bilney, he proceeded to read openly with his scholars, the Epistles of Paul. Sometime before this, Latimer had been also enlightened through Bilney’s preaching, and was proclaiming the truth with great decision and effect. Whether Latimer was actually in expectation of the New Testament of Tyndale, does not appear, but the fact is, that he was now powerfully preparing the way for it ; as he frequently and particularly dwelt on the great abuse of *locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue*. Prior *Buckingham*, his opponent, inveighed against him, and insisted, that if *that heresy* prevailed, we should soon see an end of every thing useful ! This man, Latimer put to silence, by that singular vein of humour for which he was distinguished ; while Venetus, a foreigner, with whom he reasoned in a strain full of gravity, was obliged to leave the University. Latimer’s opponents finding argument fail, resorted to authority ; and West, the Bishop of Ely, after hearing him, and even professing to be charmed, ultimately prohibited him from preaching in any of the churches belonging to the University, or within his diocese ! The Monastery of Dr. Barnes, however, was happily *exempt* from episcopal jurisdiction,—an exemption, indeed, peculiar to almost all the Monasteries, so that the Prior boldly licensed him to preach there. The place was unable to contain the crowds that assembled, and Dr. Barnes having been requested by the parish to preach at St. Edward’s Church hard by, resolved to comply. This was a memorable evening on account of the effects. It was in fact a crisis, though never sufficiently marked as such. It was “Christmas eve, and on a Sunday,” says Foxe, or as Barnes himself explains,—“in the year of our Lord 1525, the 24th of December.” Latimer was also officiating at the Monastery that evening ; while the present, says Foxe, was “the *first* sermon that ever Barnes preached of this truth.” Understanding now the way of truth more perfectly, and alive

to the state of things around him, he had resolved to be openly explicit. By two chaplains, Drs. Robert Ridley and Walter Preston, fellows of King's College, and *kinsmen* of Tunstal, Bishop of London, he was immediately accused of heresy. This they did in the Regent-House, before the Vice-Chancellor Edmund Nateres; and these two men, assisted by three others, viz. Tyrell, Watson, and Fooke, having gathered up certain articles against him, desired him to recant. The University as a body immediately took up the matter, and disputed their authority. His adversaries, however, within two or three days, having secured another meeting before the Vice-Chancellor, by fraud and intimidation, they "so entreated and cozened him," that Barnes agreed to yield to their authority and their promised clemency. They then enjoined him to read his revocation in St. Edward's Church next Sunday. Barnes consulted with eight or ten of his learned friends, among whom were Stafford and Bilney, and then declined; but he had already ensnared himself in these private interviews, and his accusers, aware of this, desisted, only to wait their favourable moment. The learned of at least seven different colleges now flocked together in open day to sermons, whether at the Augustine Monastery or St. Mary's.

Disputations were held during the whole of January, at a house called *Germany* by way of derision, and "this tragedy," says Foxe, "continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of God's truth, until within *six* days before Shrovetide," or, in other words, to the very day that Dr. Barnes stood before Wolsey.

It was not, however, to apprehend Barnes alone, that the Sergeant-at-Arms had arrived at Cambridge. He had been charged to make secret search for *books*, and instantly seize the whole, as well as apprehend all who *possessed* them. Not fewer than *thirty* were suspected, and spies had given them precise information as to every one of their rooms! But Dr. Forman of Queen's College had happily, at the first moment, informed all the parties of the *privy search*, and "God be praised," says Foxe, the books "were conveyed away by the time that the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Proctors were at every man's chamber." The business of Gibson was therefore

soon accomplished, and Dr. Barnes being his only prey, he was immediately carried to London.

We return, therefore, to Wolsey's gallery at Westminster, on Wednesday evening, Gardiner, his Secretary, and Fox, being the only parties present with Barnes. The Cardinal soon discovered, that he was not unacquainted with what Dr. Barnes had been delivering at Cambridge, telling that his noted sermon in December, was "fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit." Certainly it was very different doctrine from that with which almost every pulpit was filled; and as for the rest, the fact is, that, whether well advised or not, Barnes, unable to repress his indignation at the gross abuses of the times, had opened up before the people *Wolsey's* extravagance. To him belongs the distinction, of having led the way in boldly and publicly exposing the gorgeous and tyrannical bearing of the lofty Cardinal. This accounts for the severity with which *he* was now treated, for both Bilney and Latimer were permitted to go on for some time longer.

Wolsey, however, read the articles with patience, till he came to one personal to himself; for the men at Cambridge, in drawing them up, knew how to touch him at the quick. "What, Master Doctor," exclaimed the Cardinal, "had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, that my golden shoes, my pole axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so offend you, that you must make us *rediculum caput* before the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon fitter to be preached on the stage than in a pulpit, for at the last you said—I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say bloody gloves, quoth you, that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." Whether this charge was correct, does not appear, but Barnes, as yet unmoved, replied, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the old Doctors." In the end, he delivered to the Cardinal six sheets in manuscript, to confirm and corroborate all that he had spoken. Wolsey smiling, said, "We perceive that you mean to stand to your articles, and to show your learning." "Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favour." Wolsey enquired if he did not know that he was there for *heresy*, and whether he could bring six or ten doctors of divinity to swear

for him? Barnes offered *twenty* honest men, as learned as himself, if not superior—but these would not suffice. “They must be of your years according to law,” said Wolsey. “That,” replied Barnes, “is impossible.” “Then,” said the Cardinal, “*you must be burnt!*”

At the close, Wolsey was about to commit him to the Tower, but Fox and Gardiner interceded, and became sureties for his appearance. During the whole night he was engaged in preparing for his defence before the Bishops, to whom Wolsey had committed him. Three of his students, *Coverdale*, Goodwin, and Field, having followed him up to London, were also occupied in writing to his dictation. On Thursday morning, after calling at York Place, (Whitehall,) for Fox and Gardiner, the Sergeant-at-Arms conveyed him down to the Chapter-House at Westminster. He was now in the presence of John Clark, Bishop of Bath, as principal judge, who treated him with marked severity; Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, who was sure to be an enemy and not a judge; Islip, the Abbot of Westminster; the Abbot of Bury; Dr. Jeffrey Wharton; Dr. Allen; and Dr. Gardiner. After this examination he subscribed his articles, and was then committed to Fleet Prison, but no one to speak with him. On Saturday at three o’clock, when called to appear again, a long roll was shown to him, which he must promise to read in public, with the assurance *now*, that he would not add one word, more or less! They exacted this promise before he had read a line of it, and put it to him solemnly three times! Barnes continuing firm, was desired to retire. On being called in, they had agreed that a Notary should read it to him, and as Barnes listened, he felt as though he would rather die than agree. After long disputation, threatening, and scorn, it was now five o’clock; when they called upon him to know whether he would *abjure or burn*: Barnes was in great agony, inclining rather to the latter, when they sent him again to take counsel from Fox and Gardiner alone; and they, “by persuasions that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh,” brought him at last to yield and abjure! It is easy for us now to say, that he ought to have stood firm, and if he had, Barnes would have led the van at least, of this division of martyrs, for the Word of God; but

neither Garret nor he were yet able to brave the horrors of the stake.

With regard to Barnes, in particular, the sight on the following day was indeed most humiliating, and to his adversaries must have seemed a great triumph. On Sabbath the 4th, in his pulpit at Cambridge, and on the next, or 11th, bearing a faggot at St. Paul's! The church was crowded to excess, and there sat Wolsey in all his glory, smiling, no doubt, over the pointed replies of Thursday evening, while he saw Barnes and five others, Stillyard men, humbled before him; and Fisher declaring to the people, how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had, for being *present* at that Sermon! To him, as well as Wolsey and Longland, it was a high day, and one to which they had looked forward for three years.

Here then, we have the *first* of a series, for it preceded Oxford by a few days, in which *books* were committed to the flames; and among many others, upon this day, the 11th of February, 1526, copies of Tyndale's New Testament were no doubt for the *first* time cast into the fire, as they were at Oxford in the same week. By this period we shall yet have curious and abundant evidence that they were in the country; Garret was convicted, as we have seen, for conveying books to *Cambridge* as well as Oxford, and among the stores of the Stillyard men, now accumulated in the "great baskets," the London stock was so far involved.

All this was evidently done by the Cardinal's supreme and express authority. He led the way, therefore, so that it is not correct to exonerate him, as some authors have done, by affirming that this was an after-thought of the Bishops, when Warham and Tunstal commenced their crusade against all books of the *new learning*. Even then, Strype affirms, that they were *instigated* by the Cardinal; but upon this day, Warham was *not* present, and Tunstal was as far distant as *Madrid*. No, stung more than once, and in one week, by what had been detected at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as in London, Wolsey must have felt exasperated in the highest degree, and it is manifest that, by all this parade, he intended to produce a deep and general panic.

At the close of all, poor Barnes, though received formally

into the Roman Catholic Church again, was remitted to the Fleet, till the Lord Cardinal's pleasure should be known; but his friends were permitted to visit him, and he there relented.

As the season of conviction at Oxford and Cambridge had been the same, so also was that of relief to both parties. Perhaps the sad deaths at Oxford, in consequence of severe treatment, led to this; since it was about the very *same* time that the young men at Oxford were released, on condition of not moving above ten miles distant, that Barnes was delivered from the Fleet; that is, at the end of six months. He, however, was not permitted to go at large, even to the same extent, but was committed to be a free prisoner at Austin Friars in London; and from evidence which will come out in 1528, it will appear that he was here as busy as his circumstances would permit, in actually disposing of copies of Tyndale's Testament! His enemies, therefore, were not incorrect in their suspicions, for, says Foxe, "they complained *again* to the Lord Cardinal, whereupon he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, there to be *burned*." By a most unworthy stratagem, however, feigning himself to have been *drowned*, he escaped to the Continent. His enemies searched for him seven days, but they dragged the pond in vain.

Once abroad, and having time for reflection, Barnes must surely soon have seen the evil of his conduct with regret; for alas, independently of its own sinfulness, his example proved most baneful! At the moment it must have been, "as when a standard-bearer fainteth," or rather flies, for *he* first led in a path which cost many a sigh to those who followed him. His fall and escape, for fall he did, certainly had no small influence in leading to the sad expedient of *abjuration*, instead of resistance unto death—an expedient which produced, as we shall find in Bilney's case and others, mental agony to a degree, compared with which, the tortures of the stake were transient, and far inferior.

With regard to this entire statement, such a remarkable conjunction of circumstances has never before been traced; and though "The Supplication of Beggars" has all along been familiar to the readers of history, they cannot have been before aware of the mighty stir occasioned by the distribution of these

few pages of letter-press, on Candlemas-day. London, Oxford, and Cambridge, the subjects of Wolsey's "secret search and at one time," were ascertained, in February 1526, to be impregnated with the same leaven; but that the King himself, and before all this uproar began, should have possessed and read this powerful tract, to the Cardinal especially, must have proved not a little galling.

On the whole, however, it may have been observed, that none of the principal or leading characters in Oxford, similar to Barnes at Cambridge, had been called up before Wolsey. Garret, indeed, had been apprehended at Oxford, but he belonged to London, and they were young men only, who had been incarcerated, with the exception of Clarke, and even he was not a man of authority. Still *one* or *two* of a higher grade had been there suspected, of promoting the "new learning." The month of February, therefore, had not expired, when the University formally applied to Warham of Canterbury, then their Chancellor, as he had been since 1506. He was living retired at Knolle, but might not be so fully aware of all that had happened, till he was officially thus informed. Accordingly, on the 8th of March, he wrote a cautious and imploring letter to the Cardinal, full of fear and anxiety as to Oxford and its honour, advising that only the leaders should be punished, and that the scholars suspected, whom he calls "a number of young and uncircumspect fools," should be called up to London for examination, but, for the honour of the University, "the less bruit the better." This letter was little calculated to allay the irritation felt by Wolsey in the matter. Nor was the advice offered in it taken, or the requests granted, though Garret and the young scholars were already in *durance vile*. The Cardinal will take his own way and act as it best pleased him. He will watch for his own revenge, and before long something may occur, which will carry even the King fully along with him. Accordingly, so it happened; for in less than a fortnight after this letter, and little more than a month after the day of terror at St. Paul's, an opportunity was presented, which Wolsey, with the Bishops, did not fail to improve for the most impious of all purposes—the burning of the Sacred Scriptures, and to be burned by authority of the King.

Henry the VIII. having written against Martin Luther's book on the Babylonish Captivity, and thus procured from Rome the title of "Defender of the Faith;" Luther in 1521 had published his bold and very rough reply. In September 1525, however, as already hinted, no matter by whose advice, or under what impression, he made an attempt at reconciliation, by addressing a letter to his Majesty. In this letter he actually confessed that at the instance of *other* persons he had grievously offended, by a foolish and precipitate publication, yet, from the reported clemency of the King, he hoped for his forgiveness. He had been told that his Majesty was not the *real* author of the book edited under his name; and, at the same time, though denouncing Wolsey as "a monster, the general odium of God and man, and the plague of his kingdom," he yet prayed for a gracious reply! Luther pled afterwards, that he had been urgently pressed by Christiern King of Denmark to write even *this* letter, but the step taken no one can defend. It was not only unworthy of his character and place, but at variance with the upright integrity of any follower of Christ. "Who knows," said Luther, "but in a happy hour I may gain the King of England?" A little of human vanity, therefore, seems to have been lurking in his mind; but at all events, he must have been quite in the dark as to the existing state of affairs in England, when he could pen and print such a letter.

Henry, in reply, having reproached Luther with levity and inconstancy, as well as his marriage, and the vilest heresy, represented Wolsey as peculiarly dear to him, and of great value in preventing the contagion of the Lutheran heresy; of which, it might have been added, he had lately given a flaming specimen.

A remarkable fact, however, respecting this letter of Luther's has been all but overlooked. Though dated from Wittenberg, on the 1st of September, 1525, more than six months had elapsed before it met the eye of the King. He himself professes that he only received it on the 20th of March! Its non-arrival may well be observed, for, had the same wrath been excited by the end of 1525, the entrance of books at that period, and in January, must have been still more difficult than it was. But arriving five weeks after the famous burning at St. Paul's, a

fine opportunity was now presented for exciting the royal indignation against the *English New Testament*, and covering it with all the odium of *Lutheranism*, the assumed cant of the day. The name of the translator *not being yet* known, for Cochläus had not mentioned it, no doubt it was deemed a happy thought, boldly to assert that the production *was* the device of Luther himself! Henry must have been sufficiently incensed by the letter of Luther alone, and, as for any additional information, both he and Wolsey must have remembered, *too late*, the letters of Rincke and Cochläus; but in the preface of the King's Answer to Luther, addressed to his "dearly beloved people," he denounces the New Testament in English as the "device of *one or two lewd* (illiterate) persons born in this our realm," at the instigation of Luther, noticing "*certain prefaces and other pestilent glosses* in the margins," so that by the advice of Cardinal Wolsey he had resolved that all copies of it found should be burned, and holders or readers of it punished. This advice, thus given and sanctioned, as to the burning of the quarto book, the only edition yet marked out, must have occurred immediately after the reception of Luther's letter, and prepares us for the more formal injunctions of Tunstal and Warham, which, however, did not come out till towards the end of the year, so that we have still several incidents to record before then.

From March to October, whether the friends of truth had enjoyed a breathing time or not, as it regards the prudential importation and circulation of Tyndale's precious volumes, certain events show, that, though living in perilous times, they had zealously improved them. Thus, when the "Supplication of Beggars" was scattering about in London, at and before Candlemas, the author, Mr. Fyshe, it is presumed, was not in England, otherwise he must have run the hazard of being amongst the first victims. Return, however, he *did*, and to London, where he not only sojourned for a season during *this* summer, but was useful and active in the circulation of Tyndale's New Testament. It seems as if he had come for the purpose. He may have brought over copies with him; but, at all events, when we come to the disclosures upon oath in the spring of 1528, we shall find, that, at this very period, he was a confidential

agent, importing the Testament from Mr. Harman of Antwerp, and dealing it out for sale to such as travelled through the country and sold them. After Tunstal's return, he again fled abroad, not returning for about two years and a half.

Mr. Rodolph Bradford, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, coming to London, by the help of Mr. Jeffrey Lome, the Usher of St. Anthony's School, and confidential agent of Mr. Forman of Honey Lane, the colleague of Garret, "he met with certain New Testaments, translated into English by Tyndale, and went to Reading with them, out of a godly zeal to disperse them." There he delivered them to a certain monk, who being apprehended, made known the names of him and others from whom he had them. Whereupon letters were sent over to *Cambridge* to apprehend this Bradford, now returned, together with Dr. Smith of Trinity Hall, Simon Smith of Gonville Hall, *Hugh Latymer*, and Segar Nicolson, a stationer there. Bradford escaped to Ireland, but was taken and imprisoned two years. He afterwards returned to Cambridge, passed as D.D. in 1534, and lived and died Chaplain to Latimer when Bishop of Worcester.²

As the year advanced, however, the alarm continued to increase. The Pontiff himself seemed to be in jeopardy—Luther's rash letter was not forgotten—Henry was printing his Latin reply, and translating it also into English for the press, with a preface to his people—the Bishops were consulting—Tunstal had *now come home*, and something must be done. In what particular month of this year Tunstal had arrived from Spain, does not appear. Wolsey heard in March, says Lord Herbert, that he was on his way homewards, so that it must have been some time after this; and then, however annoying it certainly proved to such a man, he could not remain long in London, before he found it necessary to look into the state of his diocese; for so widely were *both* editions of the Testament now circulated, that even the Archbishop of Canterbury must examine his province. The Bishops were assembled, and, according to Strype, at the instigation of Wolsey. Of this consultation we have no record, but one curious account of it may be glanced at

² Foxe, *first* and following editions, compared with Strype.

from the famous *Satire of William Roye* against the Cardinal. Being abroad, he could, of course, only write according to the report that reached him—and this was incorrect as it regarded Wolsey—but still it may be noticed as one proof, by the way, of the deep interest felt in all the public proceedings of the time.

According to Roye, it was Henry Standish, once Guardian of the Franciscans, and now Bishop of St. Asaph, already mentioned, who first informed Wolsey of the Testament being in the country, imploring him most earnestly to prevent its circulation. This informer, Roye designates *Judas*; and making Wolsey sustain the part of *Pilate*, he represents him as, at the first, paying but little regard to the fury of Standish, and even saying—"I find no fault therein." But when once the Bishops had assembled as a body, and he with them, to examine and determine what was to be done; no sooner did Tunstal, Bishop of London, (or *Caiphas*,) deliver his opinion, than the Cardinal assented, and, of course, all the rest—giving judgment that the book should be sought for, and committed to the flames. In Roye's estimation, however, it was now all in vain, either to "give judgment against the Gospel," or try to prevent its circulation. Thus, in one place, alluding first to the Saviour, and then to the book itself, he says, in his own uncouth, but nervous rhyme—

"God, of his goodness, grudg'd not to die,
Man to deliver from deadly damnation,
Whose will is, that we should know perfectlie
What he here hath done for our salvation.
O cruel Caiphas! full of crafty conspiracy,
How durst thou give then false judgment,
To burn God's word—the holy Testament?

"The lewdness of living is loath to bear
Christ's gospel to come unto clear light;
How be it, surely it is *so spread far and near*,
That for to *let* it, thou hast little might;
God hath opened our dark dimmed sight
Truly to perceive thy tyrannous intent,
To burn God's word—the holy Testament."³

Let the other particulars here given, with the exception of

³ See the original edition in the British Museum; or Harleian Misc., vol. ix. pp. 77, 81. Edit. 1812.

Wolsey's indifference, be as they might, we know that the Bishops did assemble and consult: and that some prohibitory instrument was issued by Wolsey himself, there can be no doubt, as we find Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, acting on the strength of it, in January 1529. Whatever it was, however, this was in his own name, not that of the King, nor does there seem to be any trace of it remaining in existence.

The first instrument generally known to have been published, was the prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tunstal; in which *both* editions of Tyndale's Testament, ("of which," he says, "there are many books, some with glosses and some without,") already dispersed *in great number*, are now, at last, denounced, and Luther's sect falsely employed, as the convenient word of *terror*.

Tunstal's orders being issued on Wednesday the 24th of October, a copy was sent to the Archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester; and eleven days afterwards, or the 3rd of November, a "Mandate," in nearly the same terms, was given out by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to search his entire province. Both instruments refer simply to the New Testament of Tyndale, of both editions, and in wide circulation; *no other book* being referred to, or prohibited at the same moment. Tyndale, therefore, though not yet expressly *named*, enjoyed the honour of being thus exposed *alone*, and as though he had been the great offender of the day; while it will be observed, that the work here carved out for the Archdeacons, instead of being finished in *two months*, occupied official attention for years to come.⁴

After two such injunctions as these had been issued, it was not to be supposed that these enemies of Divine truth either had been or would remain inactive. Accordingly, whether we regard the Bishops at *home*, or the King and Cardinal in their exertions *abroad*, they are all alive, and equally on the alert.

With respect to proceedings at home, Barnes, it must be remembered, had not yet left the country; but he had been so far released as to be now a free prisoner at St. Augustine's; and

⁴ The injunction of Tunstal is in Foxe, vol. ii., p. 284, ed. 1631; and the Mandate of Warham in Wilkins' Concil., vol. iii., p. 706.

Garret, though he had endured penance sufficient at Oxford, had not been so publicly cross-examined. This might elicit some farther information. Articles having been, therefore, vamped up against him, he had been brought up from Osney prison, and about this time stood before Tunstal and his fellows, as already narrated. Following the sad example set him by Barnes, he at last abjured.

Between Oxford and Cambridge, however, there has appeared as yet one material difference in point of the number of convictions. True, the students at Cambridge, being forewarned, had more dexterously concealed their books, and so escaped detection; but there were Latimer and Bilney, not to say others, as notorious as Barnes; nay, the two named were, in every respect, far more so. It may have seemed strange, therefore, that they at least were not ordered up to London at the same time. It must, however, be remembered, that Barnes had rendered himself *most* obnoxious at that moment, by his unceremonious exposure of Wolsey personally: yet engrossed as he was with political affairs, after a season, neither these men, nor some others, had been overlooked.

As for Latimer, his adroitness of reply, and vein of humour, were often of service to him, and to these, perhaps, he was now somewhat indebted. Various complaints had been made against him; but though they had not, it is evident that the interdict of West, the Bishop of Ely, could not remain unnoticed, however unsupported it might be by other authorities. Wolsey, therefore, sent for Latimer, to appear before him at York House, where he himself examined him. Upon his first entrance, the Cardinal seemed surprised, on observing him to be so far advanced in years. Finding him also to be at once acute, learned, and ready in his replies; surpassing in accuracy of learning, either of the Doctors, Capon and Marshall, now in Wolsey's presence; he requested him to give some account of that sermon which he had preached before Dr. West, the Bishop. Latimer did so. "Then," said the Cardinal, "if the Bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have here repeated, you shall have *my* licence, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will." Accordingly, after a gentle admonition only, the Cardinal discharged Latimer, actually giving him his

licence to preach throughout England! A most singular interposition in favour of the truth, at once raising the man above the malice of his enemies, and the interdict of any Bishop in the land!⁵

With regard to Bilney, who had preached with such effect, not only at Cambridge, but in Suffolk and Norfolk, and even in London, whose case at last became so affecting, he made two appearances. The first has been generally overlooked, perhaps partly owing to one passage in the *first* edition of Foxe having been omitted, and the fact coming out incidentally only in the subsequent editions. But of the fact itself, there can be no doubt, or that he did not escape as Latimer had done; for alas! he then first got entangled, and first let go his integrity! At the close of this first appearance he had been enjoined "not to preach any of Luther's opinions, but to impugn them everywhere;" yet afterwards, taking refuge merely on some supposed informality in the oath administered to him, he had gone on much as before. It was on this account that we shall find him come before them in November 1527, or next year, charged with having *relapsed*. More than this, we shall find afterwards, that, at whatever period this first appearance of Bilney took place, there was another man along with him, Thomas Arthur, in the same situation. As for any other Cambridge men, they seem to have been merely admonished.

The mildness hitherto shown to *men*, must have been most annoying to some of these persecutors; and it was afterwards to be visited on the head of Wolsey, when impeached, that he had been the disturber of "the *due and direct* correction of heresies;" but as for zeal in the burning of *books*, the Cardinal was certainly not one whit behind any of them. By the end of this year, therefore, many copies of the New Testament must have been consumed in the flames, for it has been altogether a mistake to confine this to one or two great occasions. On the contrary, in the very first month of next year we shall presently hear the ambassador of Henry, in the Low Countries, bringing it forward as an argument for burning others *there*, that *this had been doing in England daily!*

⁵ MS. Harleian, No. 422, fol. 85-86.

In the midst of all this determined, though vain fury, against the reception of the Word of God into England, it is most gratifying to find that the friends of truth *abroad* had been so active. It was *there* that the King and the Cardinal had been playing their part in this tragedy, and to them we must now turn, after a few words of explanation; for we are not yet done with this notable year, 1526.

The editions of Tyndale's Testament have been hitherto divided into two classes, styled the genuine and spurious; meaning by the former such as he himself edited, and by the latter such as were printed from his, by others. The latter were not so correct, but still they nobly and effectually served their purpose, enlightening and consoling many an immortal spirit.

We have already given the history of the first and second editions printed in 1525, and issued from Worms. We now come to the first printed at Antwerp by Christopher of Endhoven, or the *third* edition. The whole history of it is curious, giving such a display of opposition to the entrance of the Word of God into our native land, as is nowhere else to be found, though it has never before been even noticed in any printed publication.

The two months formally specified in Tunstal's injunction for calling in books at home, were not permitted to expire before it becomes evident that the King and Wolsey, as well as the Bishops, had entered fully into the subject. Finding that, somehow or other, copies were importing, they resolved, if possible, to cut off the supplies from abroad. Well aware that it was from the Low Countries, Brabant, that all these hated Testaments had come, no stone must be left unturned to find them out. All the energy of the English ambassador at the court of Lady Margaret, must be put to the stretch, and we shall now have one striking illustration of how much in earnest were all parties—King, Cardinal, and Bishops—to arrest the progress, and prevent the triumphs of Divine truth. Oh how joyfully would they have consigned the last leaf to the flames! And this, assuredly, they would have done, but for this most annoying and hated "new invention of printing." While, however, they were burning at home, others were busy at the printing press

abroad, and, therefore, the frenzy of the enemy must extend from England to Brabant.

How providential was it, that, by this time, the power and the terror of Wolsey's name were upon the wane! Only a few years before, the Lady Regent of these countries, Princess Margaret, had whispered in his ear the sweet sound of the Popedom, and her own wish to see him in the Papal Chair; nay, and proposed to write to the Emperor, her nephew, in his favour.⁶ Now, however, she had found good reason to suspect the man.⁷ High words had passed between the parties, and also with Count Hoogstrate, one of the Lady Margaret's Council, to whom application was about to be made. Wolsey, moreover, had insulted, by the insolence of his language, Monsieur Bever, the Lord of Campvere and Admiral of Flanders, the Emperor's ambassador to England, now returned to the Low Countries. Added to all this, it had been a favourite project of the Cardinal, to withdraw the English merchants and "the mart for goods," from Antwerp to Calais. All these things were against him; and "the Lords of Antwerp," who, at one period, not long past, would have at once crouched before him, by the good providence of God, will now prove neither so pliant nor obsequious.

Wolsey, however, fully aware of all these circumstances, had resolved that the search for *books* upon the Continent should commence with the highest authority; and he must, therefore, have the King on the throne called the "Defender of the Faith," to command the destruction of the Sacred Volume! The ink of Tunstal's injunction was scarcely dry, before Henry had signed his letters; one addressed to Princess Margaret, and the other to the Governor of the *English House* at Antwerp. Wolsey's letters, also, dated the 31st of October and 3rd November, were directed to *John Hackett*, the Agent for the Crown and English Envoy at that Court, and all were conveyed by the same messenger. At a formal audience, on Saturday the 17th of November, Hackett delivered the King's letters to the Lady Margaret, in presence of the Lords of her Council; and, on the 19th, the Princess herself replied to Henry—"She can-

⁶ MS. Cotton, Galba, B. vii. p. 353, 354, b.

⁷ Galba, B. vi. fo. 3, 9, 10,

not sufficiently praise his Majesty's *virtuous* intentions! She had consulted with Hackett, and since the reception of the King's letter, she had pointedly commanded her officers to search the country for these books, intending to proceed in all rigour against those whom they found culpable."⁸ Two days after this, Hackett informs Wolsey of his cordial reception at Court, and that he had "delivered the King's letter to the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers, who promised that on the first day at Barrow,⁹ he would show the King's highness and the Cardinal's mind and pleasure as touching these new imprinted books, and shall do his best, (and *so will I*,) utterly to destroy, and bring them to nought." Hackett is very warm in the cause, for if it did not succeed, he thought that "every fool would think to be a doctor!"¹⁰

But in negotiating this business, our ambassador had no easy task assigned to him. Books were to be sought for in the large and busy city of Antwerp. As Envoy, he lived fifteen miles distant, at Mechlin, where the reigning Princess held her court. In Antwerp itself, the Margrave, as representative of the Emperor, resided; but as that city enjoyed its *own* laws and privileges, of which the "Lords of Antwerp" were the guardians, their authority was paramount to all others. Hackett eagerly desired to gratify the Cardinal and his English Bishops, but then he was about to meddle with the citizens of "no mean city."

On the 17th of December he wrote to the King's Secretary, reporting progress, and addressed another to Wolsey on the 22nd, an instance of those double dispatches which the Cardinal uniformly required. In the latter he states the difficulties he met with in the business; as it was "one that touched both life and goods," the Lords of Antwerp would give no sentence till they had a translation of the English Testament into Latin or German, by which to form a judgment of its heresy. In vain he urged his Master's authority; they must have a copy of each of the books condemned ere they could proceed in the matter,

⁸ Galba, B. ix. fol. 33, b.

⁹ Barrow, Barois, Barrough, all refer to the same place, now known as Bergen-op-Zoom, *then* in immediate contact with the water.

¹⁰ Galba, B. ix. fol. 35.

remarking that each country had its own laws, and must act upon them alone. He concludes by begging a copy of each book for the Council of Lady Margaret, and for the Lords of Antwerp.

Copies of the Testaments had, however, been sent *before* he wrote for them, and he soon had to report that the Lady Regent, on seeing the books and the Cardinal's letter, had written to the Margrave and Council of Antwerp, "to do justice and correction upon all such books as they can find in the limits of their jurisdiction,"—that the Lords of Antwerp had promised to "do their devoir according to right and reason," but this required that Christopher Endhoven, the printer of these books, should be heard in his own defence. And heard he was, and to so good effect, that the Lords gave sentence, "that, before the banishment of the said printer, the confiscation of his goods, or the burning of his books, the Margrave, as officer of the Emperor, shall show and declare some articles contained in the said books, where these errors and heresies be found." But the Margrave would proceed no farther in the business. Finally Hackett proposes as the shortest way of getting quit of the books, to buy the whole stock, send them over to England and burn them there.

How degraded was the condition of London then, compared with that of this city! The Lords of Antwerp stand here, deservedly, on very high ground. The name of the reigning Princess, or even that of the Emperor himself, though backed by the orders of the "Defender of the Faith," and his mighty Cardinal, could not intimidate them. The establishment of those cities which, in return for their opulence or commercial power, obtained for themselves certain invaluable privileges, has been styled "the commercial phenomenon of the thirteenth century." It was one of those providential arrangements of human society, which Infinite Wisdom occasionally employed afterwards, for the protection of civil rights, or staying the vengeance of the oppressor. But, added to this, there was yet another arrangement, and in favour of Britain,—the establishment of English factories within those cities, known by the title of "the English House," or Company of "Merchant Adventurers." These were, in one sense, Normal Schools, where our countrymen first came to understand and value the liberty of the

subject. The English merchants resident in Antwerp became citizens, and to more than one of them, England stood greatly indebted for the importation of the Sacred Scriptures.

In the abundance of his zeal, Hackett not only visited *Antwerp, Barrow, Zealand*, and other places, but made "privy inquisitions" at *Ghent and Bruges*, at *Brussels, Louvaine*, and *elsewhere*, after books, which was all in obedience to Wolsey's instructions; so that he thinks *forty marks* (£26 13s. 4d.), which he had just received, should be allowed him for "*expenses extraordinary.*" Yet, in the end, notwithstanding all this toil, it is gratifying to observe, that so far from Christopher Endhoven being banished, they could not even touch his goods. Thanks to his residence in the free city of Antwerp! The books, however, so far as detected there and at Barrow, were burned, though happily they had found out only *a part*. Of all this Hackett did not fail immediately to inform the King's Secretary; and in his second dispatch to Wolsey, dated from Mechlin the 20th of February, he informs him that "execution and justice has been done in the towns of Antwerp and Barrow, upon all such English books as we could find in these countries, similar to *three* such other books as your Grace sent unto me with my Lord the Bishop of London's signature." This, however, had been accomplished, it is evident, with no small difficulty, and it was, in the end, only by a stretch of power; as the Envoy confesses that till "a translation of some particular heresies contained in the said book were got out of England," he could not get the printers, buyers or sellers punished, either in body or in goods.

In conveying this request, Hackett did not foresee the consequences to himself afterwards, otherwise, perhaps, he would have been silent, for we are not done with him yet; though we have slightly trespassed on 1527, only that we might finish the account of this business, and bring to a conclusion the important transactions of the preceding year.

All this turmoil is entirely new to the English reader, and certainly it lends an additional and peculiar interest, not only to the two first editions of Tyndale, but to the first imitation of his book, or the third edition. No printer would have ventured on such a thing, without the prospect of a ready sale, even

in the face of royal indignation. For could a copy of this first print at Antwerp now be identified, then might we say of it—Here is the volume, printed by Endhoven, which so agitated our authorities at home and abroad; and engrossed our ambassador as eagerly as if he had been intent on preventing the plague from entering into England. We have, however, yet to see whether this interference was to his honour or disgrace. Meanwhile, although we can by no means affirm that we have found out the book, since the following collation refers to one of the earliest editions, we give it entire—

“A copy is in Bishop Cosin’s Library at Durham, which may turn out to be some one very early and unknown. The title is in a small compartment of four parts, with top and bottom scriptural subjects. On the top, the creation and birth of the Saviour; at the bottom, Adam and Eve beguiled, and the crucifixion. The volume consists of 446 leaves, on the last of which is the Revelation of St. Judas, Jude. There are 26 lines in a full page. Matthew begins on folio 11; and the volume extends to R r in eights. The chapters are marked into portions by large letters on the margin; and there are a few marginal notes. It has ornamented capitals; the first T, two boys carrying on a stick a dead stag, with the head upwards.”¹¹

Should this, however, prove to be one of the edition now under consideration, there is another copy, and of a more extraordinary character, in the collection at Norwood-hill. Not only is it in the original hog-skin binding, which would be curiosity enough, but, to this hour, many of the leaves *remain not yet cut open*!—a peculiarity not to be expected in a book nearly three hundred and twenty years old, and one which, it may be safely presumed, will stamp the volume as *unique*, amongst all these rare early editions.

The following pages will throw still farther light on this interesting period, but we have now done for the present with the memorable year 1526.

Instead of having to be satisfied with only one edition of the New Testament, and that of doubtful or hitherto disputed origin, we have had *three* distinctly before us, besides, as will be more fully proved, a separate impression of Matthew and Mark, circulating through the country. We have seen all the authorities, from the King downwards, roused in opposition;

¹¹ Lowndes’ Bib. Manual.

and the people, though in secret, were reading with avidity. It was the season of entrance to Britain's greatest earthly treasure; and one should have imagined that it would have been marked in our calendar, with a red letter, or fully understood, long ere now. Viewing these first printed volumes in their ultimate effects, the year may well be regarded by all British Christians, as by far the most important, in the long and varied history of their native land.


A fire was then kindled by the Almighty, through the instrumentality of his servant, which, in the highest exercise of his loving-kindness, He has never suffered to be extinguished; light was then introduced, which He has never withdrawn; and a voice was then heard by the people, which has sounded in the ears of their posterity to the present hour. For whatever may be said of men, as men, it is to *the word of truth in the vulgar tongue* that we owe everything in this highly-favoured country!

Many of these volumes, it is true, were consigned to the flames; and the wonder is that any of them escaped detection. But every one knows with what avidity men *will* read an interdicted book, while the call for its deliverance up would only make certain minds grasp it harder still. Besides, though in part detected, in such places as London and Oxford—for in Cambridge they were not—copies had gone, far and near, into the hamlets and towns in the country, where, no doubt, they were enjoyed by stealth, and hid with anxious care.

The preceding statements are not hypothetical; the reader has been entertained neither with mere conjectures or probability only; and as subsequent events will both illustrate and confirm the preceding, we presume it will now be conceded, as not a little extraordinary, that more than three centuries should have been allowed to pass away, before a year so full of incident; nay, of peculiar favour to Britain, has been investigated. We have said Britain, because it will appear, in its proper place, that, at this very period, Scotland was mercifully visited with the same favour.

MDXXVII.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PROGRESS—HIS EARLIEST COMPOSITIONS—PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—OPPOSITION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT—WARHAM AND THE BISHOPS BUYING IT UP—FRESH IMPORTATIONS—THE FOURTH EDITION—SCRIPTURES SINGULARLY INTRODUCED ONCE MORE.

N returning to Tyndale, whom we left alone at Worms, after having completed his New Testaments, we do so with abundant evidence, that he had not laboured in vain. Much has vaguely been ascribed to Latin works then imported from the Continent, and in consequence of even their effects, the "spirituality" of the day no doubt dreaded almost every leaf; but the history already given clearly shows, that the *New Testament in the vulgar tongue* was the great object of apprehension. While yet in his native land, Tyndale "had perceived by experience how that it was impossible to stablish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text:" and so now, as the Word of the Lord was enlightening the minds, "converting the soul, and making wise the simple," it had proved also "like a fire or a hammer," and was breaking the rocks in pieces.

Very soon, through whatever medium, Tyndale was made intimately acquainted with the storm that raged in England, and, amidst all its tumultuous howling, he had ample encouragement to proceed with his Old Testament from the Hebrew; but in the year 1526, he must have been also very busy in preparing for the press, as we shall find that the year 1527 was distinguished by the first appearance of two publications, namely, his exposition of "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," and his "Obedience of a Christian man."

Some time, however, before the appearance of anything else in print, we may now safely assert, that Tyndale had been favoured by the company, consolation, and assistance of his devoted Christian friend, John Fryth, who had fled from Oxford to the Continent about September 1526, and no doubt fully reported progress. An affection subsisted between these two

eminent men, akin to that between Paul and Timothy of old, though in one point the parallel fails—the younger died first. Fryth was not only Tyndale's own son in the faith, but he had no man so dear to him; and as all parties, even his enemies, agreed in bearing testimony to the attainments of Fryth as a scholar, nothing could be more opportune than his arrival; but before saying more of him, some notice must be taken of William Roye, whom Tyndale had found it necessary to dismiss from his service in 1525.

In 1526, as already hinted, circumstances having suggested to our Translator, the necessity of encouraging those to whom it had been sent, by some exposition of his own views of Divine Truth, he commenced by writing out "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon;" but *before* it appeared, there had come to his possession the copy of a Dialogue, translated out of Latin into English, which had been printed at Strasburg by his late amanuensis, with a prologue of his own composition.

This singular character, Roye, as well as another named Jerome, were two Franciscan friars from the noted monastery at Greenwich, close by the favourite palace of Henry VIII. The inmates of this monastery, as well as of another at Richmond, with whom they were occasionally in league, were a great annoyance to the King. Thus the residence of Roye and Jerome, in immediate vicinity to the Court, and to all the gorgeous feats of Henry and his Cardinal, afforded such opportunities as fully account for the very graphic poetical satire already quoted, and to which we now refer. After leaving Tyndale's service, Roye had proceeded to Strasburg, where he published his "Dialogue between the Father and the Son," about the end of 1526. Soon after this came his "*Rede me, and be not wrothe,*" or Satire on Wolsey and the Monastic orders, frequently denounced as "*The burying of the Mass,*"—one of the most extraordinary satires, it has been said, of this or any other age. It was first published in small octavo, black letter, with a wood-cut of the Cardinal's coat-of-arms. Wolsey was so annoyed by it, that he spared neither pains nor expense to procure the copies, employing more than one emissary for the purpose. Hence its extreme rarity; a copy of this original edition having been sold for as high a sum as sixteen or twenty

guineas! It is reprinted, however, in the Harleian Miscellany by Park.

With a modesty and prudence, highly characteristic, our Translator had put forth the New Testament *without* his name, and he earnestly wished to have gone on, through life, with anonymous publication; but the sight of Roye's Dialogue and Prologue, in connexion with his previous conduct, had fully convinced Tyndale that there was an imperative necessity, not only for affixing his name to what he now published, but for his disclaiming all connexion or even intercourse with Roye, after a certain period. This he does in his preface to the "Parable of the Wicked Mammon," where he informs us when and how long and in what capacity he had employed Roye, till he bade him "farewell for our two lives," and afterwards had occasion to warn Jerome of his boldness (see p. 28); that Roye, on coming to Strasburg, found this Jerome, and "gat him to him and set him a work to make *rhymes*, while he himself translated a dialogue out of Latin into English, in whose prologue he promiseth more a great deal than, I fear me, he will ever pay. It becometh not the Lord's servant to use railing rhymes, but God's Word, which is the right weapon to slay sin, vice, and all iniquity."

It is a curious fact, that, notwithstanding the above distinct explanation, and decided disapprobation of all such *rhyme*, Tyndale for a year, if not two, lay under the imputation of being actually the author of Roye's Satire. He was now, by anticipation, endeavouring to prevent this, and the event fully justifies the severity of his language.

Tyndale had already given a specimen of his scholarship. It remained now to be discovered, whether he was to be at all distinguished as a judicious man; a character from which a mere scholar often stands at a great distance. One is curious to hear, what he had got to say *first*, and especially, if to England, from the city of Worms. In his deliberate judgment, it becomes evident, that most of the evils with which his native country was now infested, were to be traced to the *love* of money. Hence, even the title of this, his very first treatise—"The Wicked Mammon." The "Spirituality" of the day, so called, appeared to him as the "Successors of *Simon Magus*," "who would have bought the

gift of God to have sold it much dearer." Bred up as Tyndale had been in Gloucestershire, it was quite natural that he should feel deeply for the people, as ground down or pillaged, by exactions, and "spiritual alms," falsely so denominated. It was not, however, that he had now commenced, by a lecture on covetousness. Far from it. But the *title* having once attracted the reader's eye, as it was very likely to do, he found himself at once addressed on the only genuine origin of all vital religion. Commencing with the great and fundamental subject of a sinner's acceptance before God; believing the gospel to be the ministration of righteousness and of the Spirit, and Christ alone "the great store-house of mercy;" he magnifies Divine revelation as the ground of all certainty in matters so important. Selecting a great variety of passages, the interpretation of which involve a deep and intimate acquaintance with Divine truth, though in one or two instances he has not hit the sense; yet Tyndale shows, with no common discrimination, how they all perfectly coalesce, and agree with the general doctrine; that a man is justified before God by faith in Christ Jesus, and not by the works of the law.

This publication, however, in Tyndale's estimation, was not sufficient. He intended to be open and explicit, not only as to doctrine, but the Divine precepts; not only as to faith, but obedience, in its full extent. He saw, and deeply felt, that, in his native country, the whole foundations were out of course,—that there were men reigning there, falsely called, nay, and calling themselves "spiritual," who not only had taken away the very key of knowledge, and taught for doctrines the commandments of men; but who had broken the bonds of all human society, beggared the nation by their exactions, and sunk it into a state of pollution and depravity. This accounts for his able exposition of duty incumbent on all parties—the obedience of children to parents, of servants to masters, of wives to their husbands, of subjects to their sovereign; not forgetting the obligations of all the superior parties, including the duty of kings, of judges and officers of the land. That false and usurped spiritual power which undermined and destroyed all other, is then particularly examined and reprobated.

This publication Tyndale entitled "The Obedience of a

Christian Man, and how Christian Rulers ought to govern : wherein also (if thou mark diligently) thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty conveyance of all Jugglers."

Such, with his name affixed, was the manifesto of William Tyndale, published, too, at the very season in which God was pleading with Britain by the voice of his mouth, and had risen up in judgment on the city of Rome. After this, no man could affirm that he did not plead emphatically for practical religion, or the fruits of faith. Nor is it wonderful if Henry VIII. himself was, at one moment, moved by this publication, as we shall see afterwards ; for, to every impartial mind, it must have been evident that Tyndale was not only a genuine lover of his country, but one of the most enlightened and loyal subjects of the Crown.

Throughout the year 1527, political events rendered it next to impossible that any moment should be left to attend to the suppression of Tyndale's New Testament, or the persecution of those who possessed it. But if there was, we can more fully estimate the extent of that apprehension and anxiety which agitated, even at such a time as this, not only the Bishops of the day, but all the votaries of "the old learning."

It was but one short year since the Sacred Volume had arrived in the country ; and yet see how deeply its enemies were moved. The first inveterate opponent who excites notice, was "an ancient doctor, called, as I remember," says Cavendish, "Doctor (Robert) Ridley, a very small person in stature, but surely a great and excellent clerk in divinity !" He was celebrated as a canonist, and had been consulted by Wolsey, years before this, respecting the prevention of Lutheranism. Related to Cuthbert Tunstal, he, in the year 1523, had made him Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate ; in 1524, Prebend (Mora) of St. Paul's, and more recently Rector of St. Edmond's, Lombard Street. Was it wonderful that this little man should wax warm in the service of the hierarchy ? The bitterness of his zeal would exceed belief, could we not present a specimen from his own pen. Yet was he no other than the uncle of the learned and amiable Nicholas Ridley, the future martyr ; and gave him, at his sole expense, his fine education at home and abroad ! The uncle and

nephew have occasionally been confounded, though no two men could form a stronger contrast.

From a singular letter of this Robert Ridley,¹ as yet unpublished, dated 24th February, 1527, and addressed to Henry Golde at Knolle, as chaplain to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, we learn that in the year 1526, Tyndale's quarto Testament, with the prologue prefixed, was circulating in England. We learn also that there was an edition of Matthew and Mark separately, which he designates the *first print*, the former being styled the *second print*. That he was correct in this, in 1528, there will be but little doubt; to say nothing more of its giving such emphasis to the language of Foxe, already noticed. "William Tyndale first placed himself in Germany, and there did *first* translate the gospel of St. Matthew into English, and *after*, the whole New Testament." The invaluable fragment, however, of the quarto New Testament, lately discovered, and now in the Grenville Library, British Museum, is not, as before hinted, a part of this publication. It extends, indeed, no farther than the 23rd chapter of Matthew; but then it has the preface or prologue prefixed, with the pages, or rather letters, running on; and, besides this, the list of *all* the canonical books of the New Testament at the beginning. There is, however, little or no necessity for pointing out this distinction, since Ridley quotes from *Corinthians* and *Titus*—a decisive proof that he had had the quarto Testament *entire* before him. From this letter we also learn to a certainty, that the Introduction, or *Prologue to the Romans*, by itself, was already in circulation. Herbert was therefore correct in his conjecture, when he placed this under the year 1526. What proofs were these, that Tyndale, for his country's best interests, must have been labouring night and day!

Notwithstanding the solemn and pointed injunctions of the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, issued in the close of 1526, calling in *both* editions, both Bishops had found that the possessors of the Sacred Volume were by no means disposed to surrender it, merely for being threatened;

¹ Cotton, Cleopatra, E. v. fol. 362, b.

and as for the copies still abroad, if the influence of Wolsey over Brabant was last year less than it had been, in this, of course, it was lower still. His political leanings were now better known, not only to the Emperor and the Lady Margaret, but to the Lords of Antwerp, and all the merchants. Hackett the ambassador, it will be remembered, had implored a list of heresies, taken out of the Testament, to be translated into German, that he might proceed at Antwerp or other places with more rigour and despatch ; but Providence intervening, Wolsey was engrossed in far different employment ; and so now, it seems, if any more Testaments are to be obtained, they must be *bought*, not seized. The ambassador either dared not, or could not, play the same game a second time.

At his wits' end, as we have already seen, Hackett was the first who suggested the idea of *purchasing* and burning, in order to prevent the circulation ; and all preceding accounts hitherto printed, without exception, hold up Tunstal as the only man who adopted it. But this, like too many others, is a general mistake, as for two years to come he did nothing of the kind. The purchasing *began* with a higher ecclesiastical authority than that of Tunstal ; nor should the step be represented as *merely* foolish, even although it actually furthered the work it was meant to crush. The fact was, that these Bishops were in a frenzy, yet none of them were so far gone, as to purchase without a reason. Any one of them, as we shall see presently, was not disposed to be at more *expense* than what was absolutely necessary ; but they were certainly in great haste, because the haste of fear, and so the purchase became a matter of necessity, not of choice : since the rights of the subject were, at this moment, far better understood at Antwerp than in England.

It was Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in the spring of 1527, had busied himself in procuring what copies could be found out abroad of Tyndale's New Testament ; and he succeeded in purchasing a part of Tyndale's original editions in *quarto* and *octavo*, though there might be some of the third Antwerp impression among them. Wolsey and Warham were not far from being as much at variance, as were Herod and Pontius Pilate, in the days of old ; but, as opposition to the Saviour made them friends for the moment, so, in opposition to

His Word, these modern authorities were cordially united. From a letter of Nix, Bishop of Norwich, dated 14th June, 1527,² we find him congratulating Warham on his zeal and success in buying up all the English New Testaments, both those *with glosses* and those *without* them, at a cost of £66 9s. 4d., a sum equivalent to nearly £1000 now. Of this sum the Bishop offers to pay a tenth part, and more if required. Poor old man! He had been *literally* blind for a considerable time, and was now seventy-seven years of age. His signature has all the appearance of a blind man's mark. Few individuals in England were more annoyed by the circulation of the Scriptures than he was. We shall find him persecuting and consigning Bilney to the flames; for he lived nine years longer, and died, as he had lived, blind in every sense, in January 1536, at the advanced age of at least eighty-six! But we shall meet with him more than once, before his death.

If Warham was busy abroad, Tunstal was not less so at home; if the one was eager to prevent importation, the latter had not relaxed in anxiety to obtain all those books that were in use. He seems, however, to have been annoyed by a double suspicion; that his Archdeacons were either remiss in obeying his injunctions, or the people were too knowing for all their research. Both suspicions were, in fact, not without foundation. Tunstal, therefore, instead of waiting longer for the owners of the Testaments delivering them up, resolved upon a strict visitation of his whole diocese this summer. But see again the kind interposition of a gracious Providence! This man, as well as Wolsey and Sir Thomas More, must all prepare in June to embark for France, where they are to remain till the month of October. The consequence was, that although the visitation was remitted to Geoffrey Wharton, as his Vicar, little, or rather nothing, was done in the way of persecution till Tunstal's return.

After his return, however, he had received some written information against certain individuals; and in November, as already explained, the Bishops were summoned by Wolsey, as Vicar-General of all England, to meet him at Westminster. He opened his court in this character, and commenced the pro-

² Cotton, Vitell. B. ix. fol. 117, b.

ceedings; "but because," says Foxe, "he was otherwise occupied with *affairs of the realm*, he committed the hearing of the matter to the Bishop of London, and to other Bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spiritual as temporal, as also against writings and books—giving them full power to determine upon them."

On this occasion Bilney and Arthur were rigidly examined. Arthur soon abjured, and is heard of no more. Bilney stood for a while, and endeavoured by calm and tender representations to soften his persecutors, but in vain. They tormented and inveigled his conscience, till at last he too abjured, and bare the faggot at St. Paul's. Thus he fell, though like Peter of old, after bitter repentance, to rise again.

It has never been before observed, and it may now scarcely be believed, that these proceedings were going on in London amidst general and extreme misery, through the very high price, and, in many instances, the absolute want of food. Such, however, was the fact; and so burning hot, as Foxe would say, was their zeal. What with the distress of the people for the necessities of life, and this formidable array of men, calling themselves Bishops, sitting in judgment under their lately promoted Vicar-General, as if the power of Rome had now been concentrated in England; so far as it regarded the progress and circulation of the Divine Word, the horizon could scarcely become darker. The hand of God was certainly not unseen in its first introduction; but *then* these blind and cruel authorities were scattered by the *plague*; and though they had been forewarned by the common enemy, they were not then upon their guard. Now they are "gathered together," and literally "taking counsel" on the very subject. But let us see what happened; and observe also, whether the God of Nature, and the Governor among the nations, be not also the God of the Bible.

Nothing, it is true, could be more unlikely, than that any more copies of the Sacred Volume should arrive in this country at such a crisis; it might seem altogether impossible. Throughout the whole year, England, under Wolsey's influence, was fomenting war with the Emperor, and consequently with the Low Countries or Flanders, but courting alliance with France. In the latter, there were, of course, no English

Scriptures; in the former, copies were lying ready for being introduced here confidentially, with secrecy and silence. But if there should be a bar to merchandise in general, and the merchants of Flanders and England cannot exchange goods, how was there any chance of conveying the "Book of God" with them, or under their cover? It had come through this medium before, but how could it by any possibility do so now?

The reader may recollect, that the year 1527 was introduced by severe disease. Immediately after this, in consequence of "the great rains which fell in the sowing time," by the fall of the year, bread advanced to such a price, that the people were in danger of starvation. Wheat, at last, not only had risen from sixteen shillings, to *one pound six shillings and eightpence* the quarter, but ere long it was not to be obtained for money. Commissioners were sent into every county to inquire what wheat remained in the realm; but at the same time to *enjoin*, that none should be conveyed *from one county to another*. The consequence was, *London* at last so felt the pressure, that the Mayor and Aldermen came to Wolsey on his return from France, and told him, "either the people must die from famine, or else they, with strong hand, will fetch corn from them that have it." He cared little for any man's life, when his path was crossed, and put them off with, no doubt, a daring falsehood!—that the King of France had said to him, that "if he had but three bushels of wheat, England should have two, so much he loveth and regardeth this realm!" This was at least acknowledging, that while he was abroad, the scarcity was well known to him, amidst all his gorgeous parade. The people then, from day to day, looked for French wheat, but none came; and what is more observable, even such as the English merchants had bought and *shipped* in Normandy and other places, was there *restrained*, so that all relief from these parts entirely failed! But just then, "the gentle merchants of the Stilyard," says the old chronicler, Halle, "brought from Dantzic, Bremen, Hamburg, and other places, great plenty; and so did other merchants from Flanders, Holland, and Frisland, so that wheat was better cheap in London than in all England over." And *thus* it was, that a way was opened for the introduction of more books! On

board of these vessels with grain, there must have been various importations of Tyndale's New Testament; but one is too remarkable to be passed over in silence, as it included not less than five hundred copies by one man. Yes, notwithstanding all the fury of Hackett, and the imprisonment of Endhoven, *another* printer in Antwerp had already finished another edition! This was now the second in that place, or the *fourth* in all. The fact comes out, incidentally, about four months after this, in the examination of a distributor, before Tunstal. He had been charged with going about to buy a *great number* of New Testaments, when he emits the following answer:—"That about Christmas last (Dec. 1527), there came a Dutchman, being now in the *Fleet* prison, which would have sold this respondent two or three hundred of the said New Testaments in English, which this respondent did not buy, but sent him to Mr. Fysh." Connect this with the following entry in Foxe's list of persons abjured in 1528:—"John Raimund, a Dutchman, for causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England." There is but one mistake here, in the name of the *Dutchman*, as he is called. Every one at all acquainted with Foxe, knows how inaccurate and irregular he is in the orthography of proper names. Hans van Roemundt is the name of the *Antwerp* printer as given by Panzer and Le Long. The name in English ought to have been John Ruremonde.

One distinguishing feature of this edition consists in certain woodcuts. It is thus referred to by Joye, as the second Dutch edition—"They printed it *again*, also, without a corrector, in a greater letter and volume, with the *figures* in the Apocalypse, which were much falser than their first;" and alluding then to the former impression, he adds, "there were of them *both* about *five thousand* books printed." One copy of this book, which appears to have been reprinted from the *quarto* edition of Tyndale, is supposed to be in the library of Emanuel College, Cambridge.


The fact was, and it is animating to discover it even now, that such a book was printing in Antwerp *at the very time when Endhoven was suffering*; for so early as the preceding May, and just about the time that Warham was rejoicing over his *purchase*

of Testaments, the printer had completed the volume! Thus, after all the toil of Master Hackett, he was then the subject of *fresh* alarm. On the 23rd of May, 1527, therefore, he wrote to Wolsey that he had found copies of the English New Testament, printed by "*new* printers of the town of Antwerp," and had seized 24 of them in one man's hands, but could not lay hold on the printers or vendors till he had a specific charge of heresy to make against them. He states also that "more than two thousand such like English books" were offered at last Frankfort market.

Under all these circumstances, it is now almost evident that part of this *fourth* edition had found its way into England, by the end of 1527; for that Testaments did arrive at this gloomy and necessitous period, there can now be no question. Men are but too apt to overlook the footsteps of a particular providence, but the arrival of books through *such* a medium, and at such a period, was too remarkable an event to be passed over in silence. Could it fail to be observed with gratitude at the time? After turning "a fruitful land into barrenness," and the people were "brought low, through oppression, affliction, and sorrow;" with bread corn came the bread from heaven. Through these very channels, the Sacred Volume had come before, and now, notwithstanding all the wrath and rage in high places, it came again. The bread that perisheth must rise in price, and finally fail, that the bread of life may come. He who appointed a way for His anger, was at the same moment preparing a way also for the reception of His Word. In wrath He remembered mercy. Well might the people have said—"Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord."

MDXXVIII.

TYNDALE AND FRYTH—PRESENT PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—ARRESTED BY PREVAILING DISEASE—PERSECUTION IN ANTWERP—NOBLY WITHSTOOD AND DEFEATED — WOLSEY'S PURSUIT AFTER TYNDALE AND OTHERS — ALL IN VAIN.

N the course of the year 1528, we have no distinct account of any thing new having issued from the press, translated or composed by Tyndale; although some of his smaller tracts, without date, may have been printed. There were, however, fresh editions of his two publications, already mentioned. Of "The Parable," there was one if not two editions, and of "The Obedience" certainly two, the first of which is dated in May, and the second in October of this year. That the books had been read or purchased with avidity, and were in growing demand,—this, especially in those early days, is proof sufficient; but not one of these were printed at Worms. Tyndale and Fryth had now certainly removed elsewhere. All these pieces were printed at one place and by the same man—Hans Luft, a favourite printer "at Malborough in the land of Hesse," or Marburg,¹ the capital of Upper Hesse. To our Translator, within the last eighteen months, this place must have become strongly attractive. There is no intimation or even hint of any visit yet paid to Wittenberg; it was still 200 miles distant, and it becomes more than doubtful whether Tyndale was *ever* there.

Nor are we at any loss to understand how Tyndale was here engaged. It must have been a mighty addition to his comfort, for such a man as Roye to be succeeded by John Fryth. The former once dismissed, in 1526 Fryth had reached his friend and father of the same opinions. Equally interested in the translation of the Scriptures for their native land, from day to day this subject had fully engrossed their minds. But at present we refrain from saying more till the books of the Pentateuch were printed. As Fryth, however, is the *only* man who can certainly be associated with Tyndale in his present engagements,

¹ Marburg, the ancient *Mattium*, is situate on the right bank of the Lahn, a tributary of the Rhine, 41 miles north from Frankfort.

it is necessary that he should be now more fully introduced to the notice of the reader.

John Fryth was born in 1503, at Westerham, a market-town in Kent, near the head of the Darent, a tributary of the Thames. His father, Richard, as an inn-holder, lived afterwards at Sevenoaks, near the same stream. It was allowed, even by his enemies, that Fryth was an excellent scholar, after the advantages he had enjoyed, first at Cambridge, and then at Oxford, thus reversing the order of Tyndale's education. As Fryth, however, received his University education at King's College, Cambridge, he must, of course, also have been a scholar at Eton. It was while proceeding in his studies, that Tyndale was at Cambridge, and through his instrumentality, as Foxe expresses it, Fryth "first received into his heart the seed of the gospel, and sincere godliness." Such being the case, it is a circumstance not to be forgotten in our future history, that Fryth had for his tutor no other than Stephen Gardiner, the future Bishop of Winchester. Some time in 1523, when Tyndale was in London, it is next to certain his much-loved friend must have been with him, since before they were separated, and Fryth remained behind, it has been stated, that they used to converse respecting the necessity for the Scriptures being "turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain Word of God." In this case, Fryth must have looked and longed for success to attend the enterprise of the man he most loved upon earth.

Tyndale, however, sailing for Hamburg, Fryth was, ere long, selected, for his acquirements, as a Cambridge scholar; and called away to Oxford by Wolsey, became a canon in Cardinal College. Having already proceeded as B.A. at Cambridge, he was admitted to the same degree at Oxford in December 1525. Fryth could not have been idle in advancing his opinions, for those young men from Cambridge, already mentioned, were much of his mind. But in two months, even to a day, after he had taken his degree, not only he, but they, had incurred high displeasure. These men might have been styled "the hope of the nation," though we have heard old Warham rate them, in his letter to Wolsey, as nothing more than "a number of young uncircumspect fools."

Fools they might be called by the Primate of England, but *uncircumspect* was not the right word. Generally speaking, they were looking in one direction, and, at the moment, saw farther than their calumniator. Here at least was Fryth; but little did Wolsey imagine, that in selecting him, and most probably by his tutor *Gardiner's* recommendation, he had laid his hand on the ardent admirer of that man whom he was afterwards so eager to apprehend on the Continent. Left behind in England, Fryth had proved, among his fellows, an *expectant* of whatever Tyndale should be able to accomplish; and one can more easily conceive than express how he must have hailed the arrival, and the very first sight of the New Testament at Oxford. It certainly had been longed for, and it came at last.

Fryth was then twenty-three years of age, and not only a lover of learning, but acute and eminent in talent. Yet, once aware of the cruelties practised on Delaber and Garret, as already detailed, and being so far at liberty, he effected his escape, and landed, like his forerunner, on a foreign shore. This could not possibly be before the autumn of 1526, so that the undivided credit of translating the New Testament, and forwarding it to his country, remains with Tyndale alone. The flight of Fryth has been placed much later, even in 1528, but it is evident that he durst not have remained so long. That he ever revisited England before he came to die at the stake, we have no certain evidence; but we now see him as the able coadjutor of his elder brother for years.

At the commencement of 1528, according to the preceding history, the New Testament of Tyndale had now been introduced into England for the space of two years, a fact which will be abundantly confirmed by the disclosures of the present period. Speaking generally of these times, Strype has said,—“The New Testament translated by Hitchen, that is Tyndale, was in many hands, and read with great application and joy; and they had secret meetings, in which they instructed each other out of God’s Word;” but after carefully examining the minute, though scattered details, a far more interesting and graphical account now comes out, not only of these two years, but of the years preceding.

From the days of John Wickliffe, if not Richard Fitzralph,

the disciples of Christ were much in the same situation with those Israelites in the days of Elijah, whom God "reserved to himself." Hidden and unknown, their number can never be ascertained, otherwise it probably would surprise us, as much as the "seven thousand" did the desponding prophet of old. But there can be no doubt that portions of the Scriptures in manuscript were read in secret, and by many with great profit, notwithstanding all the virulent opposition. Our only key to the extent of this, is to be found in the opposition displayed. Mere gleams of light obtained from the Sacred Word, were sufficient to bring down the wrath of the oppressor. During the fifteenth century, various cases of abjuration and burning for heresy had occurred, but from the commencement of the sixteenth, as light increased, the opposition became more determined and systematic. Particular periods are then to be marked as *seasons* of persecution. To say nothing of the first ten years, though disgraced by not a few instances of great cruelty,—the years 1511 under Warham of Canterbury and Smith of Lincoln; 1509 to 1517, under Fitzjames of London; and, above all, 1521, under Longland of Lincoln,—were so many seasons of the most determined opposition to the Word of God. Nor should it be unobserved that all these persecutions, including even the last, were on account of opinions, *not* gathered or received from any foreign land or Continental Christian. Whatever those opinions were, they were *indigenous* to this country, and are mainly to be ascribed to certain portions of the Sacred Writings in English manuscript. Before, and even long before the name of Luther was heard of by the people, these opinions were sifted, debated, and maintained; nay, as late as 1521, though the writings of the German Reformer were then publicly denounced, they were as yet locked up in Latin, so that, amidst all the barbarities of that year, under Longland, we hear of no punishment inflicted for Lutheranism so called. It is certainly, therefore, to be regretted, that even British historians, in too many instances, should have so hastily looked over to Germany, as *accounting* for the commencement and progress of all that occurred in their own country in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. After an examination of the official records of the day, and other original manuscripts, more patient and laborious than that

in which any man has ever since engaged, it is not surprising that John Foxe should dwell on the retrospect with delight, and confess his inability to do it justice; while he as distinctly ascribes this work of God, to his own Word in the *vernacular* tongue, and to this alone, though not yet in print.

We have glanced at all this as justly due to what may be styled the age of *manuscript*. But as the invention of printing was itself an era, so assuredly was that of the reception of the Sacred Scriptures in print into Great Britain. This might be fairly inferred from the history already given; but it is now worthy of special notice, that for three or four years before the arrival of Tyndale's first editions, a people seem to have been signally prepared for their reception. We could not with propriety notice them at an earlier period, as it is chiefly by the severities of the *present* year, that they come out to view. From the examinations upon oath, about to be noticed, we could now enumerate above a hundred of these people by name, and state their places of abode, but these were merely the persons detected, exposed, or punished. Many, many more there must have been, whose record is on high. They met together, chiefly in London, but also at different places in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Buckingham. They called each other *Brother*, and said that they were *Brothers in Christ*. They had the four Gospels separately and in one volume; some of Paul's Epistles in another; the Epistles of Peter and that of James; all in English manuscript, however inferior the translation, or inaccurate, through frequent transcription. In regard to the Epistle of *James*, in some parts it was a great favourite, and far from startling at it, as the German Reformer himself did at first, and for some time, *they* could repeat it from memory; even one young woman was detected who could say the whole. Their high esteem for the Oracles of God, was to be seen in the price paid for them in whole or in part.

These friends in London seem to have held their meetings, from about 1523, very frequently in the house of one William Russel in Coleman Street, at the gate of Bird's Alley, over against St. Stephen's Church; when Father John Hacker, as they called him, and sometimes others, read and explained the Scriptures. We have already pointed out the spot to which the

authorities first sent to seize books;² and it is now not unworthy of notice that very near, and even round it, notwithstanding "the secret search," the Word of God continued to be read and prized—it even "grew and multiplied." The great fire in London of 1666, it is true, consumed all those parts, but of the eighty-nine churches burnt down, at least fifty-four were rebuilt, and on the same ground. Bird's Alley is gone, but the church remains where it was; and if any one wish to stand on the same spot where, amidst all the wrath and blasphemy of the day, the Sacred Volume was *then* perused with the keenest interest, he has only to walk along that part of King's Arms Yard which yet remains, till he come "over against" St. Stephen's Church, Coleman Street.³

Similar meetings were held in Essex. The largest was in Colchester itself, but there were friends at Witham, Braintree, Saffron Walden, and Birdbrook, as well as at the Friary of Clare, or Stokeclare, in Suffolk. In the north of Essex the parish of Bumstead was, as the persecutors would have said, a hot-bed of heresy.

So early as September 1526, two plain country men from thence came to London, in search of the *new printed* Testaments, and going to Austin Friars, there met with Dr. Barnes, who, it may be remembered, was then a prisoner at large. One of these men had been in possession of Tyndale's New Testament, which he procured from Colchester about the month of *April* before. These men reported the curate of this parish, Richard Foxe, as favourable to inquiry, and begged a letter from Barnes to him. He gave them one, sold a Testament to each, and after their return, the curate, and even two friars, Topley and Gardiner, seemed to be making progress; but besides them there were a number of persons, male and female, scattered throughout these parts, still farther advanced. It will be remembered that Myles Coverdale, one of Barnes' students, came up to London after him, at the time of his melancholy abjuration in February 1526. We shall trace him now preaching in this part of Essex, in company with Richard Foxe. Thus, on the 29th of March,

² Honey Lane, Cheapside, nearly opposite to Bow Church, p. 54.

³ In the vicinity of the house where lived, for many years, the venerable John Newton.

1528, one of these friars, Thomas Topley, heard him preach at Bumstead Church, and such doctrine as, in connexion with subsequent conversation, shook his mind with regard to various superstitions. But the persecutions we are now about to notice must have scattered, for a season, all these groups in this county, as well as the meetings in London ; more especially as Wharton, the Vicar-General of Tunstal, moved down into Essex in *July* this year, searching after his prey. It is then that we shall hear more of Coverdale.

Many of those, however, throughout the land, who had either purchased or perused the Testament of Tyndale, were now about to find that it was "through much tribulation they must enter into the kingdom of God ;" and it would have been well if then the brother had not betrayed his brethren, the husband his wife, and the father his child ! Not three months before, the country had been in the greatest extremity, through scarcity amounting to famine, and not a few had pined away in disease. London, also, as we have seen, had more especially felt the pressure, but no sooner had plenty returned by the importation of foreign grain, and bread had fallen in price, than the same city became the seat of bitter and sifting persecution. The country at large had just suffered severely, through the crooked and ambitious policy of Wolsey ; and now the best of his Majesty's subjects, simple hearted and unoffending people, are to be molested through the cool malignity of Tunstal. He had before this preached his sermon, in which he boasted that he had found more than 2000 errors in the printed New Testament. Tunstal's infamous injunction also, of October 1526, had hung over the people for fourteen months, without being rigorously followed up, but we have accounted for this forbearance. It was unavoidable, as he had been so engrossed by foreign political affairs. It was, therefore, in the opening of 1528, that one feature of his character began to be more fully developed, of which in general a very strange, not to say erroneous, estimate has been given. Sir T. More and he were united, as men familiarly say, like hand and glove ; and, therefore, it was to be expected, that he should pronounce him to be inferior to none "in the integrity of his principles, and the sweetness of his disposition." Godwin says that "he was a very rare and

admirable man, with *nothing* wrong but his *religion*, and yet he was a *profound* *divine*, as many of his works yet do testify." "He had," says even Gilpin in his *Life of Ridley*, "true notions of the *genius* of Christianity! He considered a good life as the end, and faith as the means; and *never* branded as an heretic that person, however erroneous his opinions might be, in points less fundamental, who had such a belief in Christ as made him live like a Christian. He was just, therefore, the reverse of his early patron Warham;" and he concludes by affirming, "that Tunstal thought *persecution* one of the things most foreign to his function!" We allow that the reverse of this, in some points, was the character of Warham; but was it less so of Tunstal? Both were men of learning and talent, and Tunstal's taste in letters was superior to most of his contemporaries; but let any one hold fast opinions which they conceived would, even ultimately, affect the hierarchy, and neither of them scrupled for a moment in proceeding to the greatest extremity. Tunstal, it is true, was still, and of quiet behaviour, cautious, and had great command over his passions; a worldly-wise man, who contrived to thread his way through those difficult times, so that he died in his bed, at the advanced age of 85. But, on the other hand, if works bear witness, by these he must be judged. What signifies learning, however eminent, except it be applied to some laudable and beneficial purpose? And though it should be accompanied with apparent sedateness, and much sagacity in worldly affairs; all these in union, so far from concealing great and radical defects in moral character, only render them the more atrocious. To say nothing of the violence of Tunstal's language when writing to Erasmus, in earlier life, or of the incontinence with which he has been charged; certainly no man who was so frequently employed by Wolsey, and served his purpose so well, could by any possibility hold fast his integrity, or walk uprightly; and Tunstal being most celebrated as a courtier, and at *such* a time, the reader may be left to judge of his veracity. As for humanity, what though he might have an aversion from shedding blood, or rather a dread of shedding it? What shall we say as to his cool barbarity in sifting and cross-examining, then threatening and re-examining, till the poor creature quivered, and became perplexed, trembled, and abjured?

Not satisfied, see him seize on the abjured parties, and, through his sophistry, compel them at last to expose and even accuse their nearest and dearest relatives and friends! No, he was an ingenious tormentor, distinguished for his patient dexterity in producing mental misery; and we may rely on it, that Tyndale, who knew his doings well, though he did not charge him with shedding so much blood, had good reason for designating him as he did,—“that still Satan, the imaginer of all mischief.” “Cursed,” said Jortin, when speaking of him, “cursed are those theological principles, which produce such sad effects even in good-tempered men, and eat up so much of their honour and humanity!” The only mistake in this exclamation, is that of styling such principles *theological*. The truth was, that none of those men, even the mildest, understood the sacred rights of conscience, because their own was “seared with a hot iron.” They were, for the time, the “rulers of the darkness of this world;” while the praiseworthy people whom they tried to devour or exterminate, were, in fact, however poor and despised, a chosen band of wrestlers “against spiritual wickedness in high places.”

At all events, whatever Warham had been in days that were past, we shall find that Tunstal was “the grand Inquisitor” in 1528. In January his underlings were busily preparing for his sitting in judgment; and then followed those numerous cases, from February to May inclusive, which are upon record, in his Register.

The shrewd and systematic method adopted by Tunstal seems to have been, to find out the most intelligent or influential men, among these people who were to be cross-examined, and by effectually threatening *them*, so detect many of the rest. In January or the beginning of February one man was found, and before long other two if not three. In the midst of these harassing times, it was not to have been expected, that all would prove faithful; but surely these early readers of the printed New Testament upon English ground, had not anticipated that any of their leaders would fail and betray them! Yet so it was, for poor Hacker, the first man referred to, being, as Strype says, “hard set upon, made a discovery, by interrogatories put to him upon oath, of a great many of his friends and followers both in Essex and London.” Following out this clue, at least three

other men followed the sad example ; John Pykas of Colchester, with John Tyball and Thomas Hempsted of the parish of Bumstead. These poor men now stood in the character of "Persecutor's evidence," and were to be called upon, whenever it was found necessary ! Hacker, to save himself, had betrayed at least *forty* of his friends, with whom he had often read the Scriptures, the majority of whom resided in London, and the others as many more, in the county of Essex alone, as amounted to above a hundred in all ! Happily, these were but a part of the whole ; but here was a field, quite sufficient for the Bishop and his Vicar-General. The former required only to assemble his deeply prejudiced assistants, and the reader may be curious to know who were those men who first sat in judgment upon Tyndale's translation, and the earliest possessors of the precious volume. Tunstal had taken care to secure round him more than a dozen of men to preside, either all together, or by turns, and they are styled in the Register "all learned men," of course. Besides Geoffrey Wharton, D.D., his Vicar-General, and John Darel, B.D., Wharton's official, Matthew Grafton and Henry Bonsfel, Notaries ; there were Robert Ridley, D.D., and John Royston, Professor of Theology, Richard Sparchforde, M.A., Thomas Forman, S.T.P., John Tunstal and Thomas Chambre, Chaplains, Nicholas Tunstal, Thomas Dowman, Thomas Pilkington, and James Multon.

Wharton, to do him justice, would seem to have been not so bitter as some others ; he died next year. *Royston* had been far more indebted to Humphrie Munmouth, than even Tyndale. Yet Munmouth is about to be molested and imprisoned, and Royston is here ! *Sparchforde* had been promoted in 1522 to the living at Hackney ; but the most conspicuous of these assistant persecutors was *Robert Ridley*, already noticed. The Tunstals, as well as Ridley, were related to the Bishop.

In the disclosures made by persecution in the early part of this year, we find important evidence on one point, namely, the period in which the New Testaments of Tyndale were first introduced into England. Independently of the abundant proof already given, they show that Tyndale's quarto and octavo editions were purchased and perused throughout the year 1526 ; and that Tunstal's injunction, in October of that year, was not ground-

less, when it affirmed that they were spread throughout "all his diocese, in great number."

From the Register we select the following cases :—Sebastian Heris, Curate of the parish Church of Kensington, confessed "that he had two books ; viz. the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, and 'Unio Dissidentium,' containing in it the Lutheran heresy." For this he is banished from the City of London, being "so dangerous a place to be infected with heresy," for two years.

John Pykas of Colchester confessed, among other things, that "about a two years last past (March 1526) he bought in Colchester of a Lumbard of London, a New Testament in English, and paid for it four shillings (about £3 present value), which New Testament he kept, and read it through many times." Having abjured, this poor man was enjoined penance and sworn to confess all the known men and women, friends, brethren, relatives, and those whom he had brought into these opinions.

John Tyball of Bumstead confessed, that "about two years ago (Apr. 1526) he companied with Sir Richard Fox, Curate of Bumstead, and shewed him all his books that he had ; that is to say, the *New Testament in English ; the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in English*, which he had of John Pykas of Colchester ; a book *expounding the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, and the Credo* ; certain of Paul's Epistles after the *old* translation." That he and Thomas Hilles had bought New Testaments in English of Friar Barnes, who enjoined secrecy of the sale : this was in Sept. 1526 ; and that he was wont with some others to resort to Bower Hall, the seat of the Bendish family, where the New Testament was read in presence of "them and of their household."

By the beginning of May, Tunstal had removed from the chapel in his palace, to one near Charing Cross, in the manor of Nix, the Bishop of Norwich, of whose temper and spirit we have had such ample evidence. On the 11th, he was still sitting in judgment on the poor people from Essex ; but the spirit of persecution was now gathering strength, and, on the 14th, Sir Thomas More comes in view. On that day, he and Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, as members of the Privy Council, sent for Humfrie Munmouth, as he subscribes his name. He was far too important a character to be passed over ; and his being so, is a proof that there had not been, till this year, any severe search after supposed offenders. Not satisfied, they went with him to his house, and examined all his letters and books. This generous man, with whom Tyndale had lived, who corresponded with him afterwards, and aided him all the time he remained in Hamburg, was now committed to the Tower, "on suspicion of heresy, for some books found in his house." Five days after this, on Tuesday the 19th of May, he addressed a petition to the King's Council. It

is entitled — “Unto the most honourable Lord Legate and Chancellor of England, and to the honourable Council unto your Sovereign Lord, King Henry VIII., the 19th of May, and in the 20th year of his reign ; beseeching your Grace, and all my Lords and Masters, to have pity on me, poor prisoner in the Tower of London, at your pleasure.” In this petition, he confesses, among other books—

“Also I delivered a book of the New Testament, the which book my Lord of London had. Also I had a little treatise that the priest, Tyndale, sent me, when he sent for his money. And all those books, save the books of the New Testament, lay openly in my house, for the space of *two* years, or *more*, that every man might read on them that would at their pleasure.”

Munmouth’s testimony brings us to the same period with that of Pykas ; but as for the Testament, no doubt Tyndale would take care that, if possible, his generous patron should have one, at least, as soon as Garret was carrying them *from* London to Oxford, in January 1526. It may here be added, that in earlier life Munmouth had visited Rome itself, which may have had a similar effect on him as it had on some others. When the times improved, he was an Alderman of London, and served as Sheriff there in 1535. His will is dated 16th November, 1537, by which he leaves a silver cup, and gilt, equal in value to £120 sterling, to Crumwell, that he might be kind to three preachers there mentioned, among whom was Dr. Barnes. Soon after this, Munmouth died, having commended his soul unto Christ Jesus, “my Maker and Redeemer, in whom, and by the merits of whose blessed passion, is all my whole trust of clean remission and forgiveness of my sins.”

But of the confessions now made, that of Robert Necton is not the least important. It includes the disclosures of a man who had been very active before this, and, notwithstanding, as much so as he could, even afterwards. By him we learn that Mr. Fyshe, whose tract, “The Supplication of Beggars,” had created such commotion in February 1526, had actually returned to London, and was living *there*, long before that year had expired. We now find also Mr. Richard Harman, an English merchant at Antwerp, had acted in concert with Fyshe, and had contrived modes of secretly conveying the Sacred Volume into England. The account which Necton gives of his first engaging

in the business of sale and circulation, is no less curious, from its being at the instigation of such a man as George Constantyne, who, though originally bred a surgeon, by this time had entered the Church, and hence is styled *Vicar*. Of course, therefore, he had to proceed with the greatest caution. He would not go direct to Fyshe himself, but *informs* Necton, and then from *him* he bought whatever copies he wished. Constantyne, one of the most singular characters of the day, survived the present period, at least, thirty-two years. At certain periods, doing all that in him lay to promote the circulation of the Word of God; at another, betraying the whole cause; he is here introduced incidentally, for the first time, but he will come before us again and again, and some notice must be taken of his singular and varied life.

The reader now only requires to be reminded, that such a man as this Robert Necton is not to be regarded as poor and dependent, perambulating the country to obtain his bread by selling books—far from it; the occupation was too hazardous then for any mere hireling. Thus, Necton speaks of living at his *brother's* house in Norwich, and this was no other than the Sheriff of the city, as will appear in 1531. From his confessions, as well as those of Munmouth, Pybal, and others already mentioned, before this tribunal, the following facts may be considered as established:—

That in January 1526, Thomas Garret, at least, received from abroad copies of the New Testament, printed in the English language—that he immediately had given them out in London, sent them down to Cambridge, and carried them himself to Oxford, in that very month—that notwithstanding the grand burning of books at St. Paul's, on the 11th of February, 1526, and the anathemas of Fisher on that day, nay, and the burning at Oxford soon after, when the Testament, amongst other books, was involved in the flames, still the work went on—that even Fyshe himself was soon after in London, and remained in it, receiving from abroad, and dispersing the precious volumes for a considerable time. Then come up these men from Essex, and, along with Munmouth, all agree in their testimony. Put upon their oath, not one among them could have any motive to falsify in regard to the length of the time in which these Testaments

had been in their possession. On the contrary, could such an idea have occurred to any one of them, the temptation must have been to *shorten*, not extend the period; for the longer it was, so much the more guilty must they have appeared in the eye of their judges. But in receiving their united testimony, how far does it carry us? That as early as February, and downwards to October 1526, Tyndale's Testaments, both *quarto* and *octavo*, as well as the first separate edition of Matthew and Mark, were upon English ground, and reading with eagerness, not only in the metropolis, but the surrounding counties,—that, notwithstanding the fulminations from London and Canterbury, and “the secret search, at one time,” the precious books were retained and read in secret still. Nay, we have seen one man, Necton, immediately afterwards commence his cautious operations—mentioning very distinctly, first, the *quarto* of Tyndale, or the *large* volume, then the *octavo* edition, and finally another edition, printed at Antwerp, as already described. Doubtless there had been other men before him so employed, as there were others afterwards, including himself again.

But the purposes of Infinite Wisdom in thus trying the faithful, and purifying His cause, were, for the present at least, accomplished. Tunstal, it may have been observed, had shifted his seat, from his own palace, near the old bridge of London, up to Charing Cross, and, for aught we know, this might be from *fear*; but such cool and deliberate cruelty must not continue either in London or Westminster, and so the persecution seems to have been cut short by a Sovereign hand, or the immediate visitation of God.

That fearful disease, styled by foreigners, the *Sudor Anglicus*, on account of the violence with which it seized this nation, or, as the English themselves called it, the “sweating sickness,” broke out in the end of May. The patient expired in a few hours, and often in two or three. By the 7th of June, above two thousand had died in London; and by the 30th, forty thousand had been affected, of whom died at least two thousand more. Early in June, the King himself became alarmed; the disease entered the Royal household, and proved fatal in at least three cases; and before the month ended, it had entered Wolsey's establishment. Henry kept himself shut up, had his household reduced

to the smallest number permitted by the statutes of Eltham, and his fear increased. In July, on the 5th, still more apprehensive, he directs Wolsey "to cause general processions to be made, universally through the realm, as well for good weather to the increase of corn and fruit, as also *for the plague that now reigneth.*"⁴ By the 9th, he had made his will, advises Wolsey to follow his example, and desires to hear from him every second day. "He confessed himself every day," say Le Grand and Burnet; "the Queen did the same, and so did Wolsey."

This was the fourth visitation of that singular disease, of which the English only died; and which has been described so accurately by Armstrong, both in its operation and its effects—

"O'er the mournful land
The infected city pour'd her hurrying swarms—
Others, with hopes more specious, cross'd the main,
To seek protection in far distant skies;
But none they found. It seem'd the general air
From pole to pole, from Atlas to the East,
Was then at enmity with English blood;
For, *but* the race of England, all were safe
In foreign climes; nor did this fury taste
The *foreign* blood that England then contain'd."

During the prevalence of this malady, however, it does not appear that the Cardinal was so much afraid of *it*, as of forfeiting the entire confidence of his Master. He had appointed an Abbess to the Abbey of Wilton, which had ruffled Henry's temper; for ever since the disclosures of Clarencieux as to Spanish affairs, he was more suspicious and apt to take offence. But Wolsey once more mollified him; by August the disease had passed away, and all went on as before. The King was hunting in September, and inviting Wolsey to take part with him in the sport. All was bustle and preparation for the arrival of Cardinal Campeggio, and Henry wished to have the use of Hampton Court for three or four days to receive him there.⁵ But we now return to more important affairs.

Though the cruel proceedings of Tunstal and his coadjutors seem to have been cut short by frightful disease, in the course

⁴ MS. Chapter-house, Westminster, vol. x., no. 25.

⁵ MS. Chapter-house, Westminster, vol. v., no. 24. Campeggio arrived at Dover 29th September.

of the examinations held, the persecutors had obtained several pieces of information, far too important in their eyes, to be either forgotten or neglected. Tyndale and Roye (erroneously supposed to be *still* with him) were now conspicuously before them. One gentleman in particular, Mr. Harman, had been mentioned as actively engaged in importing English Testaments, and neither George Constantyne nor Mr. Fyshe could pass unnoticed. Meanwhile, since Tyndale's writings had obtained such circulation in our country, it seemed necessary that an attempt should be made to *answer* them; and so by way of adding greater horror to the heresies said to be contained in them, as we have already seen, it was during the very period when Tunstal was busy with his cross-examinations, that, with all due solemnity, he had issued his official *licence* to Sir Thomas More, that he might retain and read those troublesome publications, and, with all his skill in sophistry, write them down.

As for Cardinal Wolsey, after these examinations in London, he was bent on seizing the *Men* abroad, and *three* persons in particular, though other *two* were also specified. In June, therefore, he had written to Hackett, requesting that the Lady Margaret would sanction the delivery of these *three*, with a view to their being immediately sent into England. But on the 28th of that month, the envoy informed him, that after many arguments "debated pro et contra, they to me and I to them," the Privy Council had concluded, that even the *Emperor* himself might not send any heretic out of his dominions as a prisoner, except his first examination was held abroad, where he was; and even after that, the transmission of the party must be by the advice of the Inquisitors of the Faith there. They had, however, resolved that all the foresaid *three* heretics, when they could be found, should be taken prisoners, they and their books with them; but the Council requested one or two learned men to be sent abroad to confront them. If they should be "confounded or found guilty," they would either be sent over to Wolsey, or punished there, according to their deeds.⁶

The names of these obnoxious men were not, as yet, mentioned by Hackett, but, as the reader proceeds, he will have no doubt

⁶ Galba, B. ix., fol. 126.

that *Tyndale*, *Royce*, and *Harman* were the *three* parties. George Constantyne and Mr. Fyshe may appear to have been the other two, if *Jerome Barlow*, soon to be noticed, was not the fifth individual. Fourteen days they busily searched, but Mr. Harman alone could be found, when Hackett once more writes to Wolsey that one of the *three* persons he had been able to get apprehended, Richard Harman, and had also caused his wife to be taken with him; but as he feared there would be some difficulty in getting them punished for heresy in the *free* city of Antwerp, he proposes a plan by which, under charge of treason, they might be sent to England, and there dealt with as the Cardinal thought fit.

Hackett, however, is now somewhat afraid. He had found considerable difficulty, when dealing with Christopher Endhoven, the German printer, in the end of 1526; but now that an English merchant and a gentleman has been seized, should the "Lords of Antwerp" still remain firm to their purpose, as then expressed; in the end, at least, our officious ambassador may find his interference to be followed by greater trouble and disgrace. Antwerp was still the *staple*, and, for commerce sake, their English merchants must, if possible, be protected; but to England for protection it was in vain to look. She was not then, what she has often been since,—and thanks to the Sacred Volume alone!—"the refuge of the oppressed;" so that the Emperor himself must be applied to. He was, accordingly, and by two petitions, in the *Flemish* language, on behalf of the *English* prisoners. Both are now in the British Museum.⁷

Wolsey, however, was not slow to act upon the vile suggestion of his correspondent, and, accordingly, in the month of August, Hackett had actually obtained letters from Henry the Eighth, to seize Mr. Harman *as a traitor*; but the reigning Princess wished to be informed what were the particular acts of *treason*. Great interest was then made for Harman, who had, for many years, been a burgess of Antwerp. Hackett implores Commissioners to be sent from England; and, little knowing the secret politics of our Cardinal at the moment, which had destroyed his influence in the Imperial Cabinet, he is eager that the Emperor

⁷ Galba, B. ix., fol. 131.

should be requested to write to Lady Margaret; otherwise, he fears that "the *great purse* of Antwerp" would prove the deliverance of Harman, his victim. And, by the 10th of September, he is obliged to confess, that "notwithstanding the *King's patent letters*, the Lady Margaret and her Council would *not* deliver up the heretics." ⁸

Our poor ambassador was now, certainly, in no very enviable plight. A pause of more than four months took place in his correspondence. Month after month passed away, and no fresh instructions nor assistance arrived, for both Wolsey and his Master were completely engrossed in a very different subject—the royal divorce. At last, in despair, Hackett having written to the King himself, on the 17th of November he wrote also an earnest letter to Friar West of Greenwich, of whom we shall hear more presently, dated from Mechlin, complaining bitterly of receiving instructions neither written or verbal from the King, in answer to his communication; so that Harman is likely to be discharged for want of proof of his treason, if this is not adduced before the end of the following February; nay, that Harman was threatening to recover damages for loss sustained by false imprisonment, to the amount of two thousand guilders.

On the 2nd of January, he addresses Mr. Brian Tuke as Treasurer of the King's Chambers, and one of his Council, informing him of his having written, by duplicate, letters to *West*; but complains, whether "I write *east* or *West*, I can have no manner of answer—yet for the reputation of the *King's patent letters*, we ought to take the better regard." On the 20th he writes again, imploring that Friar West may be *sent* to his aid, but all in vain. The fact was, that at such a time, neither Henry nor the Cardinal could expect to have the smallest influence with the Emperor or the Princess Margaret. No proofs or probations, therefore, having arrived, the term finally granted to Hackett expired on the 26th of February, and consequently Mr. Harman and his wife, after an imprisonment of above seven months, were released!

This interference, however, on the part of our English Envoy, was one which "the Lords of Antwerp" could by no means

⁸ Galba, B. ix., fol. 177.

brook. The *twain* of the three men named to him he could not find, but he was to have perplexity all-sufficient, in consequence of touching with only *one* of the three; and though we trespass a little on the year 1529, we must not here lose sight of Mr. Harman and his lady. Hackett must now abide the consequences, and Harman waited his proper time for redress. Though the ambassador was resident at Mechlin, it was not long before an opportunity presented itself; he was arrested at Harman's instance for the costs and charges he had suffered in prison, but standing on his privilege as Ambassador to the King of England, the Lords of Antwerp declared him "free and quit of the said arrest, with condition that he or his procurator should appear again, when the said Lords by their letters would advertise him." The transaction cost him a change of residence, if not more, for he had to leave Antwerp, where he had made himself so unpopular. His letters in future are dated from Brussels. His meddling with the man who had taken a benevolent interest in sending the Word of God into his native country, eventually removed this ambassador to a distance; and if Antwerp is to have a British resident in or near it, some other than John Hackett must now be found. The overruling providence of God will, before long, be here also very manifest. Had such a man as *this* remained, when Tyndale himself came to reside in Antwerp, never had he spoken of him, as his successor will be found to have done.

As for Mr. Harman, we shall hear of him again, but it will not be till five years after this, or in 1534; in which year his persecutor, Hackett, died at Douay, and in debt. But, before then, Mr. Harman, it will appear, had returned to England—was commended for his zeal—was restored to favour, as well as all his privileges connected with "the English House" at Antwerp, and at the express request of the Queen of England.

This gentleman had been a devoted friend of Tyndale's object and design, as well as of Tyndale himself, in which his wife had cordially joined with him. The printers of Antwerp managed their own business, and, by various means, imported their editions into England, which, of course, had affected the sale of Tyndale's books; but the Testaments with which Mr. Harman was charged, were said to be *sent to him out of Germany*.

Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, must therefore, to his great mortification, have very soon perceived, that he had not, as he at first supposed, purchased *all*; and, therefore, even in *Antwerp*, where Hackett had so raged, we shall actually find Tyndale himself; and when his finances were at the lowest ebb, selling the remainder, with great advantage, next year. Nay, selling them to Tunstal, who, in 1524, had thought that, *as* a Greek scholar, Tyndale “could not fail” to find some situation!

In the midst of all this turmoil at Antwerp, however, the truth was, that Wolsey had been far from inattentive to the information received from Hackett, although he had seemed to be remiss in not answering his letters. On the contrary, as soon as he understood by his letter of the 14th of July, that “the twain of the three,” or *Tyndale and Roye*, were not to be found in Antwerp, or its vicinity, the Cardinal had bethought himself, and resolved to apply elsewhere in pursuit of them. But, at *such* a time, how striking was the display of Wolsey’s enmity to the Sacred Volume! How great his fear of himself, and of the hierarchy! His alarm is more worthy of notice, as this was, perhaps, his final *official* effort in this warfare. Let it only be remembered, that sickness had been raging in the land throughout June and July, nor had it entirely ceased at the moment of which we speak—that disease of which the poet said—

——“’Twas all the business then,
To tend the sick, and in their turns to die.
In heaps they fell, and oft one bed, they say,
The sick’ning, dying, and the dead contain’d.”

Besides this, Wolsey had scarcely recovered the favour of his Master, after having ruffled his temper, by one false step, already noticed; nor had they yet met. Notwithstanding, so important was the capture of these two men, that not a day was to be lost. The New Testament, and the two pointed publications of Tyndale, were, it is true, not the only things rankling in his mind; the bitter *Satyre* of Roye and Jerome had, by this time, begun to annoy him, as it greatly did, and no expense must be spared in buying it up. Tyndale, wishing it to be known that he had no connexion with Roye, had said, in print,

that these two men (Jerome and Roye) were "Friars from Greenwich;" and who then so fit to ferret them out, as a shrewd Friar Observant, from the *same* monastery? And to whom could the Cardinal now apply on the Continent more likely to be of service, than the man whom Cochläus had at first roused in 1525—Counsellor Herman Rincke of Cologne? Accordingly, as early as the 5th of August, Wolsey sat down in Hampton Court palace, and addressed him. In Rincke, he had a determined enemy to the "new learning," and a man, in some respects, quite to his own heart. His letter finished, a suitable agent was found in the person of Friar John West of Greenwich, already mentioned. He had been instructed to proceed by way of Antwerp, and consult with Hackett, who furnished him with the necessary means and some instructions.

On West's arrival at Cologne, Rincke was absent from home, at the autumn fair in Frankfort; but the letter was immediately conveyed to him by a *swift* messenger; and, by the 4th of October, we have his reply, sent by the same Friar. After acknowledging the Cardinal's letters respecting the apprehension of Roye and Tyndale, and the buying up of their books, he informs his correspondent that these persons had not been seen in Cologne since the 1st of March, nor could their present residence be traced. He then states that he had been at Frankfort "with ready money, labouring himself personally to the utmost—but John Scott, the printer, besides a *pledge* to be given to the JEWS, demanded also the reward of his own labour, and the expense of the paper; and said that he would sell them to him who would *offer him most money*." That he had, therefore, by gifts and presents, attached to him the Frankfort Consuls, and so "had gathered and packed up the whole stock of books, which otherwise would have been enclosed in packages, artfully covered over with flax, and transmitted by sea to England and Scotland." That he had also used all diligence to trace out and apprehend Roye and Hutchyn, though hitherto in vain. He then proposes that a licence should be granted to him of the largest extent, that, by its force and legality, "William Roye, William Tyndale, Jerome Barlow, Alexander Barkley, and their adherents might be taken, punished, and exposed." He finally states that he had forced Scott of Strasburg, the printer of the books, to state

upon oath the number he had thrown off, and to deliver the whole to him upon payment; "wherefore I have purchased them almost all, and now have them in my house at Cologne."⁸

After this, no one will question the anxiety or eager desire of Cardinal Wolsey to seize Tyndale, and especially this Friar Roye. How deeply he was stung by the stanzas of "*Rede me, and be not wrothe*," is now apparent. But this letter, in connexion with the past, suggests several curious considerations. We are now at Frankfort great fair, and the reader may recollect of Hackett the ambassador informing Wolsey, that he heard of *New Testaments*, to the number of two thousand, having been for sale at the *spring* fair of last year; but now, when Scott is apprehended and examined, he demands a *pledge to be given to the Jews*, in security for *their* concern in such traffic, "*to Scotland and England as to the same place*." No doubt the Jews were there last year, as well as this; and it certainly would be a very singular and memorable coincidence, if the *Jews*, for hire or gain, had assisted in *such* importations! And yet, what else can be inferred, from Scott's exaction or demand? But if so, the descendants of Abraham, to whom were committed "the Oracles of God," as recorded in the *Old Testament*, may have been unconsciously conveying to this Island, as an article of merchandise, "the living oracles," as recorded in the *New*: and doing this too at a period when the nation, as such, was up in arms against the undertaking! To this people, under God, we stand indebted for a Saviour, and the Bible, but we know not that it has ever been conjectured of any other nation, that the *Jews* had any concern, however remote, in giving or conveying to it the New Testament.

We are not, indeed, to suppose, that our Translator either had been at Frankfort, or that any of *his* publications are here referred to as printed at *Strasburg*; much less that any connexion whatever now existed between him and Roye. With regard to Tyndale at this moment, or Fryth, of whom no notice is taken, happily Mr. Counsellor Rincke was altogether off the scent. Forty-five miles to the north, at Marburg, they were busily engaged, both with the pen and the press; yet is it quite

⁸ Cotton MS., Vitellius, B. xxi., fol. 43.

possible that some of Tyndale's productions may have passed through this Frankfort fair. Rincke, however, had certainly laid hold of the printer employed by Roye, and these as certainly were *his* publications to which reference is made. Perhaps no great dependence can be placed on the accuracy of Scott's disclosure, even upon oath; but still there can now be little or no doubt that we have found in him the *printer* of the celebrated *Satyre* on Cardinal Wolsey, a point hitherto *unknown*. Rincke expressly states of some of the books, that they were "against the *magnificence and honour* of his Grace."


Most providentially, however, by the time that West and his companions arrived in England with this letter, Wolsey, so far from prospering "many happy years," as Rincke had prayed, probably never had one day of unmingled enjoyment. The confidence of his own Royal Master had begun to decline, and Rincke but little knew the game that Wolsey was playing at that moment with the Emperor; otherwise, neither he nor Hackett could have expected him to have any influence, upon any subject, with Charles. Thus the remainder of the Cardinal's wrath was restrained, and happily Rincke never obtained the licence or Commission for which he panted; besides, his politics must have soon changed with the times. His son had been in England before, and now that he came a second time, he has been supposed to have remained for some time, though of this we have found no positive evidence.

As for Friar West, he entirely failed in apprehending any of the men pointed out. It must have been still more mortifying to him that, while he was wandering on the Continent, in his disguised habit, *Roye*, the very man whom Wolsey wished to have, above all others, had actually paid a visit to *England*; and to crown all, West, upon returning to his monastery, not only received no thanks for all his toil, but very soon found it a great deal too hot for him. The "new learning" had begun to spread even there! He might, as we have found, write to Hackett in November, telling him how the King and the Cardinal were engrossed, and could not answer his letters; but by the next month, he himself could not gain access even to Wolsey, and was at his wits' end. He had, no doubt, many weighty reasons for wishing once more to go abroad, but they

were all in vain. Wolsey, by this time, had his hands full. Henry was absorbed in his own affair. Our Envoy, indeed, wrote in January, imploring that the Friar might be sent to his aid, but we hear nothing more of Father West, and Hackett will never obtain any farther orders. The chase was now over till Henry *himself* began, for thus ended, at least, the Cardinal's hunt after heretics so called! After this, he will have quite enough to do, in taking care of himself. It was Providence ruling and over-ruling all things, for the sake of His own Word.

MDXXIX.

TYNDALE'S PROGRESS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT—PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—
THWARTED ONCE MORE—TUNSTAL AT ANTWERP—TYNDALE'S INFLUENCE IN
THE PALACE—MORE, THE BISHOPS, AND THE KING, IN LEAGUE AGAINST THE
SCRIPTURES—COVERDALE SENT TO HAMBURG—ANOTHER OR FIFTH EDITION
OF THE TESTAMENT.

N the denunciation of the English New Testament by Tunstal and Warham, in 1526, we then noticed one curious omission, that of Tyndale's *name*; at that time they appear not to have known it, but we have already seen, that very soon after the names of Tyndale and Roye were distinctly known to one of Tunstal's chaplains, Dr. Robert Ridley, prebend of St. Paul's; and he may have been the first individual, who, in writing at least, denounced the Translator by name as well as his invaluable work. Tyndale's frank acknowledgment of his authorship in 1527, made this more generally known; and the confirmation was completed, by the examinations held before the Bishop of London during the last spring. It was then, too, that one of the ablest scholars, said to be *the greatest genius*, if not the *only wit in all England*, obtained licence from his friend, the bishop, first to read Tyndale, and then to write in reply. Ever since his licence in March last, More, as he tells us afterwards, had been busy "night and day," and this year we find him bringing out his first controversial publication, consisting of above one hundred and twenty folios, or 250 pages, printed by John Rastell, his brother-in-law.

If, therefore, Tyndale wished to go on with his labours, it had now become more than ever necessary that he should use precautions for the safety of his person: and removal from place to place seems to have been one of these. Before, however, adverting to these places, let us first return and mark the course of his engagements.

With regard to the translation of the Old Testament in which Tyndale had for some time been employed, with all the aid which young Fryth was so well fitted to lend, we have now some tangible proof of his progress.

It has been customary to speak of Tyndale's *Pentateuch* as published in 1530, but this is incorrect. The five books might be afterwards bound up, but originally they were neither printed at the same press, nor published together, but separately. In the order of importation, at least, the account of the Creation and the early history of mankind in Genesis, seems to have been followed by Deuteronomy, that compendious repetition or summary of the law, with explanatory additions. At all events before the end of *their* year 1529, or the 25th of March, 1530, these two books are among those publicly denounced; and those *alone* under the following titles:—"The Chapters of Moses, called Genesis—the Chapters of Moses, called Deuteronomos." When we come to the spring of 1530, the five books of Moses will be more fully noticed.

During this year, the state of his native land had continued to oppress the mind of Tyndale. However modest and unpretending in his character, as he could not be unacquainted with the great effects produced by what he had already done, so he must have felt that he was raised up for a certain purpose; and that with the progress of events or the condition of his country he must endeavour to keep pace with his pen. The correctness and celerity, as well as power, with which he did so, will appear alike remarkable.

One distinguishing feature of our Translator's character, was loyalty to his King, blended with love to his country. The latter he had discovered by commencing with "The Parable of the unrighteous Mammon," and the former, or rather both, by his next publication, "The Obedience of a Christian man." Deeply interested as he was, however, in the best interests of

the reigning monarch, he would not stoop to flatter him, much less wink at the course he now pursued. Hence this year his small publication on the subject of matrimony, and his exposition of 1 Corinthians, vii. chapter. The former, a warning as to its abuse; the latter, illustrative of the sin attending its gross violation—an abounding evil of the age.

Marriage was then a question of vital importance to the virtue and happiness of his country; dreadfully trampled on and invaded by the priesthood of the day, and now, by the highest authority of the land, in his own person, threatened to be dissolved. It became, therefore, such a man as Tyndale to take up the subject. His voice was solitary indeed, but it had now a power, which, probably, he had never anticipated; it went also through the land, for whatever he now published was sought for and read; and not the less so, that every thing he put forth was so denounced.

Fryth was engaged about this time in translating from the German a small work, entitled "The Revelation of Anti-Christ," one of the first books printed in English against the Roman Pontiff. He published it, with a long prefatory epistle and an antithesis at the end, under the assumed name of Richard Brightwell. It was printed "at Malborow, in the land of Hesse, the 12th day of July, 1529, by me Hans Luft."

About this period both Tyndale and Fryth had removed from Marburg; and by the month of August, in Antwerp itself, a negociation with Tunstal, respecting books, there took place, which will be narrated presently, after we have noticed other contemporary movements in England.

With regard to the progress of that noble cause in England, for which Tyndale only lived and at last died, it must be read, as before, in the opposition displayed. Wolsey may be removed, but enemies, in reality more bitter and determined, will remain, nay still flourish and rise in royal favour.

It will be remembered that abroad, Hackett, the British ambassador, had been affronted at Antwerp, and resenting the indignity, had, in April, conveyed the intelligence to England. In the same month, at home, Tunstal was again busy at his last year's employment, and firmly pushing his victims to abjure. He seems as though he had resolved that the spring of the year

should be so distinguished, and happy would he have been to have rooted up the seed sown by other hands; but this season the number of persons caught was comparatively few. Last year, Hacker, and Pykas, and Tyball had sadly fallen, by exposing so many of their friends, but happily no one now followed their example. Among those who were examined, the most eminent was a respectable citizen and leather-merchant of London, John Tewksbury. His case was the more interesting from his having possessed a *manuscript copy of the Bible*, and his openly deponing that he had been studying in the holy Scriptures from the year 1512. He professed, however, that he had been brought to the knowledge of the truth by the reading of "*Tyndale's New Testament*," and his subsequent publication or exposition of the Parable of the Wicked Mammon. "In the doctrine of justification," says John Foxe, "and all other articles of his faith, he was very expert and prompt in his answers, in such sort as Tunstal and all his learned men were ashamed, that a leather-seller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures, and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him."

The number of Bishops presiding at the examination of this good man, proves at once the importance of his case, and the extent to which their alarm and hatred had now gone. Besides Tunstal himself, there was West of Ely, and Clark of Bath, with Standish of St. Asaph, and Longland of Lincoln. These men had the truth told them on this occasion, and were even warned. Amongst other things, Tewksbury had the boldness to say,— "I pray God that the condemnation of the Gospel and translation of the Testament, be not to your shame, and that ye be not in peril for it." They continued disputing with him day after day, for more than eight or ten days together; his first appearance being on the 13th of April. At last he abjured, though, like Bilney, only for the present.

As old Thomas Fuller said—"It takes more to make a valiant man, than being able to call another coward," though in reporting such abjurations, one cannot but revert to the first grand and public recantation of Barnes, at St. Paul's. He might, before that year ended, be selling New Testaments confidentially, and in private, but this could never compensate for

the mischief he had done, by his great and sad failure. Its influence must have been yet felt, in preventing that bold decision which would have been followed by the crown of martyrdom. Thus, this worthy man Tewksbury only required another to precede him, in the year 1531, when we shall find him gather courage, deeply repent, and follow with great and determined courage to the stake.

How criminal was that man, who, with cool deliberation, thus spent his days in laying a snare, or in weaving a net for the feet of these saints! By him, indeed, they were not put to death; they were left by him for Stokesly to butcher, though the guilt of this righteous blood must ever rest upon Tunstal, as well as his successor.

But again, and that a third, if not the fourth time, a gracious Providence interposed. This, too, was about the very *same* month as in the two preceding years; not by disease, indeed, as last year, but by a method as effectual, the occupation of Tunstal abroad. In 1526 the authorities were scattered by prevailing sickness. In 1527 they were so again by political affairs. In 1528 they were scared, as we have seen, by the "*Sudor Anglicus*," and this year they are again diverted from their prey by pressing affairs of state. These men could discern some of the signs of the times, but they could not, or rather would not, observe the finger of God.

Tunstal, cool and fresh, was ready to engage whenever state policy demanded his services; and the proof of his being as yet the leading persecutor of the truth, is plainly seen in this, that when once he departed, the storm in a great degree subsided. In a very short time, however, far from forgetting Tyndale's operations, we shall find him fully as busy, in another way, abroad, as he had been at home.

On the 30th of June, he and Sir Thomas More, with Dr. Knight, the King's Secretary, received their commissions, and left England for Cambray, where the treaty of Madrid was to be finally settled, and there Hackett met them. Altogether they watched over their own King's interest, so far as it was involved in the treaty of Cambray; remaining in attendance till the 5th of August, when, what was called "the Women's or the Ladies' peace," was finally concluded. It has, however, been but seldom

observed, that at the same time and place, another treaty was signed, betwixt our King and the Lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperor; *Tunstal*, *More*, and *Hackett*, being the commissioners. It embraced "the continuation of *traffic for merchants* between the two countries, and the forbidding to *print or sell* any Lutheran *books on either side*."¹

Thus it is that we are introduced, very naturally, to the period when Tunstal's zeal for the *burning* of the Scriptures emphatically began to display itself. No doubt he, as well as the Bishop of Norwich, had cheerfully borne his share of the first purchase by Warham in 1527; but he was eager to seize this fine and favourable opportunity of proving his own zeal. He was now in the north of France, and could easily take Antwerp on his way home. With three such men, all equally hostile, the subject of heretical books must have been fully canvassed, involved as they were in a formal treaty. The *first* was bent on *burning* them; he had licensed the *second* to read them, only that he might write them down, and his first production, written in 1528, had just come out as he left London; and as for the *third*, John Hackett, he had first suggested both burning and persecution, and not as yet succeeded to the extent of his wishes; though it was only four months since he had been affronted at Antwerp, and so deeply felt the indignity. The high privileges of Antwerp, however, remained inviolate, for they had been fully and expressly recognised in the recent treaty, as well as those of all the other Hanse Towns under the Emperor's sway. No choice being thus left, as to the mode of procedure, the policy of *purchasing* books in order to *burn* them, and thus prevent progress, was discussed. This, indeed, might ultimately promote the cause they desired to damage, and More shrewdly suspected it certainly would. "So much," said he to George Constantyne, afterwards, "so much I told the Bishop, *before* he went about it." Tunstal's zeal, however, could not thus be quenched. Knight proceeded to Italy on the King's business; More returned home; Tunstal went by way of Antwerp, and there meeting one Packington, a merchant of London, expressed to him his desire to obtain all the English

¹ Cotton MS. Galba, B. iv., fol. 196.

New Testaments. Packington assured him he could buy up for him every copy that remained unsold. Tunstal agreeing to pay the necessary cost, the merchant, who was a secret friend of Tyndale, went direct to him and purchased the whole stock on his hands, "and so," says the old chronicler Halle, "the Bishop had the books—Packington had the thanks—and Tyndale had the money." Thus provided, our Translator was enabled to correct his version and print a larger edition, which soon after, continues Halle, "came thick and threefold over into England." The books purchased by Tunstal were sent home, but they were not committed to the flames till it could be done with the greatest effect.

Tunstal and More having both returned to London, the proceedings at Cambray were reported and highly approved. Before Sir Thomas was sent into France, the King had sounded him as to the divorce. He was then opposed to it, and as much so now; but as he had succeeded to admiration in procuring more money from the Emperor than had been expected, and Henry might anticipate that, like most men, he only had his *price*, and would come round, he was about to elevate him to the Chancellorship. Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More had never cordially agreed, for in many points they were perfect contrasts. Under the auspices of the latter, amiable in domestic life, having no thirst for pomp or display, and superior to the love of money, some great change was at hand. A new order of things, whatever that might be, was inevitable.

Throughout this last year of his declining influence, vexations in quick succession awaited the Cardinal. About May he had wished to proceed once more into France, upon a mission to Cambray, (on which we have found that Tunstal and More were sent in June,) but the King pointedly refused, as he could no longer confide in him.² Again, Sir T. Cheney, for having in some way offended the Cardinal, had been excluded from the Court, when Lady Anne Boleyn interposed and secured his return, whether Wolsey would or not.³ But finally, and as if to crown all, and after we have witnessed how eager he had been

² Bayonne's Letter in Le Grand, p. 333.

³ Le Grand, p. 296.

to apprehend *Tyndale*, he must be brought in contact with one of *his* publications. The story, in full, is to be found in Foxe's manuscripts, now in the Museum, and it has been quoted by Strype. Lady Anne Boleyn had been in possession of a copy of Tyndale's "Obedience of a Christian man," for though the time drew nigh, it had not then been pointedly condemned by *Royal* authority. She had lent this book to one of her female attendants, named Gainsford; but one day as she was reading it, a young gentleman, also in the service of Lady Anne, Mr. Zouch, father to the knight afterwards of that name, snatched the book away, and was very unwilling to restore it. He had been induced to read it, and was so affected, that, as the story goes, "he was never well but when he was reading of that book." Wolsey had ordered all about the Court to take special care, and prevent such writings from being circulated there, lest they should chance to come into the hands of the King; but this very caution proved the means of bringing to pass what he most dreaded! The Dean of the Chapel Royal, Dr. Sampson, saw this publication in the young man's hands, who was reading it in the chapel, not improbably tired of the unmeaning service. Calling Zouch, he took the publication from him, and delivered it to the Cardinal. In the meantime, Lady Anne, inquiring for her book, the attendant, fearful lest her Mistress, as well as herself, should come into trouble, fell on her knees, and told her all the circumstances. Her Mistress expressed no displeasure with the parties in her service, but replied with emotion,— "Well, it shall be the dearest book that ever the Dean or the Cardinal took away." Lady Anne forthwith applied to Henry, and upon her knees, "desired the King's help for her book." Upon the King's *token* it was delivered up, and Lady Anne, carrying the volume or tract to his Majesty, requested that he would read it. The King did so, and professing to be pleased with the contents, added, "This book is for me, and all kings, to read."

This story is fully confirmed by Wyatt, with some slight variation. Lady Anne "was but newly come from the King, when the Cardinal came in with the book in his hands, to make complaints of certain points in it, that he knew the King would not like, and withal to take occasion with him, against those

that countenanced such books in general, and especially *women*; and as might be thought, with mind to go farther against Lady Anne more directly, if he had perceived the King agreeable to his meaning. But the King, that somewhat before distasted the Cardinal, finding the *notes* Lady Anne had made, all turned the more to hasten his ruin, which was also furthered on all sides."

This incident therefore must, in substance, have occurred; although Foxe goes on to build by far too much upon it. The words, in Henry's mouth, were probably nothing more than a compliment to the lady; or at best, they expressed only a transient feeling, similar to one of old, in the mind of King Herod towards John the Baptist. But be this as it might, Campeggio was off to Italy, and the sun of royal favour had set upon Wolsey for ever.

There had been no Parliament held since 1523! These were troublesome assemblies, and had by no means suited the speed of Wolsey's chariot wheels; so that now, when such an assembly as had not been convened for six years, was about to deliberate, very much will depend upon the general spirit and temper of the new Lord Chancellor. All things had been regulated by that strange anomaly,—*Legantine* authority: they were now to be discussed professedly by a legislative Assembly of Lords and Commons, so that some change, for better or worse, must await the country.

On Wednesday the 3rd of November, at the Chamber in Blackfriars, Parliament met; when Lord Chancellor More, in his eloquent oration, gave the first overtures of the King's intentions. The Cardinal's fall,—the state of the Church,—and the "*new learning*," formed the pith of this opening speech. The King was present when the Cardinal was glanced at, and in no courteous terms. It was only sixteen days since he had been sent to Esher, and the orator had only been chosen in his room ten days before; yet, along with a fulsome compliment to Henry, as having "seen through him, both within and without," though Wolsey had so often led him as a child; Sir Thomas having compared Henry VIII. to a *shepherd*, and his people to a *flock*, then referred to "the great *wether* which is of late fallen, as ye all know,"—"who so craftily, yea, and so untruly juggled with the King!" There was truth here, unquestionably; but though

such language from a judge, from a Lord Chancellor, referring to his predecessor, might pass in those days, in later times it would, of course, have been regarded as the height of indecency. It was much worse, when it is remembered, that though the great seal had been taken from Wolsey, still he had been summoned to attend this Parliament, and actually sat in the House after this among his peers, when the Bills were discussing during November. But it becomes a great deal more difficult to characterise this false and fulsome compliment to Henry's sagacity, when it is observed, that only on the Monday week before this, or the 25th of October, when first brought into Chancery, where the King was *not present*, More, though alluding to Wolsey's fall, had spoken in a far different style. "And now," said he, "when I look on this seat, and recollect how great persons have filled it before me,—when I contemplate who sat in it last,—a man of such singular wisdom, such skill in business, blest with such long and prosperous fortune, and visited at last with so high and inglorious a fall, I cannot but see the difficulty of my situation. For it is difficult to succeed with approbation, to one of such genius, wisdom, authority, and splendour, or to trace his footsteps with an equal pace. It seems as if we should light a taper, after gazing on the setting sun!" More might say that he eulogised only Wolsey's talents, and blamed his want of integrity; but his whole procedure was unworthy of himself, nor can it ever be justified, much less admired.

As for the various subjects then styled ecclesiastical, they were incorporated or interwoven with civil affairs. The abuses, says Herbert, having now come at last to the King's knowledge, he remitted their redress to the Lower House of Parliament. The Mortuaries, or the exactions from the children of deceased parents,—the enormous expense of Probates, or proofs, or wills,—Pluralities to the extent of eight or ten livings, engrossed by one man,—abounding non-residence,—*Priests* being Surveyors, Stewards of estates, Farmers, and Graziers in every county,—*Priors*, and other ecclesiastics, being the buyers and sellers of Wool, of Cloth, and all kinds of merchandise. Such were the grievances then to be redressed.

Three bills were therefore drawn up, by the appointment of the

Burgesses of Parliament,—the first relating to Mortuaries, the second to Probates, and the third embracing all the other evils.

The first, when sent up to the Lords, was rather courteously received; the second, concerning Probates, followed in two days; but on this, Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other bishops, frowned. Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, spoke with greatest violence and warmth. In the parliament chamber, says the contemporary chronicler, he said openly these words,—“My Lords, you see daily what bills come hither from the Common house, and *all is to the destruction of the Church; see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was, and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom*,—now with the Commons is nothing but *down with the Church*,—and all this, me seemeth, is for lack of *faith* only.”

These last expressions once reported to the Commons, they sent their Speaker, Sir Thomas Audley, with thirty members, to the King. Henry, also dissatisfied, promised to call for the Bishop, and send them reply. Accordingly, Warham and six of his brethren, besides Fisher, had to appear, when the latter apologised, saying, he meant “the doings of the *Bohemians* were for lack of faith.” The King received his representation, but the Commons were still by no means satisfied with this “blind excuse.”

After this, the Commons referred to the laws and constitutions of the Church, as enforcing these bills, but the “Spirituality” defended the *existing* state of things by “presumption and *usage*.” One commoner, a gentleman of Gray’s Inn, had the courage to reply,—“The usage hath ever been of thieves, to rob on Shooter’s hill, *ergo*—is it lawful?” Of course very great offence was taken at the comparison, as if the fees for Probates were to be considered robbery. The Commons stood firm, and the temporal Lords began to lean to their side, but the bills could not yet pass.

Meanwhile the Lords assented to a bill of *their own*, and sent it down to the Commons, which will remind the reader of years gone by, as it referred to measures introduced by Wolsey, and ultimately supported by the present Chancellor, then Speaker of the House of Commons. This was a bill releasing the King of

all such sums as he had *borrowed* from his subjects, in the fifteenth year of his reign. The measure, of course, was felt severely by the Commons, and the more so, as it would render them unpopular with their constituents; but as the majority of members were the King's servants, and others were gained over, the bill passed.

By way of gratitude in return, the King granted, with certain exceptions, a general pardon of offences, and aiding the Commons for the redress of their grievances, he caused two new bills to be presented afresh to the Lords, to which they at last assented, although that in reference to the probate of wills was peculiarly offensive to the Bishops.

The Commons then sent up their third bill, in reference to pluralities, non-residence, farming, &c. At this the Priests not only railed on the Commons as heretics, but the Bishops, in the Upper House, says Hall, "would in no ways consent." At last the King interposed. Causing eight members from each House to meet and confer in the Star Chamber, the Temporal Lords present united with the Commons, and next day the bill, somewhat qualified, passed into a law.

Before this Parliament was prorogued, on the 17th of December, there was one other measure respecting which there was *no* dissension among the Bishops, nor any division between the two Houses, and this was how to deal with the *new learning* come into the land. "It had been," says Lord Herbert, "secretly admitted into many places of this kingdom with much approbation, so that even the most ignorant began to examine whether the errors then ordinarily controverted, did belong to the *doctrine* or the *government* of the Church." This subject, it should be remembered, had been noticed among the "overtures of the King's intentions," in this short session, and whether suggested by the new Chancellor, must appear by what followed. Sir Thomas More might smile at Tunstal's simplicity, in having purchased *books* at Antwerp to burn them in London, by and by; but at the same time, whatever his pen or his power could do, was now to be employed against the *authors* and the *possessors* of all such publications. With his pen he had been busy ever since he was licensed, in March last year; and now, as

Lord Chancellor, he will enjoy the gratification of employing his power, and immediately upon his entrance into office.

Sir Thomas More has certainly been fortunate, even to a proverb, in his biographers. At once the pride and the pet of the literary world, they have drawn his character on this principle—that “what offends the eye in a good picture, the painter casts discreetly into shades;” so that any writer laid under the necessity of bringing to light the generally concealed features of the man, must run the risk of being charged with a sin against taste. It is, however, chiefly with his official character, and as the opponent of Tyndale and Fryth, that we have here to do. His official movements against them are matter of history, and as for his sentiments and feelings, there is no necessity for calling witnesses to prove what they were. Plentifully were they expressed by himself, through many folio pages.

Wolsey being degraded, had the spirit of persecution rested only in *his* breast as Prime Minister, of course it must now have abated under his successor. Notwithstanding, therefore, the prodigious faults of the fallen Cardinal, let us inquire, and render him impartial justice.

It must have been observed, that the criminal charges preferred against Wolsey by the Lords, were presented to the King, with More at their head; and that the 43rd article included these words,—“Besides all his other heinous offences, the said Lord Cardinal hath been the impeacher and disturber of *due and direct correction of heresies*, being highly to the danger and peril of the whole body and good Christian people of this realm.” The neglect of Warham’s letter was now no doubt remembered; but they specially referred to Wolsey’s inhibiting the Bishops who desired to repair to Cambridge, in 1523, for the correction of such errors as were said to reign among the students and scholars there; in consequence of which, they now affirmed, these errors had “crept more abroad, and took greater place.” This was a charge which, when the whole article is read, evidently came warm from the heart of all the prelates who were present; and Wolsey, in various instances, certainly had not allowed them to run riot, to the extent they demanded; his own interests, at the moment, forbidding the gratification of their malice. The loftier flight of his own personal ambition

had so engrossed his mind, that the fiery and unmitigable zeal of these men must have frequently been felt by him as an annoyance, retarding his progress; and now, that he is to be crushed, they were rejoicing in hope of other days under his successor—better in their estimation, but *bitter* days and nights to those who either stood in their way, or dared to oppose them.

As it regarded, therefore, what the Bishops longed so much to enjoy—"the *direct* correction of heresies," the reader will bear in mind the embassy on which More with Tunstal had been lately sent; but more especially the closing treaty at Cambray, which they had arranged and signed. It was the first amicable arrangement of any kind, between the Emperor and Henry, for a considerable time past. Charles, before this period, had twice issued what were styled "Placards" throughout his dominions, and, in fulfilment, it seems, of this treaty, on the 14th of October he had issued a third. By this, all those who had relapsed after abjuration, were to be burnt—as for others, men were to die by the sword—women to be buried alive! All were warned against receiving any heretic to their houses, on pain of death and confiscation of goods! Suspected persons were to receive no honourable employment; and, in order to find out heretics, one-half of their estates was promised to informers!

Was there then no echo in England to this ferocious placard? or did More and Tunstal pay no regard to the treaty they had signed? So far from this, the subject was one to which both immediately bent all their energies. For months past, indeed, the pen of More, dipped in gall, had been busy on the subject of suppressing heresy; arguing for persecution unto death, in his strange and characteristic "Dialogue;" and the first time he opens his mouth in Parliament as Chancellor, he has it among the overtures of the King's intentions. His appearance in print, since the month of June, as the determined opponent of Tyndale, had fully shown the man, for five months before his elevation to the Great Seal; and the spirit now displayed by him, afforded no comfortable prospect for those who had espoused the truth, and were promoting its diffusion at great hazard and expense.

"As soon," says Burnet, "as More came into favour, he

pressed the King much, to put the laws against heretics in execution, and suggested that the Court of Rome would be more wrought upon by the King's supporting the Church, and defending the faith vigorously, than by threatenings: and, *therefore*, a long proclamation was issued out against the heretics, many of their *books* were prohibited, and all the laws against them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to seize them as they came into England."⁴

The facts of the case may be more distinctly stated. Tunstal, as well as More, must perform his part; and Warham also, now that Wolsey is out of the way, has no objections to go all lengths with his fellows. Accordingly, before the opening of this Parliament, the Convocation had been summoned to meet. They did so on the 5th of November, when at their *first* meeting a reformation of abuses was proposed; and with that an inquiry was made concerning heretical *books*. A Committee of *Bishops* was appointed with relation to *heretics*. On the 19th of December, two days after Parliament had risen, *secrecy* was enjoined, and again a second time, on pain of excommunication, so eager were they to catch the prey. They closed their Convocation on the 24th, or a week after Parliament, and then came out that proclamation which, as Foxe says, was made throughout all England, the year of our Lord 1529, and the 21st year of Henry VIII.; commencing, "*The King our Sovereign Lord*," &c.—"The Bishops," he tells us, "were the procurers of this fierce and terrible proclamation, devised and set out in the King's name;" but there can be no question that the Chancellor's influence was united with theirs in this matter. Indeed, the style in several places will show, that it must have been their joint production. More and Tunstal, no doubt, drew it up; and as the Chancellor's hand is so visible throughout, this consequently may be regarded as about the first of his official papers. Having first forbidden all preaching, teaching, or writing any thing contrary to the doctrine of Holy Church, inflicting fines for the first offence, and death for relapse after abjuration, it proceeds to prohibit under high penalties the "selling, receiving, taking or detaining any book or work

⁴ Burnet, edit. 1720, lib. ii. p. 159.

printed or written against the faith Catholic,—the decrees, laws, and ordinances of Holy Church.” That no man might plead ignorance, a list of the books restrained or forbidden was also published. Of the twenty-four in English, eight were by Tyndale and one by Fryth.

“The Bishops,” says Foxe, “had that *now* which they *would* have; neither did there lack, on their part, any study unapplied, any stone unremoved, any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the same.”

Here, then, we have the first *Royal* proclamation interdicting printed books, and pursuing the importers, the possessors, or authors of them, to death by fire. This was one of the first fruits of the *new* administration, and it marks the present period as an era in the history of persecution for conscience’ sake; since the government of the country, that is, the King and his Council, were now fully committed. The only formal public instruments hitherto issued, were the injunctions of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Tunstal, Bishop of London, in the close of 1526; and up to December 1529, this persecution had been an affair of the “Spirituality” alone. The King, it is true, had approved of what they did in 1526, and, before then, was himself writing to the Netherlands, and eager about the burning of books. But his name *as* Sovereign had never, till this period, been employed to strike terror into the hearts of his *own* subjects, to make *heresy* and *treason* convertible terms, and lay the entire civil power at the feet of the Bishops.

Wolsey, unquestionably, had great influence over his Majesty, but he had never employed it in persuading him thus publicly and personally to embrace his hands in the blood of his subjects on English ground; this was reserved to distinguish the administration of Sir Thomas More; so that the chief redeeming point in the character of the lofty and overbearing Cardinal, must stand in contrast with the greatest blot in that of his unostentatious and learned successor.

Oh, when writing his *Utopia*, in earlier life, or, as Sir James Mackintosh has described it, “his admirable discussions on criminal law, his forcible objections to *capital* punishment for offences against property, his remarks on the tendency of the practice of inflicting needless suffering on animals, in weaken-

ing compassion and affection towards our fellow-men," and his extraordinary latitude of toleration as to the mind; had any one said to him—"I know the evil and the cruelty thou wilt yet inflict on the people around you,"—would he not have replied, "What! is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" But now, it seems the only answer might have been, "Thou shalt, one day, be Lord Chancellor of England," and then——!

But before then, and only just before, he had himself already given a fearful omen to his country, of what might have been anticipated from his administration. His appearance this year as a controversialist must have been hailed by the entire hierarchy, licensed or hired as he had been by high prelatical authority; and certainly the English language had never been so prostituted before he took up his pen. Even in the eulogised "Utopia" of his early days, it should never be forgotten that he there stood forth, more than insinuating the lawfulness of suicide; and now, alas, he must appear as regarding with equal indifference the blood of others. The proclamation already quoted, which was to be read throughout all the land, was in him but the natural result of the sentiments he had already expressed in print; and now the civil authority, from the Lord Chancellor of England down to the lowest Bailiff of a burgh town, bound, by oath, must make official inquiry after "heretics." "The prelates," he had already said, in print, "ought *temporally to destroy* those ravenous wolves; they were by *grievous punishment* to be repressed in the beginning, and the *sparkle well quenched*, ere it was suffered to grow to over great a fire!" But once in possession of power, the mace as well as the pen must be employed to prevent the progress of the "new learning;" so that if Wolsey had chastised the people with whips, More, as led by these Bishops, seems determined to do so with scorpions.

And what was the existing condition of this prelatical cause, which the new Lord Chancellor was so eager to defend and maintain? It consisted mainly of priests, and according to his own admission in his "Dialogue,"—"he wot well that *many* were very lewd and naught,"—but "let the priest be never so vicious, and so impenitent, and so far from all purpose of amendment, that his *prayers* are rejected and abhorred; yet

the profit of his *mass* was to every one else, just as good as if he were the most virtuous man!" And again,—“If the Church say one thing, and *the Holy Scriptures* another thing, the faith of the Church is to be taken as *the word of God*, as well as the Scripture, and therefore to be believed.” These are a few of his own express words; but no solitary selected expressions can convey an adequate idea of the virulence, not to say the verbosity and fallacious reasoning of this writer. It certainly would exhaust the patience of most readers, in the present day, to wade through his folio “Dialogue.”

Such was, in part, the state of things in England at the close of this year and commencement of the next. It was purely with a view to enlighten and bless his country and to deliver it from thralldom, that Tyndale had hitherto laboured, assailing only what was positively sinful, and worthy of destruction. No English writer had drawn his pen against him till this summer, when Sir Thomas More put forth his laborious “Dialogue.” Tyndale’s translation of the New Testament he had severely condemned, *artfully approving of a NEW translation*, to meet the pressure from without,—a translation of course by the Bishops; one of which Crammer said about eight years after this, that he had no idea of its being accomplished “till one day after Doomsday.”

No choice therefore was now left to Tyndale, but to encounter this “ornament of the Pontifical chair,”—“one of the greatest prodigies of wit and learning,” according to Anthony Wood, “that this nation ever before his time had produced.” Tyndale, however, entertained no fear of him, and he will not long remain without a sufficient answer. On the whole, it is now evident that this had been a most busy season, nor is it difficult to perceive the occasion or cause of all the turmoil. For while the “nether house of parliament,” as Foxe calls it, had been “communing of their griefs wherewith the spirituality had before time grievously oppressed them;” the Convocation had been communing also, with mingled grief and indignation, over the “*new learning*” come into the land. Some might say that the hand of Tyndale was in all this, and in one sense it was, but then he was not in the country. Properly speaking, the commotion is to be ascribed to the Word of God, however

denounced, which he had translated, and sent home, to fight its own way.

Before the close of this year, however, if we look abroad once more, we are cheered by observing that the great cause went on. The Government at home had been absorbed in *human* legislation, and confounded by its perplexities. All the while, Tyndale had been diligent in preparing more of the *Divine* law for his countrymen, and it will be home presently. He had been employing the press at Marburg, but had left it himself, for Antwerp, as already explained. It is in reference to this period that we find a statement by John Foxe, that minding to print his translation of Deuteronomy at Hamburg, Tyndale went thither this year and met Miles Coverdale by appointment, who helped him to translate the whole Pentateuch. Now Coverdale might have gone to Hamburg by appointment of some one, but that he met our Translator there cannot be proved, nor is there any evidence to show that Tyndale ever was at Hamburg after 1524. Certain it is that Coverdale afforded no assistance in translating from the Hebrew, as two years after this, he confesses his own incompetence for such a task. Whatever aid Tyndale had in preparing the Pentateuch was derived from Fryth. Of any meeting with Coverdale, Tyndale gives not the slightest hint; nor in the whole of his writings, or those of Fryth, is there a shadow of reference to Coverdale, more than if he had never existed.

In conclusion of this year, we have been, and will continue to be, cautious of admitting into these pages any loose conjecture. But after all that we have read, it would be difficult to believe that the Antwerp press had stood still, either last year or the present. An edition of Tyndale's Testament has been long assigned to about this period, though we are not able to fix it, by adducing such curious evidence as in preceding cases. Hackett, however, as early as May 1527, has hinted at as many as 2000 having been for sale at Frankfort; and Joye affirms that the Dutch, as he calls them, had printed it a *third* time. We may, therefore, with all safety, put down another, or the *fifth* edition, to 1529. It is quite possible that there might have been one last year, as well as this; but, at all events, Tyndale himself will reprint his Testament next year.

M D X X X.

TYNDALE'S PROGRESS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT—PRACTICE OF PRELATES—PERSECUTION GOES ON—KING AND PRELATES DENOUNCE THE SCRIPTURES—LATIMER'S BOLD REMONSTRANCE—NEW TESTAMENTS BURNT—ANOTHER, THE SIXTH EDITION—VIGOROUS IMPORTATION—DEATH OF S. FYSHE.



We have come to a more noted period in our Translator's eventful life. From the variety and importance of his publications which had now appeared in print, it is evident that the past and the present had been years of great and incessant activity on his part; nor were his opponents less active. The bench of Bishops, now headed by the civil power, were firmly leagued together, and arrayed against him. Considering all that Tyndale already knew, it is quite apparent from his writings, that he had, long before this time, been prepared in spirit for martyrdom. Resolved to tell the whole truth, and, as far as he knew, nothing but the truth, his path lay right before him. When pressed out of measure, he might and did seek for quiet and safety, that he might pursue his work; but he was of one mind—and no peril, no prospect of danger, could turn him. Depending on the sword of the Spirit for success, and feeling, as he had translated, that "the wrath of the God of heaven appeareth against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who *withhold* the truth in unrighteousness," he must have resolved to suppress nothing, or sooner "die upon his shield,"—a better than that of the ancient warrior, because the shield of faith.

Tyndale's translations of the five books of Moses were soon in circulation through his native country. His treatise entitled "The Practice of Prelates," was also this year in England; and his "Answer to the Dialogue of Sir Thomas More," will follow. After disposing of Wolsey and the prelates in general, he had taken up the production of Wolsey's successor in office. Two Lords Chancellor against one poor expatriated Exile, might seem to be fearful odds, but time will show who gained the victory.

That portion of the Sacred Volume now sent into England,

has frequently been referred to by previous authors, as being "the first edition of Tyndale's *Pentateuch*;" but that this is incorrect, will at once appear from the following collation.

Genesis, in *black* letter, 76 leaves, with this colophon at the end, "Emprented at Marlborow, in the land of Hesse, by me, Hans Luft, the yere of our Lorde, M.D.XXX., the xvii dayes of Januarii." Exodus, in *roman* letter, 76 leaves; Leviticus, *roman* letter, 52 leaves; Numbers, in *black* letter, 67 leaves; Deuteronomy, in *roman* letter, 63 leaves. There is a separate title and a prologue to each book; at the end of Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, and at the beginning of Numbers, are tables expounding certain words. There are a few notes in the margins, and throughout the whole, ten wooden cuts. There is no colophon or date, except that already given, attached to Genesis. From all this, but especially from inspection, it is evident that these five books were printed at separate presses; Genesis for certain, and probably Numbers, at Marburg. Deuteronomy, and for aught we know, Exodus and Leviticus, at Hamburg. That they were circulated at first, *separately*, in England, is evident, because they were thus distinctly denounced; first, Genesis and Deuteronomy, and then the whole five books, but still distinctly noted. At the same time, when the whole were finished, Tyndale meant them to be bound together, as he then printed a general preface, which may have led to the popular description of "the *Pentateuch*, first edition."

The rarity of these five books, entire, is almost equal to that of the first octavo New Testament of 1525. Only one *perfect* copy is known to exist which once belonged to Mr. Wilkinson, and is now in the Grenville Library, British Museum. The next best copy, as it has been completed, in the finest fac-simile, from the preceding, once belonged to Mr. Tutet. It was purchased at the sale of his books, by the late Mr. Heber, and from his collection by Mr. Grenville; who only seems to have parted with it, on obtaining his present unique perfect book. We know not what the perfect copy cost, but this second was advertised for sale in 1836, by Thorpe of London, at fifty guineas. Little did Tyndale imagine that, at the distance of more than three centuries, the labour of his hands would be so highly estimated.

Besides these two, all the other copies known to exist, are incomplete. That in the Museum at Bristol, wants the book of Genesis; that in Sion College, presented by Mr. Lewis, the book of Deuteronomy, and besides, the marginal notes are *cut off*, as directed by Act of Parliament in January 1543! The copy in the British Museum wants the first and last and two other leaves; the one at Cambridge is also imperfect. In the Bodleian library at Oxford, there is a beautiful copy of Genesis alone.

Tyndale's next publication was "The Practice of Prelates;" and, as far as it regards the subjects introduced, as well as the manner in which they are handled, it is, in some respects, the most remarkable of all his controversial writings. More than ever bent upon the emancipation of his country from mental bondage, he longed to see the *throne* established in righteousness; but he could entertain no hope of this until the power behind it, which had risen above the throne itself, was laid

prostrate. "If that King of the grasshoppers," said he, "which devoureth all that is green, were destroyed; then were the kingdom of our caterpillars at an end." But it was when, in the same publication, he came down to what he styled "the practice of *our* time," and "the cause of all that *we* have suffered these twenty years," that Tyndale's powerful sentences were so deeply felt. Other men, before this year was done, might sing a requiem over the grave of Wolsey; but before he died, this despised and unpatronised exile had already exposed to public view his entire policy; and withal, so ably, that it is still quoted by the best of our historians. By Burnet and Strype in former times; by Turner and Tytler in our own day.

Wolsey, it is true, was descending to the tomb, but what did that signify? Sir Thomas More had just come into power. He had opened the first Parliament which had been held for years, and with what was said to be, an eloquent oration. What then must have been his surprise and regret, if not his indignation, to find the man whom he had laboured to overwhelm by his sophistry, and all the quip and merry turns in his "Dialogue," reviewing this very session of Parliament, and the first bills that were passed under his administration? Exposing the proceedings as only so many strokes of policy, Tyndale showed that they had been merely clearing away the brushwood, or lopping the branches of a tree, which would grow again, while it ought to have been *uprooted* from the soil of England. "The root yet left behind, whence all that they have for a time weeded out, will spring again, by little and little, as before; if they, as their hope is, may *stop this light of God's word that is now abroad*." These few last words show the soul of our Translator. The authority of the Divine word was, in his mind, paramount to every other consideration, and this was the cause of his now speaking out so boldly; but it certainly was no common proof of talent and of an enlarged mind, that so early after Parliament rose, Tyndale should be able to send such a publication into England; embracing, as it did, not merely the corruption of past ages traced to its source, but the national doings of the day, down to the end of March in the present year, if not later.

One of the latest eulogists of Sir Thomas More is Sir James

Mackintosh, and a more able and fascinating pen could not have been employed; but in his just indignation at the brutality of Henry in putting More to death, and his warm admiration of the Chancellor, he is not the first who has shot rather beyond the mark. "He was," says he, "the first Englishman who signalised himself as an orator, *the first writer of a prose which is still intelligible*, and probably the *first* layman since the beginning of authentic history, who was Chancellor of England."

It is not improbable that Sir James had never thought of looking into the pages of More's opponent in controversy. Tyndale's prose, however, in one sense, it must never be forgotten, has been read in Britain ever since, and that too "every Sabbath day;" for notwithstanding all the confessed improvements made on our translation of the Bible, large portions in almost every chapter still remain verbally the same as he first gave them to his country. In this, it is true, he was merely a translator, but then the *style* of his translation has stood the test of nearly ten generations. It has been their admiration all along, and it will continue to be admired while the language endures.

But independently of his translation, the purity of his native language was maintained by Tyndale in as high a degree as by any of his contemporaries. And even as to his opponent it may safely be questioned, if in the wide compass of More's controversial writings there is one passage to be compared for pathos and simple beauty with the solemn appeal of Tyndale to his King and country, after Parliament and the Bishops had drawn the sword of persecution from its sheath, and placed it, naked, in the hands of their Sovereign. It will be found at the close of the "Practice of Prelates."

By this tract did Tyndale prove, that he was intimately acquainted with all that was going on in England, up to the moment of his publication, as well as able to give sound advice; an evidence of such talent that Sir T. More could not but recognise it, two years afterwards, though he affects to despise the writer. "Then," says he, "have we 'the Practice of Prelates,' wherein Tyndale had wente to have made a special show of his high worldly wit; and that men should have seen therein that there was nothing done among princes, but that he was fully

advertised of all the secrets ; and *that* so far forth, that he knew the privy practice made between the King's highness, and the late Lord Cardinal, and the reverend father, Cuthbert, then Bishop of London, and me." A facetious vein of style continued to be the favourite mode of Sir Thomas. Perhaps he preferred it for effect, or saw no necessity for any other ; but Tyndale was ever in earnest, to the end.

As far as intelligent and skilful, though pungent, warning could go, Tyndale had nobly done his duty. He had fully exposed the once aspiring Cardinal, now sinking into ruin, and the enormous expense entailed on the country by his tortuous administration ; he had faithfully warned his Sovereign, and put the country on its guard, as to the state persecution, which we have seen that the new Chancellor as well as the prelates had advised. Few men, if indeed any one of that age, could have written such an exposition of the times, as Tyndale had just given ; and yet his labour for this year was not at an end. He had commenced his reply to Sir Thomas More's " Dialogue," and in the printed edition of his works it is said to have been *made* in 1530 ; but as it certainly did not appear in print till next year, we defer till then saying more of a production which Henry the VIII. was so eager to see, that a part of it at least was actually *written* out, by his Envoy in Brabant, and sent him for perusal before its publication. This, too, as we shall find, was done without Tyndale's knowledge, and it is mentioned now simply as a proof of his powerful influence, as well as the interest attached to any thing which might come from his pen.

The virulent opposition now manifested to his translation of the Scriptures, and his other writings, could only refer to his publications before this year ; so that what we are now going to relate, may be regarded as no slender testimony to their powerful effects upon his native country. As for the " Practice of Prelates," as soon as it begins to be known and felt, we shall find other measures resorted to, besides that of denunciation in England.

The first person who excites notice in 1530, was that poor old and blind, literally blind man, the Bishop of Norwich once more. He felt sorely annoyed by the circulation and effects of

these English books. Three years ago, he had contributed, with great good will, towards the purchase made by Warham, of Tyndale's New Testaments,—a vain expedient, as might have been anticipated, to prevent their getting into the hands of the people. But he was as warm in the cause as ever, and in a letter to his friend the Archbishop, dated 14th May, 1530, he complains that it passeth his power to suppress the reading and believing of the New Testament;—that there are who say, “that the King's pleasure is, the New Testament in English shall go forth, and men shall have it and read it; and from that opinion I can by no means turn them.” He therefore desires to know the King's pleasure on the subject, “that a remedy may be had;” adding with respect to the readers, “If they continue any time, *I think they shall undo us all.*”¹

But there was no occasion for this miserable old man being so urgent. Little did he know how deeply Warham and his brethren were impressed with the impending danger, if these books were not seized and burnt. The highest authorities were now all alive to the perils of the hierarchy. For some time, the united strength of the most able opponents in the kingdom—Lord Chancellor More, Warham, Tunstal, and Gardiner,—had been employed in framing an authoritative list, of all the heresies detected in Tyndale's writings, with a denunciation of them all. Tyndale's *name*, too, in connexion with his *New Testament and Pentateuch*, was now still more distinctly branded, even by *royal* authority. These prelates and their assistants had contrived to find out about two hundred heretical sentences in only six publications, of which one hundred and seven were charged upon “Tyndale and Fryth.” A document enumerating these heresies, and condemning by name the various works in which they were found, was drawn up, and authorized at a Council held in the Palace of Westminster, 24th May, 1530, the King himself being present. In this paper “the Scriptures corrupted by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New,” is especially mentioned. There is added a “Bill in English to be published by the preachers,” urging the im-

¹ Cotton MS., Cleopatra, E. v., fol. 360.

mediate delivery of these books "to the Superiors, such as call for them." It is signed by three Notaries alone.

The original document, closely written on eight skins of parchment, may still be seen in the Library at Lambeth Palace. At the end there is an array of twenty names, pointing out the most noted persons *present* on this occasion, to which they add, "with many more learned men of the said Universities, in a great number assembled, then and there together witness to the premises required and adhibited." But although the language employed was no doubt intended to convey the idea, it by no means follows, that they *individually* assented; far from it. A minority there was, we know from other sources, though we cannot give their names. More and Warham, Tunstal and Gardiner, the framers of the whole, besides others, of course cordially approved of every word; but *Hugh Latimer* was among the number present, and this has perplexed or misled more critics than one. Perhaps he had no business to be there, however anxious to know what was going on; but the occasion of his being in such bad company admits of explanation, after which he will appear in his noblest character.

Latimer had been preaching, ever since he saw Wolsey at Whitehall, and before then he had argued for the Scriptures being given to *all*. For some time, also, before the present period, it had been in his favour, that his old opponent, West, the Bishop of Ely, took part with Queen Catherine, and was one of her Advocates. Henry, eager to have the assent of the University of Cambridge to his divorce, had sent down Dr. Butts, the physician, to promote this object. Latimer, whatever may be said, approved of the divorce, and, therefore, so pleased, if not aided the Doctor, that he invited him to accompany him to London. Introducing him to the King, he had been officiating before him at Windsor in the month of March. In the afternoon of Sunday the 27th, while Latimer was preaching, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. William Buckmaster, arrived with the University's letters for his Majesty. The King was not altogether satisfied with their decisions, but Latimer was already high in favour. "At afternoon," says Buckmaster to himself, "I came to Windsor, and also to part of Mr.

Latimer's sermon, and after the end of the same, I spake with Mr. Secretary—and so after evensong I delivered our letters in the chamber of presence, all the Lords beholding. His Highness gave me there great thanks, and talked with me a good while. But by and by, he greatly praised Mr. Latimer's sermon, and, in so praising, said on this wise:—‘This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vice-Chancellor yonder. Yon same,’ said he unto the Duke of Norfolk, ‘is Mr. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge,’ and so pointed to me.”² The next day, after another conversation with Henry, the King having told him that he would have their final and a better decision, Buckmaster was dismissed home after Easter; but Latimer still remained, and continued preaching.

Meanwhile Warham's party were already sitting in council at Westminster, and Latimer, not having left London, was present among others, on the 24th of May, but *his* account of the meeting afterwards was this. Referring his Majesty to that very day, he tells him, “As concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors were they, whose *evil living* and *cloaked hypocrisy* these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that (although) there were three or four that *would have had the Scripture to go forth in English*, yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better; and so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as *yours*, but as *theirs*, set forth in your name; as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it in great penury.”

These proceedings, says Burnet, were printed in June, but when once they were sent forth through the country, so far from having assented to them, they proved the urgent motive to one of the noblest acts of Latimer's varied life—his well known letter to Henry the VIII., of this year. In this letter, from which the words already quoted are taken, he pleads powerfully for liberty to “read the Holy Scripture in our mother tongue,” and spares neither Bishops or Chancellor,

² MS. c. c. c. Burnet's Reform., iii., App., p. 23, ed. 1715.

closing with an earnest prayer for, and solemn charge to, the King.

“Wherefore I pray to God that your Grace may be found acceptable in His sight, and one of the *members* of His Church ; and according to the office that He hath called your Grace unto, that you may be found a faithful *minister* of His gifts, and *not a defender of His faith* ; for He will not have it *defended by MAN, or man’s POWER*, but by *His Word only*, by the which He hath evermore defended it ; and that by a way far above man’s power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

“Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourself. Have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword. In the which day, that your Grace may stand stedfastly, and be not ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have, as they say, your *quietus est* sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to Him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to His Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your Grace. Anno Domini 1530, 1mo. die Decembris.”

Certainly no monarch was ever more pointedly addressed, or more seasonably and faithfully warned. It seems, therefore, unaccountable that Latimer should have ever been supposed to assent to such proceedings, merely because his name was mentioned as being present. The calumny, however, no doubt unwittingly, has been bound up, even with the reprint of Tyndale’s New Testament, in our own day. At that moment, indeed, the Bishops might think it fortunate to have such a name appended, but had they foreseen the result, it had never been there. Meanwhile, Latimer had done what he could to damage this Royal and prelatical Bull.

To return, however, to these Bishops as a body ; having in May secured their object, in so far as a *Royal* proclamation could go, it seems to have been with a view to greater effect, that a second grand and more public *book-fire* was then determined. The first had been the result of Wolsey’s “secret search” in 1526 ; the present was the consequence of the negotiation at Antwerp last year. Warham’s purchase in 1527 was disposed of, or consumed, without show ; but Tunstal had reserved his books till now. Tyndale by name, and his translation, had both been branded by royal authority, and the Bishop, no doubt, thought it a fortunate moment for fulfilling his purpose. “I intend, surely,” said he at Antwerp, “to

destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross." Accordingly, says Halle, "this year in *May*, the Bishop of London" (formerly, now of Durham) "caused all his New Testaments which he had bought, with many other books, to be brought into Paul's Church Yard, in London, and there were openly burned." That Tunstal was acting for Stokesly, till his return from the Continent, and recording what was doing in the diocese till then, is evident from several documents at the *close* of his Register.

There was, however, a great difference between the effects of this burning, and that in the year 1526. Then the people, generally, were not aware of the value of what they saw consumed; but it was far otherwise *now*, and this alone is a proof that the cause of Divine Truth, which the Bishops would fain have crushed, was making decided progress. This burning "*had such an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded, there must be a visible contrariety between that book, and the doctrines of those who handled it; by which both their prejudice against the clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament, was increased.*"³

In corroboration of this statement, it is certain that neither the purchase at Antwerp, nor the burning at Paul's Cross, had any effect on the importations into this country, except the reverse of what was intended and desired by the enemy; and before long Tunstal himself was fully sensible of this. "Afterwards," says Halle, "when more New Testaments were imprinted, they came *thick and threefold* into England, the Bishop of London," (now of Durham,) "hearing that still there were so many, sent for Augustine Packington, and said to him—'Sir, how cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad, and *you* promised and assured me that you had bought *all*?' Then, said Packington—'I promise you, I bought all that *then* was to be had; but I perceive they have made more *since*, and it will never be better, as long as they have the letters and stamps; therefore, it were best for your Lordship to buy the stamps too! and then you are sure.' The Bishop smiled at

³ Burnet.

him, and said — ‘Well, Packington, well;’ and so ended the matter.”

And so, perhaps, ended the device of purchasing books in order to burn them; but it will not be long before we find these enemies proceed to men themselves, and, with a bitter zeal, still more inflamed, consign *them* to the fire; for very soon after this, seizing and burning men instead of their productions, or the books in their possession, became the order of the day. But it is with books we have now to do, and there is no doubt that while Wolsey was descending to the devouring grave, and the Bishops, with the King at their head, were imagining a vain thing, the printing press was as busy as ever. Another edition of Tyndale’s New Testament was executed this year, and it is the more worthy of notice, that there appears to have been a positive connexion between him and it. The author is perfectly aware that the edition of 1534 has been styled the *second* genuine edition of Tyndale, but so many mistakes have been detected already, that one need not feel any surprise if this should prove another.

It has, indeed, been often stated, that with the money received from Tunstal, Tyndale reprinted the New Testament, and Hamburg has also been mentioned as the place where one edition was printed. But whether it was executed there or elsewhere, of his having now printed an edition, though he had no time as yet to *revise* the version, there can be little or no doubt. Foxe, and Strype, and Tanner expressly assign this edition to Tyndale, the last stating Marburg as the place of printing. But there are corroborating circumstances as to the book itself. It is not till the close of this year, or rather the following spring, that we hear of Tyndale having a *brother*, and resident in London; and if the records of the Star Chamber are to be received as evidence, it is there distinctly stated, that he “sent the Testaments, and divers other books, to his brother, John Tyndale, a merchant in London.” This impression, too, has been pronounced to be more correct than the Antwerp editions, at least so said the late Bishop Tomline: and when we come to John’s apprehension and appearance before Sir Thomas More, as well as the importations by Richard Bayfield, little doubt will remain as to this reprint coming from the original translator, although he had not found leisure as yet to improve the translation.

About the end of this year an incident occurred, which may seem unaccountable, as out of keeping with the usual current of events; were it not that the capricious temper of the monarch admitted both of words and actions, directly at variance with each other. Mr. Fyshe, the author of "The Supplication of Beggars," we found had been in London in the summer of 1526, as well as in 1528; and, according to his wife's representation, in Foxe, "he had been absent now the space of two years and a half." His tract, as we have seen, had interested Henry, when first he saw it in 1526; and this excellent woman having gained access to the King, he engaged that her husband should "come and go safe, without peril, and that no man should do him harm," if she brought him to the royal presence. Emboldened by the King's words, she went and brought him. His Majesty conversed with him, it is said, for above three hours, and, in the end, desired him to take his wife home, for she had taken great pains for him. Fyshe had fled formerly for fear of the Cardinal, and now he replied—"He durst not so do, for fear of Sir Thomas More the Chancellor, and Stokesly the Bishop of London." The King, taking the signet from his finger, recommended him to the Lord Chancellor, charging him not to molest him. More received the signet as a sufficient safe-guard, of course, but inquired if he had any discharge for his *wife*? She had displeased the *friars*, by not allowing them to say their Gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, and insisted that they should say them in *English*. Next morning, More actually sent his man for her, but her young daughter being sick of the plague, prevented his approach, as well as any farther molestation. Within six months after this, Mr. Fyshe himself died of the same disease, and was interred in St. Dunstan's, *the very same church where Tyndale had been accustomed to preach* in 1523. The Chancellor, in his loose and mendacious style, represented him as recanting before he died, of which there is not the slightest evidence. His widow was afterwards married to a gentleman of the same profession as her first husband, Mr. Baynham, of whom we shall hear before long.⁴

⁴ See Wood's *Ath.* by Bliss, i., p. 59-60, and Foxe's "Story of Simon Fyshe."

MDXXXI.

FORMIDABLE OPPOSITION—PURSUIT AFTER TYNDALE BY THE KING AND CRUMWELL—STILL IN VAIN—TYNDALE'S ANSWER TO SIR T. MORE—EPISTLE OF JOHN EXPOUNDED—JONAH, WITH A PROLOGUE—RENEWED PERSECUTION—BROTHER OF TYNDALE—BILNEY—BAYFIELD—MANY BOOKS IMPORTING—CONSTANTYNE CAUGHT—ESCAPES—PERSECUTION ABROAD—POWERFUL REMONSTRANCE FROM ANTWERP WITH CRUMWELL, INCLUDING THE KING AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

THE principal feature of the present year was that of determined opposition to Divine truth, abroad as well as at home; for although one man had been raised up by God to lead on the faithful, unquestionably it was truth alone which occasioned all the uproar, not the opinions of men. And as to our native land especially, if we should still farther discriminate, it was through the Book of God, in our native language, that Divine truth now penetrated into the heart of this country.

Last year had witnessed the Royal denunciation of our Translator by name, as well as all that he had then published; but since then, by his "Practice of Prelates," he had advanced one step farther, in combating the darkness and superstition which covered the land. That tract had been read by men of every grade, from the palace itself, down to the hamlet; by citizens of London, and husbandmen in Essex, in Suffolk, and elsewhere. Here he had not only implored, but warned the King to beware of persecution, and faithfully gave his judicious opinion with regard to the divorce; that miserable question still in discussion throughout Europe. By this year, however, Henry had nearly got this question framed, according to his own liking; and as he was soon to bring it before Parliament, he must have felt incensed by Tyndale's reference to its proceedings, not to say that the next would lie open to a second review. Besides, Sir Thomas More had but lately come into office, and he, with the Bishops, had cordially concurred in advising persecution, having secured the royal name to sanction and enforce their measures. The safety of Tyndale, therefore, was now in far greater hazard, than it ever had been in the days of the Cardinal. Wolsey had been roused from his lair, chiefly by the Satyre of Roye, and his

chase of the prey had ended with his own downfall; but the truth and good sense contained in Tyndale's last production, was like a spur by far too sharp for the passions and the pride of such a man as Henry the Eighth. His anxiety to seize the man, or allure him into the kingdom, will be found to harmonise with the growing ferocity of his character. Tyndale's escapes, during this year, must have illustrated the tender care of a gracious Providence; but the mystery now is, how he had contrived to make such progress at the press. Yet once engaged he had determined not only to maintain his ground, but advance in the prosecution of his great enterprise. This year was, therefore, distinguished by the appearance of not fewer than three distinct pieces. His Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue; his Exposition of the First Epistle of John; and his translation of the Prophet Jonah, with a long preface or prologue.

The annoyance and persecution of Tyndale personally, however, preceded the appearance of any of these pieces, and it is due to their contents that this should first be noticed. Denunciation of the Scriptures, and of all that he had published, would now no longer suffice. The King was incensed, and before the summer of this year, would have dealt with anything of Tyndale's, as Jehoiakim did of old with Jeremiah's roll. The Priests of the day also, as in the case of another ancient Prophet, had thought of the man, if not said,—“the land is not able to bear all his words.” The strong arm of power must be stretched out to reach him if possible, and, no doubt, there were not a few who imagined, that his days were now numbered. Amidst all *other* affairs, the apprehension of Tyndale at this period held a place in point of importance, which has never before been fully explained. It would certainly be too severe, to ascribe all the measures adopted to Henry alone, even though he should appear most conspicuous, and engaged in eager pursuit, through the instrumentality of three, if not four, individuals; for still the head and hand of Sir Thomas More, and the hearts of the Bishops, sanctioned all; but it will be far more melancholy, if Crumwell, so lately come into power, should appear to be a most willing agent, and even Cranmer, for many a day, nay, throughout the whole of Tyndale's lifetime, evince no sympathy whatever!

The Government persecution of our Translator, which had now commenced, lends a peculiar emphasis to every page he had already emitted, but more especially to the publications of the present year.

In December last, the aunt of Charles, Lady Margaret, or Regent of the Low Countries, had died, and the Emperor had nominated his sister, Mary, Queen of Hungary, to succeed. She, however, did not assume the reins of government till October of this year. Whether this interregnum was deemed favourable to the apprehension of Tyndale, is not distinctly expressed; but certainly no time was lost in taking advantage of it; and it was during this season that he was next so keenly pursued. Hackett, who is already well known to the reader, returned to England after Lady Margaret's decease, bearing a letter, dated 3rd January, 1531, from the Emperor to Henry;¹ but he was sent abroad again that same year, and had an audience in June, at Ghent, with Mary, the new Regent.² Most gladly would *he* have apprehended the Translator of the books he had so repeatedly burned; but, independently of him, or immediately after the death of Margaret, if not before, it had been resolved to send two accredited Envoys to the Low Countries, one of whom, if not both, were charged with special instructions in reference to Tyndale. The first, Mr. Stephen Vaughan, was much employed in commercial and pecuniary negotiations, down to as late a period as 1546. The second was Thomas Wriothsley, uncle to the first Earl of Southampton, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and the second Earl. The first, by far the most candid of the two, was stationed at Barrow and Antwerp, and the second, a uniform enemy of the truth, repaired to Brussels. The draft of their credentials afterwards, upon Lady Mary's appearance, and as corrected by Henry's *own* hand, is now in the Museum.³

So early as the 22nd of January, Vaughan writes to Crumwell; and, on the 26th, to the King himself,—a letter which shows how much in earnest his Majesty had been, to lay hold on this eminent man, or get him within his grasp. It appears from

¹ Cotton MS. Galba, B. ix., fol. 234.

² Idem, fol. 238.

³ Galba, B. x., fol. 38.

this letter that Vaughan had sought an interview with Tyndale, and had opened a correspondence with him, endeavouring to persuade him to return to England. In accordance with the earnest wish of Henry, he sought, but in vain, to get a copy of the yet unpublished answer of Tyndale to Sir Thomas More, but sent the letters he had received in answer from the Translator. In a communication to Crumwell, his patron, which accompanied the former, he owns,—

“It is *unlikely* to get Tyndall into England, when he *daily heareth* so many things from thence which feareth him. After his book, answering my Lord Chancellor’s book, be put forth, I think he will write no more! *The man is of a greater knowledge than the King’s Highness doth take him for, which well appeareth by his works.* Would God HE WERE IN ENGLAND!”

This envoy of Henry alludes to some *other* person who had also written to Tyndale, and to whom he had replied. This could not be Wriothsley, otherwise he would have named him; but Vaughan’s impression was, that *various* individuals were now out in pursuit, and had been commissioned to seize the same man, or entice him into England. Tyndale also had replied to Vaughan, though still he could not find him out. In the meanwhile, chancing to meet with a part of the intended answer to Sir Thomas More, in *manuscript*, he immediately informs Crumwell, and actually sits down to copy it out for the King. February and March had passed away, when at last, and most unexpectedly, Tyndale himself gave him the benefit of a personal interview. Still more deeply interested, without loss of time, on the *next* day, or 18th of April, Vaughan writes to his royal Master, from Antwerp, where Tyndale then was, from which we extract the following:—

“The day before the date hereof, (17th of April,) I spake with Tyndale without the town of Antwerp; and by this means. He sent a certain person to seek me, whom he had advised to say, that a certain friend of mine, unknown to the messenger, was very desirous to speak with me; praying me to take pains to go unto him, to such place as he should bring me. Then I (said) to the messenger,—‘What is your friend, and where is he?’ ‘His name I know not,’ said he, ‘but if it be your pleasure to go where he is, I will be glad thither to bring you.’ Thus doubtful what this matter meant, I concluded to go with him, and followed him till he brought me without the gates of Antwerp, into a field lying nigh unto the same, where was abiding me this said Tyndale.

“At our meeting—‘Do you not know me?’ said this Tyndale. ‘I do not well remember you,’ said I to him. ‘My name,’ said he, ‘is Tyndale.’ ‘But,

Tyndale,' said I, 'fortunate be our meeting!' Then Tyndale—'Sir, I have been exceeding desirous to speak with you.' 'And I with you; what is your mind?' 'Sir,' said he, 'I am informed that the King's Grace taketh great displeasure with me, for putting forth of certain books, which I lately made in these parts; but specially for the book named "*The Practice of Prelates*," whereof I have no little marvel,—considering that in it, I did but warn his Grace, of the subtle demeanour of the Clergy of his realm, towards his person; and of the shameful abusions by them practised, not a little threatening the displeasure of his Grace, and weal of his realm: in which doing, I showed and declared *the heart of a true subject*, which sought the safe-guard of his royal person, and weal of his Commons: to the intent, that his Grace thereof warned, might, in due time, prepare his remedies against their subtle dreams. If, for my pains therein taken,—if for my poverty,—if for mine exile out of mine natural country, and bitter absence from my friends,—if for my hunger, my thirst, my cold, the great danger wherewith I am everywhere compassed;—and finally, if for innumerable other hard and sharp fightings which I endure, not yet feeling of their asperity, by reason (that) I hoped with my labours, to do honour to God, true service to my Prince, and pleasure to his Commons;—how is it that his Grace, this considering, may either by himself think, or by the persuasions of others, be brought to think, that in this doing, I should not show a pure mind, a true and incorrupt zeal, and affection to his Grace? Was there in me any such mind, when I warned his Grace to beware of his Cardinal, whose iniquity he shortly after proved, according to my writing? Doth this deserve hatred?

"Again, may his Grace, being a Christian prince, be so unkind to God, which hath commanded His Word to be spread throughout the world, to give more faith to wicked persuasions of men, which presuming above God's wisdom, and contrary to that which Christ expressly commandeth in His *Testament*, dare say, *that it is not lawful for the people to have the same, in a tongue that they understand; because the purity thereof should open men's eyes to see their wickedness*? Is there more danger in the King's subjects, than in the subjects of all other Princes, which, in every of their tongues, have the same, under privilege of their sufferance? As I NOW AM, *very death were more pleasant to me than life*, considering man's nature to be such as can bear no truth.'

"Thus, after a long communication had between us, for my part, making answer as my poor wit would serve me, which was too long to write, I assayed him with gentle persuasions, to know whether he would come *into England*; ascertaining him that means should be made, if he (only) thereto were minded, without his peril or danger, that he might so do: And that what surety he would devise for the same purpose, should, by labour of friends, be obtained of your Majesty. But to this he answered—that he neither would, nor durst, come into England, albeit your Grace would promise him never so much surety; fearing lest, *as he hath before written*, your promise made, should shortly be broken, by the persuasion of the Clergy; which would affirm, that promise made with heretics ought not to be kept.

"After these words, he then, being something fearful of me lest I would have pursued him, and drawing also towards night, he took his leave of me, and departed from the town, and I towards the town—saying, 'I should shortly, peradventure, see him again, or if not, hear from him.' Howbeit, I suppose, he afterward returned to the town by another way, for there is no likelihood that he should lodge without the town. Hasty to pursue him I was not,

because I had some likelihood to speak shortly again with him ; and in pursuing him, I might perchance have *failed of my purpose, and put MYSELF in danger.*

“To declare to your Majesty, what, in my poor judgment, I think of the man, I ascertain your Grace, I have not communed with a man ——”⁴

But, thus abruptly, does the manuscript break off. The character about to be given, no doubt, from what we have read, a favourable one, was most probably more than Henry could bear ; and it would only have been in perfect conformity with his passionate manner, if he tore it off, and burnt it ; for the conclusion is nowhere else to be found. Sufficient, however, remains, to render the reception of such a letter, at this time, and from his own envoy, rather remarkable. Vaughan, it is evident, was above all things anxious to please his royal Master, but he must have been sadly out of his reckoning, if he imagined that such a communication as this would prove at all acceptable. His copying, with his own hand, a part of Tyndale’s answer to More, may be excused, as explaining the impatience of Henry to see it ; but that he should send to the King, Tyndale’s *remonstrance*, even in such terms as he had now penned it, was certainly one false step, as it regarded his own advancement in royal favour ; and the *character* given at the close, must have been a second. However, since the letter was sent and received, it is obvious to remark, that, after Latimer’s sterling counsel, not four months ago, and that of Tyndale himself now, if Henry goes on to sin, it must be with his eyes open.

Tyndale’s having *sent* for Vaughan, is also worthy of notice. His predecessor, Hackett, would have apprehended Tyndale immediately, nay, and from what we have read, would have consigned him to his native land, without a sigh, not as a heretic only, but as a *traitor*. Hackett, however, had been providentially removed from Antwerp, and Vaughan will turn out to be a man of a very different stamp ; though certainly he does not seem to have been aware that he was acting with too much temper and candour, to secure the approbation of his fiery and impetuous sovereign. But be this as it may, in his next letter, very soon after this, Vaughan had made mention of *John Fryth* also, wishing to know from his Majesty what

⁴ Cotton MS. Titus, B. i., fol. 67, dated at “Antwerp, the 18th day of April.”

was his pleasure in regard to him, if he should happen to meet with him.

Vaughan was an *élève* of Crumwell, and it will now be very apparent. The envoy was acting in a manner too mild or straightforward, ever to rise in the royal favour; and, therefore, this letter of the 18th of April, as well as that which followed, demanded immediate notice, lest he should go farther wrong. He is therefore *tutored* in a letter from Crumwell to be more circumspect in reporting his interview with, and commendation of, Tyndale, whom the King regarded as a dangerous heretic, and had no wish to bring into the realm. As for Fryth, the King respected his learning and parts, and desired that he should return to his native country on promise of his leaving his wilful opinions.

Crumwell then closes his letter by enforcing on Vaughan a vigilant attention to certain shipments of grain,—to the Emperor's affairs,—the advance of the Turk into Germany,—the abiding of the Emperor in the Low Countries,—his agreement with the Princes of Germany; and if in all these things Vaughan can only make his allegiance and service apparent unto his Majesty, then Crumwell doubts not that it will be to his "singular profit and *advancement*."⁵ After the letter is finished, he adds a postscript or saving clause, apparently softening his stern commands as to Tyndale; but in fact only suggesting another snare, by which, if possible, to entrap him. Of this last passage Vaughan immediately availed himself; and writes on the 20th May, that he will do his endeavour to persuade Fryth to leave his errors and return to England, though his recent marriage in Holland might hinder this; that he had obtained another interview with Tyndale, and had shown him the postscript of Crumwell's letter, which had touched him exceedingly, and drawn from him the remarkable and characteristic words:—

" 'I assure you,' said he, 'if it would stand with the King's most gracious pleasure to grant only a *bare text of the Scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the Emperor in these parts, and of other Christian Princes*,—be it of the translation of what person soever shall

⁵ Cotton MS. Galba, B. x., fol. 338.

please his Majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts, after the same ; but immediately repair into his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his Royal Majesty, offering my body, to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death his Grace will, *so that this be obtained.* And till that time, I will abide the asperity of all chances, whatsoever shall come, and endure my life in as much pains as it is able to bear and suffer.' " 6

Here, however, and perhaps unexpectedly by the reader, the subject drops for months ; but, for the best of all reasons. Tyndale had something else to do, than to continue in conversation with this man. He retires from public view, and proceeds with vigour in his work. His letters, here mentioned, as sent to England, we have been unable to find. They must have added greatly to our interest, as well as enabled us to *correct* some of the expressions which Vaughan has evidently put into the mouth of Tyndale, to please the King, since Crumwell had so enjoined. His offer to Henry of "*a bare text of the Sacred Volume,*" as a "*sine qua non,*" was all-important ; only that text must be a genuine and intelligible one, otherwise Tyndale was to pursue his own path. But although we cannot follow our Translator to the exact place of his retreat, we now come with far greater advantage, to whatever he may publish. He had a character to maintain, which was still most shamefully traduced, and traduced alike by his opponent in controversy, by Master Crumwell, and the King. The Scriptures he had translated, besides the cause of God and His truth, which he had so promoted in England, alike required him to speak out ; while the account now given, must not only set the courage and energy of the man in a stronger light, but lend additional emphasis to every page.

We have witnessed Henry's apprehension and anxiety respecting Tyndale's answer to Sir Thomas More. He would have rejoiced in its suppression ; but the fact was, it had been much farther advanced at press, than the author himself supposed. It was actually in England before Tyndale himself was aware, or, as will appear afterwards, by the month of April this year, and therefore, it now demands some notice.

This new Lord Chancellor, the admiration of foreign coun-

⁶ Cotton MS. Galba, B. x., fol. 5, 6.

tries as well as his own, had employed sarcasm and sophistry throughout three hundred folio pages, chiefly against Tyndale and his translation. But why such a laborious and wordy production, if manifest error, and only one solitary heretic, were all the host to be devoured? Yet thus unwisely did Sir Thomas proclaim the power of his opponent; while one page after another only proved, that he was contending for victory, and not for truth. He evidently placed great reliance on the power of his wit or drollery, his ribaldry, and downright abuse; supposing, in the employment of all these in turn, that every man would be affected by repartee, as powerfully as he was himself. But he knew not the man whom he had now thus assailed. Tyndale, it is true, was no cynic, and he had no objection to an occasional sally of wit, but since the antagonist had chosen to be playful and profane, as well as low and foul by turns, Tyndale would by no means descend to his level. On the contrary, he seems, in his reply, as though he had resolved that his short and pithy sentences should stand out in bold contrast to the wire-drawn and verbose sophisms of his opponent; and in a few lines often demolishes an entire folio page of "the first Englishman who*signalised himself as an orator."

The translation of the New Testament into the vernacular tongue was, however, the great eye-sore to Sir Thomas, though what he styled the wickedness of Tyndale's other productions, was plentifully denounced. Tunstal had boasted of his having found two thousand errata, and More had spoken of a thousand texts by tale, as being erroneous, but now they are all reduced to the general rendering of about six words. Tyndale had translated *ecclesia* into congregation, and not *church*,—he used elder, and not *priest*,—knowledge or acknowledge, and not *confession*,—repentance, and not *penance*,—favour, and not *grace*,—love, and not *charity*. These were his mighty offences, and no wonder that More at least *professed* to be shocked and offended, for certainly these simple and faithful renderings, once read in their connexion, shook to its very foundations that fabric which the Chancellor had strained all his powers to defend. We have said *professed*, as there is so much evidence that Sir Thomas was still a free-thinker to his dying hour.

In reply, Tyndale appealed to the Greek original, and to

More's acquaintance with the language, before himself, and completely triumphed. At the commencement, when referring to the very first controverted word, "congregation," he lent his opponent a blow, which he afterwards showed that he felt exceedingly, but could not parry. Erasmus and More were bosom friends; and as the former had published the Greek and Latin New Testament in parallel columns, *eight* years before this, Tyndale inquires why More had not censured "his darling Erasmus this long while? Doth *he* not change this word *ecclesia* into congregation, and that not seldom in the New Testament?" With respect to the word *metanoia*, he appeals to More's knowledge of the Greek, "which he knew," says he, "long ere I. But so our prelates thus rage, and that which moveth them to call M. More to help, not that they find just causes in the translation, but because they have lost their juggling and feigned terms wherewith they make merchandize of the people."

Before leaving this controversy for the present—one which interested and agitated so deeply at the time, and the effects of which remain to the present hour—it may be remarked, that, independently of his sound reasoning, there was in Tyndale's style and manner, a solemnity, of which the Lord Chancellor was more than half afraid, and which he knew neither how to manage or evade. This grave style of writing sometimes referred to himself, sometimes to the translation, and at others, to the parties in opposition. More having said, "When Tyndale was apposed of his doctrine, ere he went over sea, he said and sware he meant no harm," Tyndale replies—

"He sware not, neither was there any man that required an oath of him; but he now sweareth by Him, whom he trusteth to be saved by, that he never meant, or yet meaneth any other harm, than to suffer all that God hath prepared to be laid on his back, for to bring his brethren unto the light of our Saviour Jesus; which the Pope, through falsehood, and corrupting such poets as ye are, leadeth in the darkness of death."

He regarded Sir Thomas as the official attorney in the Bishops' spiritual court; and as he had put forth, after this Dialogue, another thing in folio, entitled "The Supplication of Souls," &c., by way of reply to the notable tract of Fyshe, "The Supplication of Beggars," it must not be allowed to pass,

although Tyndale did not choose to name Sir Thomas. It was this piece which led him to designate More as "the Proctor of Purgatory," elsewhere; and as he had resolved to print an exposition of the first Epistle of John, he there, without any controversial form, met, most judiciously, even more than had been advanced by the Lord Chancellor, in relation to purgatory and the worship of saints, image worship, and other evils; explaining to the people how they might detect false teachers.

In this last publication he warns the people of the old and hackneyed device of the Prelates "to call the light that rebuked them, *sedition*. They laid to Wiclif's charge, and do yet, that his doctrine caused sedition,—and so they say *now* likewise, that *God's Word causeth insurrection*; but ye shall see shortly, that these hypocrites themselves shall rise up *one against another*, and some against *themselves*. Ye shall see them run out before the year come about, that which they have been brewing, *as I have marked above this dozen years*."

Hackett had first lent such base counsel to Wolsey, and Henry readily followed it. The idea, or device of constructive *treason*, had been fully sanctioned by the Bishops and Sir Thomas More, and now also Crumwell had joined in the cry. The words of Tyndale were intended for all these parties, as well as to arm the people with that fortitude which must be added to faith.

The concluding expression, however, as formerly hinted, is an important one, in relation to Tyndale himself. He kept himself much in the background, and it is only by such incidental hints, that any one can ascertain how *early* his mind had been enlightened, as to the corruptions reigning around him; and so enlightened, as to be engaged in "marking" them. The expression seems to go a great way towards establishing the character of Tyndale, as that of a man whose heart God himself had moved, independently of *all* influence from his contemporaries, whether at home or abroad.

But to crown all in the year 1531, nothing could possibly have been more seasonable or appropriate than "*Jonah*;" that book of sacred writ, which Tyndale now printed for his country. The critical position of England, and the situation of the Translator himself, sufficiently account for its appearance, at this moment. Tyndale was now getting fast into the heat of the

battle. The Bishops of England, as a body, with Tunstal the ablest of them all, were against him; the Lord Chancellor, as a man and as a licensed writer, was against him, nay, the wrath of the King, as "the roaring of a lion," was against him. On high principle, for the sake of Divine truth alone, he had to encounter an entire people in the persons of its rulers; nor was he slow to advance. The Book of Jonah spoke alike to the peasant and the prince. It contained the memorable example of a great King bowing before the majesty of the Voice of God. "The people of Nineveh believed God—from the greatest of them, even to the least of them;" and this was precisely what Tyndale longed for the people of England to do; and would their haughty and licentious monarch have now only risen from his throne, and laid aside his robes, like the King of Nineveh, and urged his subjects "to cry mightily to God," saying, "Let them turn every one from his evil way, and *from the violence that is in their hands*,"—nothing could have filled the Translator with higher delight. The Ninevites "repented at the preaching of Jonas," but for more than five years the New Testament had been in England, and even Scotland, and "a greater than Jonas was there." Tyndale besides, to evince the ardour of his mind, had prefixed a long prologue to the book,—an admirable production, and peculiarly adapted for the moment, in which he once more boldly *cried* to his country.

But neither Henry nor his advisers were to be moved from their course. It was a year of most savage cruelty, though Tyndale was now "pure from the blood of all men, having not shunned to declare to them the whole counsel of God."

After this brief and very imperfect survey of the present year's exertions, let the reader only contemplate the state of his native land. He remembers the restless ambition, and but recent death, of her fallen Prime Minister. Let him now mark the one subject which engrossed her monarch's mind; the furious counsels and blind infatuation which occupied the united strength of her government, and then say, whether the value of such a man as our Translator has ever been fairly appreciated. But was there no one at home, not one man in all England to lift the warning voice? None to guide her among all the sons she

had brought forth? There was Hugh Latimer, it is true, but if his voice was now drowned, then was there not even one, save and except this exiled Christian patriot! Yet he, as we have seen, had been already denounced by name, and in the foulest terms, by the highest authority, under the desecrated name of Christianity, as doing God service! Nay, and he had been so harassed by emissaries, that, as he himself expressed it, "very death would have been more pleasant to him than life."

Such was his reward from *man*, but his work was not finished; and that God whom he so served, though He did not as yet put to silence "the lying lips, which spake grievous things, proudly and contemptuously, against the righteous;" yet did He, in a most wonderful manner, "hide the object of their hatred, in the secret of his presence," from the pride and the power of man. Tyndale had yet five years to live.

If we were to believe Crumwell, when writing to the Continent, in April, soon after the Convocation of this year had adjourned, as far as the King was concerned, he could not now appear, except as clothed in the white robes of innocence and peace. When trying to entice *Tyndale* into England, as into a sanctuary, he had talked of "the most gracious benignity"—"the piteous regard *natural*"—"the mercy and grace" of that "most virtuous and benign Prince and Governor," Henry the Eighth! Let the events immediately preceding and following such language, now be observed.

The Convocation having not only yielded so far to Henry's ambition, but given him the promise of a sum equal to above £350,000 annually, for five years to come, perhaps he thought that, by way of *courtesy* in return, he must comply with the wishes of this body; but be this as it may, we shall presently find the Clergy and the Star Chamber in perfect harmony. It was the triumphant reign of Sir Thomas More, for the one party, and of Stokesly, Bishop of London, for the other.

Immediately after agreeing to the preamble of the Bill of Subsidy, or in the 50th Session of the Convocation, inquiry had commenced, at Stokesly's motion, into the opinions of *Latimer*, *Bilney*, and *Croome*; and by the 69th Session Warham was examining *John Lambert* before two notaries. In the intermediate space, finding no *living* victim, the very bones of the dead

did not escape them ; but emulating the example of 1428, when they dug up the bones of Wickliffe, they pronounced judgment on the deceased William Tracy, Esq. of Todington, because in his last will he had committed his departing spirit to God, through Jesus Christ *alone*, and left no part of his property to the priests, to pray for his soul !

It was while these transactions were going on, Sir Thomas More and Mr. Brian Tuke introduced the business of Henry's divorce before Parliament, by laying before it the sentence of certain Universities, and the opinions of individuals, amounting to a hundred, in its favour, soon after which the House was prorogued, and the Convocation also dissolved, to the month of October.

But before then, two of the earliest victims of the present year had been apprehended and punished ; and just as if the entire honour of this arduous contest must redound to the praise of our first Translator, these were no other than his own younger brother, John, and a devoted friend, Thomas Patmore, both merchants in London. They appear to have enjoyed the double honour of passing through the hands of Sir Thomas More and Stokesly, or the Star Chamber, and the Bishop's Court. At this period it was not unusual for More, when he suspected his victims might be condemned for any thing else, to deliver them over, by an indenture, into the paw of the Bishop of London, but at all events, both these worthy men now fell into Stokesly's hands. Tyndale was punished by him "for sending *five marks* to his brother William Tyndale beyond the sea, and for receiving and keeping with him, certain letters from his brother !" As for Patmore, who was charged with saying "that the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now," &c.—"he had long hold with the Bishop. First, he would not *sware*—then he would appeal to the King ; but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the Bishop's nets, that he could not get out ; but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the *King*, an *hundred pounds*."

In the month of May, a second edition of Sir Thomas More's "Dialogue" was published ; and now, during the rest of the year, persecution became general. Stokesly and the Lord Chancellor, in London ; Warham, and Fisher, and Longland, else-

where, were all busy ; and by the month of August, it seemed as if Henry and his advisers had stepped into blood, and would have struck down any man who presumed to question or oppose their measures. We might repeat the sad tale of many, but select only a few cases, as being peculiarly characteristic of the times. The particulars are at once humiliating and painful. We have to read them also amidst the fires that were now kindled in England ; though, amidst all the lurid glare, it is easy to perceive the rapid and decided progress of truth, or the glorious extent of that cause, for which Tyndale only lived, and at last died.

The first victim to the flames was Bilney. For though he had fallen, and, in his own apprehension, past redemption, to him was given the honour of leading the way in England at this period, of resistance "unto blood, striving against sin." If we except the case of John Hitton, of which we know little, he was the first burnt, after the burning of the Scriptures, for more than five years past. How long he had remained in prison after his abjuration, cannot distinctly be ascertained ; but after his release and return to Cambridge, he was in the deepest distress of mind for a long season. His agony of mind was so great, that Latimer affirms, "his friends dared not suffer him to be alone, day or night. They comforted him as they could, but no comforts would serve ! And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them to him, was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword !" It was Tunstal who had been the tempter, and the instrumental cause of all this mental anguish. At last, however, his conscience was quieted only by the same blood of atonement, which at first had given him such peace and joy. And ere long, determined no more to dissemble or conceal the truth, he took farewell of his friends at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, saying that he must now go up to *Jerusalem*. He then went into Norfolk, preaching first from house to house, and then in the open fields. Making no secret of his former abjuration, he warned all to beware of following his example. He appears then to have gone down through Essex, and not improbably visited London itself, as the "*Jerusalem*" he had referred to ; for at one period, six weeks before his apprehension, we find him as near to it as *Greenwich*.

There he committed four of Tyndale's New Testaments, with a budget of books, to a faithful friend, Laurence Staple, who conveyed them to Cambridge, and was afterwards called to sharp account for so doing. But at last Bilney proceeded to Norwich itself; and having given a New Testament of Tyndale's, and his book on "Obedience," to a convert residing there, he was soon apprehended by authority of the old Bishop. He immediately sent up to Sir Thomas More for a writ; and if it be correct, as generally stated, it must have been with his wonted hilarity that he replied—"Go your ways, and burn him first, and then afterwards come to me for a bill at my hand." At all events, Bilney was soon condemned to die at the stake, and delivered to the sheriffs; one of whom was no other than Thomas Necton, the brother of Robert, already mentioned as a great distributor of books. From dread of the Chancellor and the Friars, Necton officially was obliged to receive him; when he implored Bilney's forgiveness, and was not present at his death. The night before his execution, the dying martyr, quite composed, resigned, and even cheerful, among other passages of Scripture, dwelt much on this one—"Fear not; for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee: and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." It was not that Bilney expected any other than mental support, or that he superstitiously anticipated exemption from pain; but "a pain for the time," said he, "whereon, notwithstanding, followeth joy unspeakable." At the stake, he closed his devotions with the beginning of the 143rd Psalm; and the second verse—"Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no flesh living be justified"—he repeated, in deep meditation, three times. He had been led through the Bishop's gate to this spot, called the Lollards' Pit, and there expired in the flames, on Saturday morning, the 19th of August, amidst the most cruel enemies, and not a few decided friends.

Thus, although Bilney's progress in Divine knowledge may have scarcely surmounted the superstition of the mass, his views of Divine truth, on the points of the sinner's acceptance before God through the righteousness of Christ alone, were clear and

most decided, so that he died a martyr for the truth of God. All Sir Thomas More's sad, if not unprincipled, attempts to blacken his memory, as though he had recanted at the stake, only recoiled in ultimate disgrace upon himself. It was a favourite, though weak device of the Chancellor's, when he vainly attempted to answer Tyndale next year, to represent the martyrs as recanting before death.

If the reader is not aware of the fact, he will be gratified in knowing that the identical copy of the Latin Bible once belonging to Thomas Bilney is still in existence. At least it is said to be in one of the libraries at Cambridge. Many annotations are inscribed upon its pages with *his own* hand; and it is certainly an interesting circumstance that the passage in *Isaiah*, already quoted, which consoled the owner of the book when in prospect of the flames, is particularly distinguished with a pen, in the margin. The words, if not so marked with his own hand, must have been by others at the time, for they received the words as the legacy of a martyr; they had them fairly written on tables or in books, and derived comfort from them till their dying day.

Among the persecutions under Stokesly of this year, there is one which deserves notice, as one more illustration of the connexion between Antwerp and London. "Christopher," says Foxe, "a Dutchman of Antwerp, for selling certain New Testaments in English to John Row, bookbinder, a Frenchman, was put in prison at Westminster, *and there died.*" This could not have been Christopher *Ruremund*, already mentioned, as he continued in business to 1541; nor is it at all likely to have been *Endhoven*, of whom we heard so much. Christopher was a common name, but it was quite in character with the times thus to treat a foreigner, for simply importing the Word of Life in the language of the people.

We have no design merely to harrow up the feelings, by the recital of brutal treatment, having a more important and profitable object in view; which is to ascertain, as nearly as may be, the precise state of things, the rate of progress, and the extent to which the cause of truth had by this time arrived. We have one valuable illustration in the exertions of Mr. *Richard Bayfield*, whose history cannot fail to gratify the reader;

as, among the very hazardous, yet innumerable instances of the importation of books, he occupied a conspicuous place.

Blest himself, at a very early period, with a copy of Tyndale's New Testament, he laboured for a considerable time to bring them into the country, along with other valuable books; and now, when examined by Stokesly, with what view he had done all this, he at once replied—"To the intent that the Gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this realm among Christian people."

The year and place of Bayfield's birth cannot be ascertained, but by his own confession he entered the monastery of St. Edmondsbury as a monk in 1514, and took orders as a priest in 1518. After the return of Dr. Barnes from Louvain to Cambridge in 1523 he used to visit a Dr. Ruffam, then in that monastery, who had been one of his fellow students abroad, and Bayfield, being chamberlain of the house, became interested with the conversation of the visitor. From him he ere long received a copy of the New Testament in Latin, but two citizens of London, Maxwell and Stacy, who were zealous for the circulation of the Scriptures, and went round the country with this in view, presented him with Tyndale's English New Testament. From the subsequent history of his life, it is evident that this must have been one of the *earliest* copies given away in the country parts. After being at Cambridge with Barnes, he seems to have not returned to his abbey, but proceeding to his friends, Maxwell and Stacy, in London, he remained there in concealment for a short time in the close of 1526. At this early period, as appears by Foxe, he was a suspected person. It is true he talks, in a vague way, of Bayfield suffering imprisonment and cruel treatment for two years and nine months; but this was merely an anticipation, or rather loose summing up of all his trials. At all events, he fixes the period of his first escape beyond sea; Dr. Barnes being then *in the Fleet for God's Word*, which continued till August 1526; though Bayfield remained, in fact, two months longer.

On his first going abroad, Foxe says, "this Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to Master Tyndale and Mr. Frythe, for he brought substance with him, and was *their own hand*, and sold all their works, both in

France and England." This is a general description of Bayfield's life and services, during at least four different voyages to the Continent, within the last five years. His first return to England was some time in the year 1527. It had so happened that in October 1526, just before leaving England, he met, in Lombard Street, with three parsons of his own standing—Edmund Pierson, James Smith, and Miles Garnet,—when some conversation ensued, by no means pleasant to their ears, but sufficiently explicit as to Bayfield's sentiments. Having therefore now returned, it must have been but a very short time before Pierson detected him, as by the 13th of September, 1527, we find his accusation against Bayfield recorded at full length in Foxe's history.

Once brought before Tunstal, in 1528 he was enjoined for penance "to go before the cross in procession, in the Parish Church of St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, and to appear before the Bishop again on the 25th of April," 1529. The first part he fulfilled, but not the latter. He had gone to the Continent, but what may seem strange, he did appear, and presented himself before Tunstal on the 20th of June: and it was still more so, if he then had brought over with him any books of the "new learning." However, there being no fresh witnesses against him, the Bishop merely pronounced upon him sentence of banishment from the city and diocese of London. But in the face of this, as Bayfield now entertained no reverence for their ecclesiastical authority, he went on more determined than before. In May or June 1530, he arrived at Colchester, with a cargo of books, which were all successfully sold or circulated; an importation specially to be noted, as it was immediately after the "burning" at St. Paul's, if not at the moment; immediately after the Royal proclamation had been framed, which Latimer so reprobated; and it is one among other proofs of books then coming *thick and threefold* into England, to the annoyance of Tunstal. Abroad once more, Bayfield returned with a second importation in November, but landing at St. Catherine's, the whole parcel fell, as a coveted morsel, into the hands of Sir Thomas More. Nothing daunted, and at the very season when Vaughan and Crumwell were trying to inveigle Tyndale into England, Bayfield had another cargo upon English ground.

These he landed safely in Norfolk, about the beginning of April, and, not being detected, they were of course circulated far and wide, to the farther vexation of the poor, infirm, and literally blind Bishop of Norwich, as well as his brethren. But at last, in the fall of this year, coming to his old friend Mr. Smith in Bucklersbury, the frequent receiver of his books, he was betrayed; and being traced to his bookbinder's in Mark Lane, he was first committed to the Lollards' Tower, where, and afterwards in the Bishop's coal-house, he was most barbarously treated. Being now, however, stedfast in faith, he had made up his mind to die; and though tortured to accuse others who had bought his books, and three times in the Consistory of St. Paul's put to his trial, as to whether he would abjure, he remained unmoveable. From such men as now bore sway, he could expect no mercy, and he received none; indeed, Stokesly displayed all the ferocity of his character, and behaved in the most brutal manner. Being condemned, actually upon a Lord's-day, the 19th of November; on Monday, when he came to be degraded, as they phrased it, not satisfied with the mere ceremony, Stokesly with a blow of his crosier struck with such violence on the breast of Bayfield, that, falling backward, his skull was almost fractured, and he swooned away! When once he recovered himself, the good man "thanked God that he was (not degraded but) delivered from the malignant Church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the sincere Church of Jesus Christ militant here on earth;" and "I trust anon," said he, "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the Church triumphant for ever." Nor was he mistaken, for that day he was in paradise. After this outrageous conduct, he was led forth to Newgate, and in about an hour afterwards committed to the flames. He remained alive for so long as half an hour, but continued in prayer to the end without moving!

How many persons, in a greater or less degree, had been or were now engaged in the importation of books, it is impossible to say; but if we take this one valuable agent as an index, and refer merely to his last successful adventure, it will be evident, that amidst all the fury of opponents, a tide had set in, which it was beyond the power of man to stem.

On the 3rd of December, only a fortnight after having tor-

tured and murdered this excellent man, Stokesly proceeded to the denunciation of books which "were openly at Paul's Cross, by the authority of my Lord of London, under authentical seal, by the Doctor that day preached, prohibited and straitly commanded of no manner of men to be used under pain of suspension, and a greater pain, as more largely appeareth in foresaid authority." All Tyndale's works are included in this prohibition.

In the course of only eight or ten days after this interdict, both Stokesly and More were busy with another martyr. The reader may remember *John Tewksbury*, who, in 1529, on being examined before Tunstal, answered so well, but getting entangled by his sophistry, abjured. Moved now by the noble example of Bayfield, he resolved to confess the truth at all hazards. On Saturday the 16th of December, Stokesly being at Chelsea, condemned him on the spot, in the house of the Chancellor, and they delivered him to the sheriffs. Stokesly had been consecrated or installed *Lord Bishop of London* on the 20th of December last; and so whether it was to give the anniversary some farther celebrity, or as an appropriate memorial of the day—yet so it was—the sheriffs delivered this worthy man to the stake, and he perished in the flames at Smithfield, on St. Thomas' Eve, the 20th of December!

Before concluding this first year of Henry's supremacy, among the men apprehended, we must on no account omit *George Constantyne*, were it only on account of the consequences. We first heard of him in 1528, when the examination of Robert Necton occasioned his flight. Since that time he had been in Brabant, and, having been originally bred a surgeon, he had there, by his own account, practised as such. At the same time, he evidently had taken a deep interest in the importation of books, and, coming over himself this year, had, as well as Bayfield, brought books with him; but he was not possessed of similar fortitude, nor was he ever, like him, to wear the crown of martyrdom.

Falling into the hands of Sir Thomas More, he appears evidently (by More's own expressions in the preface to his next *folio* against Tyndale) to have been, in some degree, smitten with the man and his shrewdness. He must have conversed with him frequently, and at great length; and his communications at

this moment, there is now no doubt, had excited great attention. Crumwell will be seen, presently, to ground his *foreign* correspondence upon them; and by the man's own account in 1539, the King himself had conversed particularly with him. "His Majesty reasoned with me himself almost nine years ago,"—and Constantyne then presumed to form his own opinion of the *depth* of the King's learning. But More was the chief cross-examinator, and Constantyne, very harshly treated, was now at the lowest point of degradation throughout his varied life. Very strange indeed were the changes that took place in these times. How astonished would the Chancellor have been, could he have been informed of the future path of the person he then held in irons! But Sir Thomas was not aware that he was now conversing with a man who should return to England after his death; who should get into the service of Sir Henry Norris, and thus become intimately acquainted with the Court; who should be present at the death of Henry's now intended Queen; and, moreover, whose *son-in-law* should rise to be Archbishop of York, (the very place that Wolsey himself once occupied,) nay, and become President of Queen Elizabeth's Council for the North of England!

The Chancellor is represented by one manuscript, as having put Constantyne in the stocks;⁷ but by a subsequent letter it will appear, that this was another way of expressing that he was in *irons*. Sir Thomas, by his official severity, at last constrained the man, through fear, to affirm much more than he could have substantiated, respecting people abroad, including even *Mr. Vaughan*, the English Envoy, himself; and as these forced confessions came out, they soon found their way across the sea. The Chancellor had an evil eye fixed upon Vaughan, as having been far from that rigour which would have gratified him; while, on the other hand, the Envoy, displeased with the freedom now used with his character, immediately wrote to Crumwell on hearing the first rumours, desiring to know what Constantyne had said of him.⁸

Crumwell himself, however, now writes to Antwerp, once and again counselling the Envoy; as men of violent spirit abroad

⁷ Manuscript Life of More, edited by Dr. Wordsworth.

⁸ Cotton MS., Titus, B. i., fol. 368.

alone could satisfy the violent at home. But in the meanwhile, to the no small mortification of our Lord Chancellor, Constantyne contrived to escape from his iron chain, and, sailing for the Continent, he arrived in safety at Antwerp, on the 6th of December !

Vaughan, by this time, was effectually roused ; and in an interesting and noble letter, dated 9th December, 1531, only three days after Constantyne had reached his home, he remonstrates with Crumwell, his patron, for allowing any suspicion of heresy to rest on his conduct. In order to compass the ends of the commission with which he was charged, his policy had been *various* ; among the Jews, a Jew ; among Lutherans, a Lutheran. “ What can I do here,” says he, “ without such policy ? Shall such policy hurt me because I used it to compass other things ? ” He therefore prays to be removed from such a service, where the only possible way of prosecuting it successfully involved the Agent in so much danger. He was well aware of the personal dislike with which he and his proceedings were viewed by Sir Thomas More, who, by leading questions in examining his victims, showed whom he wished them to implicate. It was thus his good name had fared ill in the hand of Constantyne, who, in the hope of liberty, would be willing to accuse one to whom he was under no obligation. He adds some nobler sentiments on the subject of persecution for conscience’ sake, which he shows only tended to spread the doctrines so obnoxious to those in power, and to raise the character of those persecuted for them. “ *Let His Majesty be farther assured,*” says he, “ *that he will with no policy, nor with no threatenings of tortures and punishments, take away the opinions of his people, till His Grace shall, fatherly and lovingly, reform the Clergy of his realm.* For there springeth the opinion. From thence riseth the grudge of his people. If I say truth, let it be for such received.”

It may here be called to mind that we have already seen one English envoy in no small perplexity, and forced to move from his ground, in consequence of his zeal in opposing this great cause ; but here we have the second, and in greater perplexity still. Eager to gratify his impetuous Sovereign, and his no less temporising superior, Master Crumwell, the man had, in truth, been only doing his utmost. But being at once no favourite of

Sir Thomas More (nor he assuredly of Vaughan), and, at the same time, the pupil of Crumwell, by whom he had been recommended to Henry; between the two, this ambassador was now in a maze. After such sound advice as he had tendered to his King, and all around him; after such fine sentiments as he had now so well expressed; one cannot but regret to find, in the end, that through his "divers policies" he had been only one of those of whom the Scriptures speak—"they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein, shall not know peace."

It may only be stated here that Constantyne again went on, importing books: but it will be remembered that we have given these instances, merely as a characteristic specimen of this sad year. "For why stand I here," says Foxe in one place, "numbering the sand?" And again, "So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them, which during those bitter days, before the coming in of Queen Anne, either were driven out of the realm, or were cast out from their goods and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration. *Yet, nevertheless, so mightily the power of God's gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence and policy of the adversaries; but rather increased in such sort, as our story almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the persecution of those days.*" But still besides those whose names are given, there must have been many who were never detected.

By these furious proceedings, the deep interest abroad, not one whit diminished, was increased, and in more places than one, for of course the parties molested fled to different ports. But on the 30th of December, Vaughan concludes the year, by giving us the result, so far as his own residence and neighbourhood were concerned. In a letter, as before addressed, to Crumwell, he reports that "divers, as well men as women, whose persons or names I know not, nor will know, be fled out of England, for fear of punishment; bringing with them all that ever they can make. So that by this means, it is likely that new Tyndales shall spring, or worse than he. But I am utterly determined, henceforth, never to intermeddle, or to have any communication, with any one of them; but shall rather give place to some other man, which, peradventure, shall have better

luck than I hitherto have had; whom they go about thus unkindly to threaten, beat, rend, and tear for my service.”⁹

Vaughan, it is evident, was now thoroughly frightened, yet he need not have greatly “marvelled.” The reports respecting him, must, of necessity, have been very contradictory, and the miserable plight, of which he complained so loudly, was nothing more than the natural result of those “*divers policies*,” which he had dreamt to be the fruit of wisdom, or the evidence of his superior talent. He never wrote again on this subject. The truth was, he was at once alarmed for himself, and disgusted with the proceedings at home; yet he retained his station, long survived Sir Thomas More, and remained on the Continent for years. But if Henry the Eighth be still resolved to have agents out in pursuit of Tyndale, he must find some other man than Mr. Vaughan. Already we have seen a Friar, and two Ambassadors, completely foiled, and disappointed of their prey; though still the long pursuit is not even yet at an end! In the persons of her rulers at this period, no nation upon earth had surpassed Britain, in her opposition to Divine truth.

MDXXXII.

TYNDALE'S PROGRESS—EXPOSITION IN MATTHEW—HIS SENTIMENTS UNDER PERSECUTION—THE KING NOT APPEASED—RENEWED PURSUIT OF TYNDALE—NOW BY SIR THOMAS ELYOT—STILL IN VAIN—PERSECUTION GOES ON—BAINHAM—LATIMER—MORE AGAINST TYNDALE—FRYTH ARRIVES IN ENGLAND—IN PERIL—IN THE TOWER—WRITING THERE IN DEFENCE OF THE TRUTH, AND ADDRESSING THE CHRISTIANS IN ENGLAND.



AD Tyndale been only left unmolested, or left to proceed with the Scriptures, he would, unquestionably, have had some additional portion finished at press; but since the year 1528 the reader may now judge of his situation. Already he had given the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Prophet Jonah, to his native land. The work of translation, or the joy of his heart, he still pursued, but without due deliberation he would not employ the press. Our English exile fled for protection to no foreign prince; nor had he the aid of eminent literary assist-

⁹ Galba, B. x., fol. 25.

ants, like his contemporary Martin Luther. If he had hitherto enjoyed the assistance and fellowship of only John Fryth, this was soon to be withdrawn, by his journey to the martyr's stake in England; and though labouring under the frown of his own monarch, as well as that of all his counsellors and bishops, on he went.

Meanwhile, he had one solitary encouragement. He well knew that whatever he put forth from the press, excited immediate notice; for, in fact, every thing he had yet published, had enjoyed the honour of being denounced in England, and interdicted both by royal and priestly authority. The only piece unnoticed as not being so, his "Exposition of the Epistle of John," was this year added to the catalogue, and reprobated in print, by the Lord Chancellor.

Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, in the gospel by Matthew, now engaged Tyndale's attention, as demanding to be expounded, owing to the errors which still reigned triumphant; and his exposition first came out some time this year. In this fundamental portion of the Sacred Volume, he represents the Saviour as "opening the kingdom of heaven," which the enemies "had shut up, that other men should not enter."

Before this, we have had occasion to observe that Tyndale was almost immediately in possession of whatever was transacted in England; more especially by the King, and his obsequious or subdued Parliament; and, of course, he must have been fully aware of their doings in the spring of last year. His opinion of the change for which Henry and Crumwell had been so eager, may be inferred from various passages now put forth. Already he had shown himself a most loyal subject, and an ardent admirer of good government; in desiring, above all things, that his King and country should be rescued from spiritual thralldom: but in desiring this, he was no less ardent in drawing the line of distinction between the *world* and the *Church*. As to the latter, he longed for its restoration to its original spirituality, and simple grandeur; and as to his much loved native land, that the throne should be established on a safe and righteous basis. But the truth was, the King was yet to be born whom Tyndale wished to see. "No King, Lord or Master, or whatever ruler he be, hath absolute power in this world, nor is the *very thing*

which he is called, for then they cease to be brethren, neither could they sin whatsoever they commanded. But now their authority is but a *limited* power." Thus writes he in advance of his age on a subject which perhaps not one of his contemporaries understood. Nor could one of them have drawn the line between civil and spiritual government so clearly as Tyndale does in this very treatise. If his views on this subject, which at that time agitated all England, have been partly the occasion of his memory being permitted to sleep in oblivion; if he measured out "meat too strong" for the time in which he lived; we commend his sentiments to the consideration of his countrymen now living, after more than three hundred years have passed over the land.

The power of Tyndale's writing lay in his drawing from the life, and his discerning, with superior judgment, the precise moment when certain truths required to be pressed upon the notice of his country. His views, whether of civil government, or the Church of God, were far above his age, and few there must have been who could then understand him; but apart from these subjects, many passages, besides that last quoted, were peculiarly well timed. The preceding page, and several others, were evidently intended to nerve the minds of the martyrs and confessors in England; to raise them above all the fury of the Chancellor, or Stokesly, or any other Bishop. *Hitherto it seems as if all who had been apprehended and examined, from Barnes down to the present hour, had abjured.* And though the fire had been now prepared for the bodies of men, as well as the books they read, still the methods of Tunstal and More, for perplexing the mind or tormenting the conscience, were preferred in the first instance. The stake was the last resort, merely on this account, that abjuration and recanting not only saved appearances, but served, in some degree, to bolster up the reigning superstition.

If, then, *England* herself could furnish the enemy with *no* man of eminence, who had courage sufficient to act fully up to his principles on the *first* call;—a man, in whom there should be no wavering, no subterfuge, no compromise or concession, not one faltering word;—one who should first triumph in argument before the Bishops assembled, and abide firm by every syllable

of his noble confession ;—then such a man must come to London from abroad. The time is drawing near for his arrival in the kingdom, though little did Tyndale imagine, when thus addressing the faithful in England, that the example which he now enforced, was to be *first* given by his own bosom friend—FRYTH !

But it is with Tyndale himself we have to do at present. It was now six years since his translation of the New Testament had been denounced and committed to the flames ; and not less than four, since his person had been in danger. By the authorities in England, from the year 1528, he had been a man sought for, but never yet seized. His pursuers, too, seem to rise in point of rank, as we proceed. The first was Friar West, who, but for his commission from Wolsey, had remained in oblivion. Hackett, most gladly, would have sent Tyndale to England, even by the foulest means, and, according to his own logic, as a traitor ; but he could never find him. Vaughan was incapable of so base an action, though Tyndale favoured him with, at least, two interviews ; and from what we have read, it may safely be inferred, that *he* would never more engage in hunting after heretics,—having, according to his own confession, been “so beaten with his own labours.” He well deserves, however, to be remembered as the only man of the age who lifted up his voice against the extreme folly of *persecution for opinion*. Henry had no man near him so enlightened at the moment, or if he had, not one who dared to speak out, not even Crumwell himself ; for though so pointedly charged by Vaughan, it may be presumed that he never had shown that envoy’s letter, or reported its contents, to the King.

But be this as it may, Henry was not appeased. Tyndale had gone on to publish, it is true, and besides his Answer to Sir Thomas More, his translation of Jonah was now in England ; but his Majesty was no admirer of the King of Nineveh, nor were his ministers like the nobles of that great city. The person now put in commission, and by the King himself, to pursue the best of his subjects, was no other than the well-known Sir Thomas Elyot, a literary man, author of “The Governor,” and other publications. Vaughan had been patronised by

Crumwell, yet thought for himself; but Elyot was the very intimate, if not bosom friend of Sir Thomas More, as well as a favourite of the King, so that no zeal can be lacking now, even if Tyndale should not be apprehended. In all the histories yet published, Elyot is first mentioned as sent by Henry VIII. to Rome, about his divorce in 1532; but he was on the Continent last year. He was with the Emperor in November at Tournay, from whence he writes, complaining of being so long without answers to his letters.

The Emperor, leaving the Low Countries in the beginning of January this year, directed his journey towards Ratisbon, in order to hold a diet there. Taking Mentz on his way, he had not arrived till February or the beginning of March, but to this city Elyot followed him. Whether his correspondence had been still neglected, as both Henry and Crumwell were absorbed in Parliamentary affairs at home, does not appear, but the ambassador had been anxious to revisit England. This desire, however, could not be gratified, and on the 14th of March he writes from Ratisbon to the Duke of Norfolk, the successor of Wolsey, as Prime Minister of England, and as determined an enemy as the Cardinal ever was:—

“Albeit the King willeth me, by his *Grace's* letters, to remain at Brussels, some space of time, *for the apprehension of Tyndale*, which somewhat minisheth my hope of soon return; considering that like as he is in wit moveable, semblably so is his person uncertain to come by. And, as far as I can perceive, hearing of the King's *diligence* in the apprehension of him, he withdraweth him into such places where he thinketh to be farthest out of danger. In me there shall lack none endeavour.

“Pleaseth it your Grace, according as I have written to the King's Highness, the Emperor being yet sore grieved with a fall from his horse, keepeth himself so close, that *Mr. Cranmer* and I can have none access to his Majesty, which almost grieveth me as much as the Emperor's fall grieveth him.”¹

Every one who has paid any attention to these times, cannot fail to be excited by the mention of Elyot's companion and associate, and more especially as this is the earliest distinct notice of Cranmer when abroad, which appears on the face of these manuscripts. He had been at Rome for some time in 1530, but returned to England in 1531, where we find him at

¹ Cotton MS., Vitell., B. xxi., fol. 54.

Hampton Court in June, and in close attendance upon his Majesty there. As busy as ever in Henry's one affair, from thence, on the 13th of that month, he dates a long letter to Lady Anne's father, the Earl of Wiltshire, criticising the book of Cardinal Pole, on this business; and as he remained at home till January, he could not fail to be intimately acquainted with all the sad occurrences of last year. In that very period the fatal fires had been kindled, and were blazing in England. Then the martyrdoms of Bilney, of Bayfield, and of Tewksbury, had taken place; there were the grievous cross-examinations and cruelties of More and of Stokesly; and the public denunciation, by the latter, of Tyndale's writings, in December; and yet here is Cranmer, associated as ambassador and fellow-traveller with the man who has been charged, by their King, to seize the Author! But still it were nothing short of an injury done to posterity, to represent any man, whoever he may have been, as interested in a cause *before* he really was, even so far as to evince sympathy for the cruelty and death endured in it; and the truth of history does not furnish us with even a vestige of such interest or feeling in Cranmer, for some time to come. One eminent service in relation to the Scriptures he will perform for his country, which will come before us, in its proper place, five years hence; but at *this* momentous period, let the men who bore the brunt of this never-to-be-forgotten contest—the men who died with their face to the foe—

“ Who neither fear'd the darkest hour,
Nor trembled at the tempter's power; ”

let them enjoy the place to which they alone are entitled; an eminence unapproached by others, whether from shame or fear, from worldly policy or criminal ignorance. No unbiassed writer can now wittingly confound Tyndale and Fryth with any other men who in the days of peril, persecution, and universal obloquy, either dared not, or could not, speak one word; nor will he allow *their* characters to be obscured by any, who never came forth till after the battle of eleven years' duration was fought and won. Since the year 1526, Divine truth, like concealed leaven, had been in vigorous operation, enlightening, saving, and sanctifying the souls of men; but the Translator, after his

long unaided warfare, had washed his robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, before that Cranmer had ever once expressed his approbation of the translation. It will not be till in a moment of surprise, and after finding himself in a dilemma, that he will speak out. But even this will not occur till five years more have passed away.

It was on the 24th of January this year that Cranmer had received his credentials as ambassador to the Court of the Emperor, when he immediately left England, and must have overtaken Elyot somewhere on the Rhine. The letter, from which we have already quoted, narrates their progress towards Ratisbon, where Elyot continued chiefly to reside, as Cranmer did at Nuremberg. In prospect of the Turkish invasion, Charles was now in treaty with the German Protestant Princes to secure their co-operation against the common enemy of Europe, who proudly insisted that no man should be called Emperor except himself. These negociations commencing in April terminated on the 23rd of July at Ratisbon, on which day Elyot wrote again to the Duke of Norfolk.

This letter, however, conveyed no very welcome news to Henry at least; though the Princes (seven in number, and twenty-four cities) regarded it as the first religious peace in Germany. None were now to be molested on account of *opinions* till the meeting of a General Council; all judicial processes relating to religion were to be *suspended*, and all law-suits for the restoration of Church property were null and void; concessions which were published throughout Germany, by imperial proclamation. These were measures, too, in perfect accordance with those which Vaughan had urged upon Henry the Eighth, through Crumwell; yet so bent was our English Monarch upon his favourite project, and the gratification of his own will, that even the prospect of such relief to thousands of the best minds in Europe, had no charms for him; and Cranmer had been engaged to employ all his skill in *preventing* such enjoyment! He had been "instructed to make a *secret* visit to the court of Saxony, to deliver letters both to the Elector and the other Princes who had joined the Protestant league, and to assure them, by conversation also, of his Sovereign's friendship. Henry was disposed, like the French King, to foment some bad

feeling between these confederates and the Emperor. It was his project of revenge for the Imperial opposition to the divorce; but it had no important result. The pacification of Nuremberg indeed was effected within a few days after this effort to impede it, and Cranmer had to relate to his Sovereign, instead of dissension, the principal terms of that memorable treaty."²

How long before the 14th of March, Elyot had been charged with his commission from the King to seize Tyndale, does not appear; but as he chose to say, that he was "*all the King's except his soul*," from the first moment he must have been on the look out; and as he had been moving from place to place for about two months before he arrived at Ratisbon, he could then speak from some experience of Tyndale "*withdrawing*" himself, "*as far as he could perceive*." Now, however, he was far distant from Brussels, and there he must remain. Providentially, for Tyndale at least, he was detained month after month; and if Cranmer failed in his "*secret visit*," so did Elyot as to his "*commission*," from the King. A storm was gathering in the East which occasioned every monarch in Europe to pause and think; it was the invasion of Solyman, the grand Turk, with an army of three hundred thousand men. Elyot's letters, therefore, were now full of little or nothing else, if we may judge by his very long epistle to Norfolk on the 11th of August.³ And thus was he *diverted* from a pursuit which must have for ever disgraced his memory, if it had ended in the apprehension of England's greatest benefactor. Tyndale has yet four years to live.

Sir Thomas More and Stokesly still went on as the most eminent and busy persecutors of the Truth. In December last, a gentleman of his own profession had fallen into the hands of the Chancellor;—Mr. James Bainham, the son of Sir Alexander Bainham, a knight of Gloucestershire, who had married the widow of Mr. Fyshe, already noticed. He had been seized by the Serjeant-at-arms, and carried out of the Middle Temple to More's own house at Chelsea. This was another victim to console him for the recent escape of George Constantyne.

² Todd's Life of Cranmer, i., 41, 42.

³ Cotton MS., Vitell., B. xxi., fol. 64.

Imagining that there must have been others of the profession who had imbibed the same opinions, the Chancellor particularly degraded himself by his cruelty to this excellent man; for after being shamefully handled under his own roof, if not also in his own garden, he was afterwards conveyed to the Tower, and there, in his presence, tortured by the rack till he was lamed. He would, however, neither accuse any gentlemen of his acquaintance in the Temple, nor disclose where his books lay concealed. His worthy partner in life also, no more able to see the face of Henry, and who might have been repulsed though she had, now fell into trouble. Denying the books to be at her husband's house, she was thrown into Fleet Prison, and their goods confiscated. After all this torment, Bainham was handed over to Stokesly; and his examination before him, at Chelsea, is at once honourable to the confessor, illustrative of the times, and of the positive enmity now reigning against the truths of Divine revelation. But at length even he began to waver in a state of doubtful perplexity, between life and death; so that, after two months' confinement, he read his abjuration, was fined twenty pounds (equal to £300 now) to the King, and being released on the 17th of February, was dismissed home. He was, however, scarcely a month at large before he lamented his conduct most bitterly; and the terms in which his penitence are recorded, deserve special notice.

"He was," says Foxe, "never quiet in mind and conscience, until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness, before *THE Congregation in those days, in a warehouse in Bow Lane*. He wrote a letter also to the Bishop of London, so that shortly after he was apprehended, and again committed to the Tower. On the 19th of April he was examined, and again on the 20th, in the Church of All Saints, Barking, Tower Street, after which he was condemned. On being brought to the stake on the 1st of May, he addressed all present, in the following words:—

"I come hither, good people! accused and condemned for an heretic; Sir Thomas More being my accuser and my judge. And these be the articles that I die for, which be a very truth, and grounded on God's Word, and no heresy. They be these: First, *I say it is lawful for every man and woman, to have God's book in their mother tongue*. The second article is,—that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist, and that *I know no other keys of heaven-gates but only the preaching of the Law and the Gospel*.' He died, and according to his own statement, even when half consumed in the flames, without any pain."

In this account, there is one expression which should not

escape notice:—"The *Congregation*, in *those days*, meeting in *Bow Lane*." What was this? That it was the assembly to which Bainham *first* resorted to bewail his conduct, and ask forgiveness, is evident; but why did he there resort first, except it was that against *that* Congregation he thought he had more especially offended? It may never have been observed, or if so, accounted worthy of notice before; and yet, if the proper definition of a Church is allowed to be—"a Congregation of faithful men,"—in such a connexion as the present, there seems to be no slight evidence, that upon this spot there assembled, "in those days," perhaps the earliest resemblance of a Christian Church, upon English ground, in the sixteenth century. That there was such a congregated body of people, in London, by this time, will be rendered more interesting, if, before the close of this year, we find its character for Christianity described, by the man, who, of all then in England, was best qualified to judge.

In the early part of this year, however, there was another instance of cruelty, too notable to pass unnoticed, although it did not terminate fatally. This referred to no other than Hugh Latimer, and Stokesly was the prime mover. He had summoned Latimer to appear before him, but he contemned the message, referring to the Bishop of Salisbury as his ordinary. Stokesly then applied to Warham, and Latimer was summoned to appear before him on the 29th of January. According to Latimer's own statement, the case was remitted to five or six Bishops, and he appeared before them thrice every week. Firm and resolute for some time, he refused to subscribe the articles they presented. For this he was declared contumacious, and afterwards excommunicated. In order, however, to bring him to some submission, it was resolved, to take *off* the sentence, if he would sign two of the articles, namely, one respecting the observation of Lent, and another concerning the crucifix and the lawfulness and profit of images in Churches, for the worship of Jesus Christ and His Saints! Foxe is in doubt whether Latimer submitted; and Gilpin in his Memoir roundly asserts that he did not recant; but the fact is put beyond all question, by the minutes of the Convocation in March and April 1532. His words were—"My Lords, I do confess, that I

have misordered myself very far, in that I have so presumptuously and boldly preached, reproving certain things, by which the people that were infirm have taken occasion of ill. Wherefore I ask forgiveness of my misbehaviour. I will be glad to make amends. And I have spoken indiscreetly in vehemence of speaking, and have erred in some things, and in manner have been in a wrong way, lacking discretion in many things."

After this confession, which, it may be said, did not amount to a retractation of opinions, he desired absolution. This, however, was deferred to the 10th of April, when he subscribed the two articles already mentioned, and a further hearing was appointed. Unwilling to let him go, when the day arrived a new complaint was produced, respecting a letter he had written to one Greenwood of Cambridge, upon which Latimer appealed to the *King* as head of the Church of England, and was ultimately restored to his functions.

Alas ! that Latimer should have so far identified himself with the train of those who had gone before him, from Barnes to the present hour,—for there was none like him in all England ! It was at the last Convocation that Warham had attended, before his death in August ; and Latimer, it is true, will not forget all this ; but *another day*, in St. Paul's itself, Stokesly will have to sit still, and listen to certain awful truths, by way of reminiscence, to which his ears had never been accustomed. John Foxe, in his narrative, tries to palliate this whole affair by saying—"whether he subscribed, no great *matter* or marvel, considering the iniquity of the times : " but this is far from the manner of sacred writ, in the biography of its highest characters. No, however painful, besides too many others, we have seen Barnes, and Bilney, and now even Latimer, at the first onset, blench and falter through fear of death ; so that at this special period, to the impartial writer, there seems to be nothing left for him, but to look out for John Fryth. *He* will revive the spirit of any reader, and give a new *tone* to the cause of God and His truth. He was just about arriving in England, but, as a controversialist, Sir Thomas More first stands in our way.

If the laborious Lord Chancellor had been busy in persecuting his fellow-subjects at home, he had been no less so with his pen, in opposition to Tyndale abroad. His friend, Sir

Thomas Elyot, might be "doing his best endeavour" to seize the man, but More was determined to overwhelm and expose him as a writer and translator. His huge publication being now, in part, ready, must be put forth. The first three books of it, with a long preface, printed by the son of his brother-in-law, Rastell, appeared with this title, "The Confutation of Tyndale's answer, made by Sir Thomas More, knight, Lord Chancellor of England,—cum privilegio." He had *six* books more to come, although the present *folio* extended to 363 pages, thirty-seven of which filled his preface! This, it will be observed, was printed before he had resigned the seals, in May; so that between cross-examinations of worthy men, on the one hand, and proof sheets against Tyndale on the other, he must have been engrossed indeed.

Even in this first part, Sir Thomas thought it was time to admit the talents of his opponent; and, therefore, though jesting, as usual, he affirms, that he had "an eagle's eye," that he was "cunning enough, and can, I assure you, make as much poetry upon any part of Scripture, as any poet can in England, upon any part of Virgil." But then Tyndale's views and wishes were the subject of his professed apprehension.

This Confutation, falsely so called, as well as More's Apology, will come before us next year, so that we refrain from farther remark till he has done. In the meanwhile, another opponent had started up, and fretted him not a little. Fryth's publication had arrived, and was now greedily read in England, and the Chancellor must tell us, beforehand also, how he meant to dispose of him. Like Goliath of old, he looked round, and disdained him, for he was but a young man, of fine person, and of a fair countenance; but certainly it was rather mortifying if, in meeting three such seniors, (as Fisher, More, and Rastell,) Fryth was to overthrow them all, and *convert* one of them, and that one the brother-in-law of the Lord Chancellor. He speaks of him, however, with an air of affected pity, and would fain have weaned him from his spiritual father; only they were bound together by a tie of which the unhappy Chancellor had no conception. In the preface, the old gentleman expectorates all his vanity, of which it seems to be too evident, his breast was full. Covetousness and vanity are sins, which, in

some men, are eminently conspicuous in old age. Of the former, every one will cheerfully exonerate the Chancellor; as for the latter, and more especially when contrasted with the close of the combat, we need say nothing more at present. In early life, the stream of human depravity has several channels, but in its later stages, those channels are in a manner dried up, by the decay of the natural powers, when the whole current flows in one direction; and then, as ambition is often associated with blood, so is vanity with venom. The bitterness and contempt which distinguished Sir Thomas on *these* subjects, can only be imagined by those who have the patience to wade through his folio pages, while he goes on consigning every one to perdition, for opinions which have long distinguished the British population. Utopia was the blossom of his youth, but there had been little congenial moisture within him, and so it dropped off. His tedious controversial writings were the fruit of his mature age, and they remain, to any who look upon them, the saddest memorial of his falling into the yellow leaf.

In the meanwhile, it may here be remarked, that it would have been prudent in Sir Thomas, to have left Fryth alone, as the interference only exposed him, in the end, to a double defeat. Even Tyndale was younger than himself, and he was more than his match; but John Fryth was only twenty-eight years of age, when his book was published, last year. Besides, the Chancellor had crowed by far too soon, as he had then no idea that in a few months after, Fryth himself would come over, and not only confront him upon English ground, though writing from a dungeon; but overcome in argument the Bishops assembled, with Cranmer at their head.

It is not possible to ascertain in what month of this year Fryth had arrived in England, but it may have been as early as July or August. Having been absent from his native country for six years, he was first heard of at Reading in Berkshire, a place into which the Divine Word had found an entrance, at least four or five years before this. In 1528, we have read of Rodolph Bradford carrying New Testaments there from London, and by the next year even the Prior of that abbey was a suspected man, and had been placed in confinement.

We notice this man, as one purpose for which it is said

Fryth came over, was to obtain some pecuniary aid from him, or rather induce the Prior to accompany him, on his return to the Continent; a movement to which he might be more disposed, after such usage. In one place, indeed, Foxe states that Fryth came over at the Prior's request; but be this as it may, his account is as follows:—

“Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination, where the simple man, loath to utter himself what he was, and unacquainted with their manner of examination, and they greatly offended with him, committed him to the stocks, where, when he had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not for all that declare what he was; at last, he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought unto him, which, at that time, was one Leonard Coxe, a man very well learned. As soon as he came to him, Fryth by and by, in the Latin tongue, began to bewail his captivity. The schoolmaster, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but went, with all speed, unto the Magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did shew to so excellent and innocent a young man. And so, through the help of the said schoolmaster, the said Fryth was freely set at liberty without punishment.”

The “stocks” in England had certainly never before been so honoured, whatever they were afterwards; nor should the worthy and learned schoolmaster be forgotten.⁴ Thus enlarged, we hear nothing of the Prior, and he might have removed after this outrage; but Fryth proceeded to London itself, and there saw those friends of truth, to whom *Bainham* had first made his confession, a few months before. The danger, however, was extreme; but there was to be no more any thing bordering upon abjuration—no more halting between two opinions, or between life and death—in Fryth's case. He had come to read a lesson to the *Martyrs of England*, and he read it nobly, by his tongue, nay, by his pen, and finally by the flames. It was altogether a sight which had never been seen in England since the days in which he himself had been reading the first imported Testament, or was immured in the dungeon at Oxford. Yet

⁴ Leonard Coxe, a native of Caerleon, Monmouth, who had studied at Cambridge, was an early popular philological writer, under Henry VIII. He became a great traveller, and was well known on the Continent. He defended the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ. The intimate of Erasmus, he translated his Paraphrase of the Epistle of Titus into English, and was living in the reign of Edward VI.

though of so decided a character, that he afterwards astonished both friends and foes, Fryth still accounted it his imperative duty to avoid apprehension if he could; and, according to the Divine commandment, first fled from place to place, rather than his enemies should be involved in the guilt of blood. He changed his raiment and place of abode again and again, but could not remain long anywhere, even among friends. Sir Thomas More had now heard of his being in England, and "beset," says Foxe, "all the ways and havens, yea, and promised great rewards, if any man could bring any tidings of him."

While, however, he was yet at large, there was a Christian brother, of whom Fryth says, "for his commendable conversation, and sober behaviour, he might better be a bishop, than many that wear mitres, if the rule of St. Paul were regarded in their election." He had applied to Fryth for his opinions respecting the Lord's Supper, and after complying with his earnest request, "he desired me," he adds, "to entitle the sum of my words, and write them for him, because they seemed over long to be well retained in memory." This was done with no intention of its being read, *except* by select or choice friends, who had already received the truth; "for they knew the spiritual and necessary eating and drinking of his body and blood, which is received but with the ears and faith, and only needed instruction in the outward eating; which thing," adds Fryth, "I only declared." By this time, More especially, if not Stokesly, had various spies on the look-out in London; base men, who insinuated themselves among the best of the city. Two of these are named—one Withers, and William Holt, the foreman of Mr. Malte, tailor to the King. The latter was the guilty man, who betrayed confidence. Having seen the manuscript of Fryth, he begged a perusal of it; and once obtained, he carried it forthwith to the Chancellor.

Sir Thomas More, however, as if conscious of his incompetence to answer "the young man," for so he generally called him, had now become more cautious, though it was only a few months since his vaunting preface was abroad. This must have been the more mortifying, when Fryth let out the secret; for referring to his manuscript, he tells us, that More suppressed

the work after it was printed, and though he saw a printed copy in the Bishop of Winchester's, on the 26th of December, neither he or his friends could obtain one, but got hold of a *written* copy, which had been made in great haste.

From this it is evident that Fryth was not only in safe keeping, and under examination by this month of December, but that More had replied to his manuscript, and in print, and therefore he must have been in England for some months. He had been apprehended, says Foxe, at a place called Milton Shore, in Essex, where he had gone with a view to embark for the Continent, and after that had been committed to the Tower. The last six months of his valuable life will come before us in due time.

But with regard to that great cause, for which Fryth was now in prison, and Tyndale had been pursued for years, there was no possibility of stopping its onward progress. The importation of the Scriptures, as well as other books, went on. A tide had set in, which no vigilance, no power upon earth, could either stop or turn aside. Though it be in vulgar, and even profane language, by far the finest eulogium, on this department of exertion, was pronounced by Sir Thomas More himself, and in this very year. He would not, it is true, open his eyes to the fact, that there was a thirst for the Word of Truth, and that a market or demand had been created in England, in spite of all opposition; and, therefore, he is incorrect as to the way in which money was raised, or rather capital embarked, but, in other respects, his denunciation involves the very highest praise which could have been elicited.

“Which books, albeit that they neither can be there printed *without great cost*, nor here sold *without great adventure and peril*: yet cease they not with money sent from hence, to print them there, and send them hither, *by the whole vatts-full at once*. And, in some places, *looking for no lucre*, cast them abroad *by night*; so great a pestilent pleasure have some devilish people caught, *with the labour, travel, cost, charge, peril, harm, and hurt of themselves*, to seek the destruction of other.”⁵

Such was the language of Sir Thomas More, and the same spirit reigns throughout his pages. It was the testimony of an

⁵ Preface to More's "Confutation."

enemy, addressed to enemies, which is the strongest of all, and therefore includes the higher commendation of unwearied zeal in the cause of God and His truth. And certainly it was a marvellous thing, that one of those "fellows," as he calls them, with his junior companion, "who nought had here, and therefore nought carried hence," should be able to kindle such a fire in England. They were but "earthen vessels," it is true; persecuted, but not forsaken; as unknown, and yet well known; as poor, yet making many rich; for their friends, by this time described as "evil-disposed persons within this realm," had already become more than two bands. But now, since our only controversialist thought so badly of them, we must hear the opinion of a better judge.

We have alluded to a Congregation of these people, meeting in London, but there were groups, in secret, throughout different counties. John Fryth had seen those in London, and then proceeded from place to place, before he was to address them all from his prison. He had worshipped God along with them, and expounded the Sacred Volume they held so dear; and what was *his* deliberate opinion of those people, whom the Chancellor and the Bishops so defamed? In a letter⁶ addressed to them from "the Tower of London, a prisoner for the Word of God," he rejoices that he found no small number of them walking in the ways of the Lord, as He gave commandment, willing that they should love one another as He loved us; that he had had experience of their faith without simulation, of their love to the poor oppressed, to whom they communicated "both bodily sustenance and ghostly comfort, notwithstanding the strait inhibition and terrible menacing of these worldly rulers." He prophetically adds:--

"I ever thought, and yet do think, that to walk after God's Word would cost me my life, at one time or another. And albeit that the King's Grace should take me into his favour, and not to suffer the bloody Edomites to have their pleasures upon me; yet will I not think that I am escaped: but that God hath only deferred it for a season, to the intent that I should work somewhat that He hath appointed me to do; and so to use me unto His glory."

"He shall send a Joseph before you against ye shall come into Egypt; yea, He shall so provide for you, that ye shall have an hundred fathers for one; an

⁶ Fryth's Works.

hundred mothers for *one* ; an *hundred* houses for *one* ; and that in *this* life, AS I HAVE PROVED BY EXPERIENCE ; and after this life, everlasting joy with Christ our Saviour."

Such were the fruits of the Sacred Word, printed in the vulgar tongue ! In the outset, it was but like an handful of corn, sown in a most unpromising soil, on the top of a mountain ; yet now that one of the sowers has come, "it cannot be expressed, what joy and comfort it was to his heart, to perceive" far more than the green blade above the ground.

That a Christian should receive an hundred-fold of *temporal* good, *with* persecutions, has often seemed to be a mystery, and the passage has so perplexed the expositors of more peaceful times, that they have felt obliged to escape to the supposition of celestial gratifications. How a man should *leave* one house and find an hundred, in the days when mere professors are loth to *leave* any thing for Christ, has appeared to be impossible ; although the Saviour expressly confines the hundred-fold to *this* life. But the exuberant love and hospitality of the primitive Christians untie the knot, and explain the promise. On the part of our Redeemer, it was indeed a most extraordinary intimation ; informing the earliest age, not only that Christianity should gain ground, but prevail in such power over its believers, and all that they possessed ; and it remained for John Fryth especially to come over, and draw out the proof that primitive Christianity had effectually taken root in England. All the believers' houses had been open to entertain him, and there was he treated with all a father's, or a mother's, a brother's, or a sister's kindness. Now that he was in bonds, he was overcome with joy, by finding that such was their concern for him, and that they felt his private or personal suffering as a general calamity, or a public wrong.

And now that the year is ended, what can be said as to the Old man and the Young ?—the Chancellor and his prisoner ? What else than that "wisdom excelleth folly, and as far as light excelleth darkness ;" or that "the wise man's eyes are in his head, and that it is the infatuated only, who walk on in darkness ?"

By the mercy of God, however, Sir Thomas More must now withdraw. He had resigned the Great Seal in May, but still

had acted officially till towards the close of the year; in a few weeks hence he will be entirely dismissed, and left free, and at leisure to go on with his voluminous controversy, though this should only be to his final overthrow.

We have not been able to ascertain the precise object of Fryth's journey into England, at a period so fraught with danger. It must have been something of importance in his own apprehension, as well as in that of Tyndale. The latter had no other man like-minded, no other companion, properly so called, upon earth. For years together, he himself had been pursued on the Continent, but Fryth was now in England itself. One can, therefore, easily conceive what trembling anxiety must have been felt by our Translator, in his absence; and we have one fine letter of judicious counsel, before he knew the worst—that Fryth was apprehended, and in the Tower of London. From this we extract the following sentences:—

“Cleave fast to the rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things to Him; and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the world, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, *that the Scripture may be in the MOTHER tongue, and learning set up in the Universities.* But and if aught be required contrary to the glory of God and His Christ, *then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions,* which haply shall say, we see no other way to bring in the truth.

“Beloved of my heart, *there liveth not,* in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, *as in you:* not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as that you will creep alow by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether they be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch, that if you be sure you know; yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say, methinks the text requireth this sense or understanding; yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly, in earnest and necessary things.

“And I trust you be persuaded even so of me. *For I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's Word against my conscience,* (as Sir Thomas More had insinuated,) *nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me.* Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that (liberty?) without which I cannot keep His laws.

"The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant His enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph; and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves and trust in Him; and His is the glory, Amen. William Tyndale. I hope our redemption is nigh."

But whatever Tyndale might intend by his last expression to Fryth, it was not long before he heard of his being in the hands of Sir Thomas, and also in the Tower; for, however impossible it had ever been to find Tyndale's abode, it is remarkable that no circumstances could ever impede his immediate communication with England. Though Fryth had found it difficult to procure a copy of More's reply to himself, either that, or some other copy, was soon in Tyndale's possession, when he immediately discovered all that deep interest which he had already expressed so warmly in his letter. Before this, too, he had also received the Chancellor's vaunted Confutation, so that, according to More's own concession, he could now "pry upon" them both, "narrowly, and with such eagle's eye as he hath." By a single passage, at the outset, which will be noticed presently, he effectually damaged the fame of the knight's "Confutation;" but the perilous situation of Fryth demanded haste, and Tyndale immediately did his "uttermost" for him, as he had promised. Whether he left Antwerp to superintend the press, is not certain, but it is more than probable, for it is curious enough that his pointed production was printed at Nuremberg by Nicolas Townson, and was finished by the beginning of April. It is entitled "*The Supper of the Lord*"—after the meaning of John vi. and 1st Corinthians xi.—"wherein, incidentally, Master More's letter against John Fryth is confuted."

For fresh events we must now, therefore, look forward to the next year.

MDXXXIII.

ONE DISTINGUISHING FEATURE OF TYNDALE'S COURSE AND CHARACTER AS COMPARED WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES—HIS ANSWER TO SIR T. MORE—HIS LETTER TO FRYTH IN PRISON—FRYTH'S VOICE FROM THE TOWER—FRYTH'S EXAMINATION BEFORE THE BISHOPS ASSEMBLED—HIS TRIUMPH IN ARGUMENT—MARTYRDOM—ONE EFFECT OF FRYTH'S DEATH—SIR T. MORE WRITING STILL—ONE POWERFUL OPPONENT AT HOME—MORE AS A CONTROVERSIALIST—HIS PRODIGIOUS EXERTIONS—OTHER QUALITIES—FINALLY OVERCOME.



BEFORE recurring to Tyndale's last publication, we are constrained to pause for a few moments, and observe more distinctly one marked or distinguishing feature in his character. His one object in life, was to gain over his native land to the faith of the Mediator. The foundation of all his hope of success, rested on the Word of God itself. With its translation into English he began, and laboured in it to his dying day. And having once conveyed the *New Testament* to England, as containing truth without any mixture of error, he might, indeed, because banished from the soil, assail the love of the world or covetousness, in those who had arrogated to themselves the title of "the Spirituality," in his parable of "*the Wicked Mammon*;" he might lay down the law of "*Christian Obedience*," but built on that *faith* which he had already explained; might expose the hypocritical "*Practice of Prelates*," who had sunk his country into immorality, licentiousness, and debt; or warn the whole nation by *Jonah* and his prologue. These were great subjects, and worthy of his pen; but when once he found a *Preacher* upon *English* ground, in whom, and in whose doctrine, he reposed unlimited confidence, and came to explain the course which he thought that Preacher should pursue, his ideas are worthy of observation in any, or rather in every age. He himself had been "about a great work, and would not come down," and so he would have Fryth to act. His weapons were to be only two,—the Law and the Gospel; subjects to which the conscience would respond; and hence his fervent anxiety that he would commend himself to every man's conscience, as in the sight of God; or only "walk in those things that the *conscience* might feel." He thought that matters of essential *belief* should

first be received in England, and *first* settled in all cases, before those of *obedience* should be enforced; that the souls of men should first have in possession that rest which Christ *gives*, before His gentle *yoke* could be assumed; that men should first *be* disciples, and then taught all things whatsoever Christ has commanded. During his entire residence on the Continent, from this fixed judgment he had never swerved, though amidst many temptations so to do; and this it is which should procure for him, in the eye of posterity, one distinguishing eminence among *all* his contemporaries. There is actually not a second man to be placed by his side, except the prisoner respecting whom he is now so concerned. In consequence of pursuing a course all his own, at no Conference, Diet, or Assembly can we ever hear of him, nor do we find any references *to* these, in his writings. There was in 1524, the Diet at Nuremberg, the Assembly at Ratisbon in July, and another afterwards at Spire. In 1526 the Conference at Baden *against* Zuingle in May, and the Diet at Spire in June. In 1527 the Conference of Berne, not to say the provincial Councils at Bruges and Paris. In 1529 the Diet in March held at Spire, then the *Protestation*, and then the Conference in October, at *Marburg*, between the Lutherans and Zuinglians. In 1530 there was the Diet of Augsburg; to deliberate on the Augsburg Confession, or the articles of Torgau, including what they called "Sacraments," and "religious ceremonies;" and then the league at Smalkald. In 1531 the Assembly again at Smalkald, and afterwards at Frankfort. But at not *one* of these do we hear of Tyndale being present; an absence or retirement so uniform, that it could only have sprung from some fixed determination, more especially as his talents would have secured a chair for him, on any such occasions.

And as he frequented no public conferences or disputations, so he courted the patronage of no German circle, of no Duke or Elector, no Landgrave or Counsellor, but, to use his own expression, "kept *alow* by the ground." His rejection, at first, by the Lord Bishop of London, actually seems to have made an impression which never left him, and six years afterwards he refers to it, as though it had governed him ever since,—"*God saw*," says he, "that I was beguiled, and that *that counsel* was not the next way unto my purpose; and *therefore* He gat me no

favour in my Lord's sight." After that period he seems to have felt, as Johnson did in modern times, that a Patron would only have "encumbered him with help;" or he was not willing that posterity should consider him as owing that to any earthly protector, which Providence enabled him to accomplish, without one smile of court-favour from his country. In short, Tyndale's lack of protection from princes and assistance from learned men, taken in connexion with the course which he had so steadily pursued, forms a forcible contrast to the path and circumstances of all his contemporaries. If these statements be observed, they may so far account for the fact, that during the last nine years, with a sound and discriminating judgment, Tyndale had steadfastly deprecated the *Bellum Sacramentarium*, and never more so than at this period, as he himself has explained. It had commenced about the very time of his arrival at Hamburg, in 1524, and, upon fixed principles, he had kept out of it, from year to year. This of itself alone, was quite sufficient to have preserved him from personally combining with Luther; a confederacy, which he himself denied after six years' residence on the Continent; and one, which, owing to the violence of the Saxons, could not possibly have taken place since. But, now that Tyndale's dearest friend upon earth, his "own son" in the faith, is incarcerated, and in danger of his life,—now that he has fallen into the hands of these English Philistines,—now that both Providence and Christian friendship call him to speak out, having no choice, he will not be slow, or rather was not, so to do.

And never was triumph more complete, than that of Tyndale and Fryth over Sir Thomas More on the subject of the Lord's Supper, though on their part it was entirely *unprovoked*. * Fryth, it must be observed, was precisely of Tyndale's opinion; that Repentance and Faith, or matters of essential belief, should be first propounded and settled, previously to discussing any Christian ordinances; that the former were to be testified to the world at large; the latter, settled within the Church itself: that the *messenger* of God to guilty men, was to preach and might print on the former; but as to the latter, beware of the printing-press. The latter were to be "reasoned in peace and at leisure," among believers alone, or within the Church. Oh, had the

counsel of the "first two" been taken, what a different aspect had the Church of God exhibited by this time! And why may not some invaluable instruction, even now, be drawn from this, the very spring-head of religious controversy?

It must be remembered, therefore, that believing, as he did, in the plainness and all-sufficiency of the Sacred Oracles, Fryth had been exceedingly averse from putting pen to paper, and that when he did so, it was only in compliance with the urgency of a beloved Christian brother. But this was only a *manuscript*, and one sacredly intended only for the eye of *believers*, in whose faith Fryth had already found such reason to rejoice. In these circumstances, the Chancellor stepped out of his way, to his own discomfiture; and so infatuated was he, that he must *print* in reply, though he afterwards laboured to suppress it. Copies, however, having gone out, Fryth must not shrink from confuting him; and Tyndale having received it also, neither does he. Throughout this piece, Sir Thomas having contemptuously styled Fryth "the young man," this it was which led Tyndale frequently to place the Lord Chancellor in contrast as "the old man;" and he will now require to put on his spectacles once more.

In the outset of his attack on Fryth, the Chancellor had insisted that in the sixth chapter of John the Saviour had referred *literally* to the Lord's Supper. But in order to prove John's Gospel imperfect and insufficient, he had said in the third book of his "Confutation," that "John spake *nothing at all* of this Sacrament," thus palpably contradicting himself, and, adds Tyndale, "the young man here causing him to put on his spectacles and pore better and more wisely with his old eyes, upon St. John's Gospel, to find that thing there written, which before he would have made one of his unwritten verities."

It is unnecessary to notice every corner out of which he dragged his opponent, or the chain of argument by which he bound him; but at the close, Tyndale gives intimation that he was quite prepared to meet, not merely the Chancellor, but all who either believed or dissembled with him; and expresses his longing for the day when this ordinance of Christ shall be "restored unto the pure use," as the Apostles used it in their

time; giving a particular account of the manner in which he wished it to be observed.

But now, whether Tyndale had been to Nuremberg, where this was printed, or not, he had heard in May of Fryth's dangerous condition in the Tower, and was in Antwerp again at that time. Certainly he had not sojourned in this city since January, where he must have heard much sooner; or if there was an earlier communication from him to England, it is irrecoverable. His whole soul, however, was now moved with intense feeling, and he poured it forth in the following final epistle:—

“Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord, and fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair; but trust Him that is true of promise, and able to make His word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out.

“Be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may, at His coming, be made like to His immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that, nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, *they find NONE but that will ABJURE, rather than suffer the extremity.* Moreover, the death of them that come again, after they have *once denied*, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, *yet it is not glorious*, for the hypocrites say, ‘he must needs die;’ denying (then) helpeth not.

“If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself, *wholly and only* to your loving Father, then shall *His* power be in you, and make you strong, and that so strong, that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death; and His Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to His promise. He shall set out His truth by you, wonderfully, and work for you, above all that your heart can imagine: yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death.

“Fear not the threatening, therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words: with which twain, the hypocrites shall assail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart: No, though they be your *friends* that counsel you. *Let Bilney be a warning to you.* Let not their visor beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember—‘*whatsoever ye shall ask in my Name, I will give it you,*’—and pray to your Father, in that Name, and He shall ease your pain or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen. *William Tyndale.*

“P.S. Your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not, for her sake, have the glory of God hindered. *William Tyndale.*”

In both these letters the reader has beheld the ardent affection of Tyndale for his friend ; but see, in the last, how strong his supreme regard for the *truth of God* ! The young man was dear to him as his own soul, yet had he prepared his mind for the severe trial, and given him up, though now, evidently, in a state of great agitation ; but it was one of breathless anxiety for the glory of God, and the subordinate glory of his friend's *character*, rather than his *life*. Tyndale was in that frame of mind, which no man, without a martyr's heart, such as he truly possessed, can fully appreciate ; nor is the wife of the prisoner, to whom he had been but recently united, less to be admired. This letter, which was "delivered to Fryth in the Tower," must have proved most welcome ; although, ere long, we shall find that, strengthened by the power and grace of his Redeemer, he had needed no *human* counsel to die with all the heroism of Stephen, the first martyr to Christianity.

We cannot affirm that there was any positive connexion between the marriage of Henry to Lady Anne Boleyn, which took place on the 25th January, and the resignation of the Chancellorship by More ; but still it is very observable, that the *next* day, Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, delivered it to the King ; when his Majesty, retaining it only a quarter of an hour, re-delivered it to him, with the title of *Lord Chancellor*. Thus, though Sir Thomas More had resigned the Seals in May, he had been acting as an officer of the Crown till about this period. We have seen him, long after May, active in the pursuit and persecution of Fryth ; but the mace being gone, he must now wield only the pen. It was the solitary instrument left him to carry on his warfare ; and with this he continued more busy than ever, throughout the whole of this year.

This new appointment is worthy of notice, chiefly on one account. An immediate *relaxation* took place as to Fryth, in his imprisonment. In the earlier stage of his confinement here was his situation—"I am, in a manner, as a man bound to a post, and cannot so well bestow me in my play, as if I were at liberty ; for I may not have such books as are necessary for me ; neither yet pen, ink, nor paper, but only secretly, so that I am in *continual fear* both of the Lieutenant and of my keeper, lest

they should espy any such thing by me. And, therefore, it is little marvel though the work be imperfect; for whensoever I hear *the keys ring at the doors*, straight all must be conveyed out of the way—and then, if any notable thing had been in my mind, it was clean lost.”

But now, though Sir Thomas Audley was as much disposed to please Henry as any of the time-servers round his person, he felt and acted very differently from his predecessor, as to the “*new learning*;” and Crumwell, who perhaps had profited by the sound advice of Vaughan, is stated to have been disposed to show favour to the prisoner. In short, had there been no deep and too successful intrigue afterwards employed, Fryth might have been permitted to depart from England. But still, in the meanwhile, there was a pause—a suspension of that violence and severity, which had run on during the reign of the last Chancellor. The very keeper of Fryth in the Tower greatly relaxed; and, “upon condition of his own word and promise, let him *go at liberty* during the *night*, to consult with good men.” One happy result of all this was, that Fryth was enabled to write his full refutation of Sir Thomas More, from the very Tower to which he had committed him, besides several other things, afterwards printed in his works.

Under these circumstances, Fryth was not idle, nor did Sir Thomas escape with impunity. “For though More wrote with as much wit and eloquence as any man in that age did, and Fryth wrote plainly without any art; yet there is so great a difference between their books, that whoever compares them, will clearly perceive the one to be the ingenious defender of an ill cause, and the other a simple assertor of truth.”¹ The palm for “wit and eloquence” has been at once assigned to Sir Thomas, upon all occasions; but if any one desires to see the “eloquent orator” and the “simple assertor of truth” in contrast, he has only to consult Fryth, who certainly does him justice, by quoting the eloquence, verbatim, such as it was, before he confutes it—

“Fryth, the young man, ‘teacheth in a few leaves shortly, all the poison that Wickliffe, Ecolampadius, Huskyn, Tyndale, and Zuinglius have taught in

¹ Burnet.

all their books before, concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar ; not only affirming it to be very bread still, as Luther doth, but also, as *these other beasts* do, saith it is *nothing else*.—These dregs hath he drunken of Wickliffe, Æcolampadius, Tyndale, and Zuinglius, and so hath all that he argueth here before ; which four, what manner folk they be, is meetly well perceived and known, and God hath in part, with His *open vengeance*, declared.”

Fryth, after vindicating the other three individually, adds, as to his dearest friend upon earth :—

“ And TYNDALE, I trust, liveth, well content with such a poor Apostle’s life, as God gave His Son Christ, and His faithful ministers in this world, which is not sure of so many *mites* as ye be yearly of *pounds* ; although I am sure that, for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the Bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth thus—‘ I call God to record, &c.’² Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin ; howbeit, no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart.”

Sir Thomas More having adjured them, if they would write, to “ *keep their writings so secretly* that never man should see them,” Fryth gives him this challenge :—

“ *But this hath been offered you, is offered, and shall be offered. Grant that the Word of God, I mean the text of Scripture, may go abroad in our English tongue, as other nations have it in their tongues, and my brother William Tyndale and I have done, and will promise you to write NO MORE : If you will not grant this condition, then will we be doing, WHILE WE HAVE BREATH, and show in few words that the Scripture doth in many ; and so, at the least, save some.*”

In his progress, Fryth not only defended his opinions by express quotations of Scripture, with a clear interpretation of their meaning ; but he went on by quoting Tertullian and Augustine, Origen and Ambrose, Jerome and Chrysostom, Fulgentius and Eusebius, &c. These he gives in Latin, with a translation in English ; bringing forward “ all these *old* doctors, that his opponents might be ashamed” from henceforth to call it “ *new learning*.” All the Prelates, therefore, with “ Mr. More, which taketh upon him to be their proctor,” were called upon now to speak out and answer, if it was a question to be settled by fair reasoning ; and they were specially bound to have done so by the manner in which Fryth summed up his arguments at

² See the letter itself, page 190.

the close. Besides, the pointed strictures of Tyndale had also arrived in England: but there could be no *answer*, properly so called, though More will not refrain from some reply.

Ten days had not elapsed after Queen Anne's coronation, which took place on the 1st of June, before Cranmer, in servile obedience to his royal Master, must proceed with a widely different scene. The martyrdom of Fryth has never been sufficiently marked in English history, as there are several points of distinction between it and any *preceding* act of cruelty, in Henry's reign. In 1530, it is true, he had fully authorized a fiery persecution, but to this measure he had been strongly advised by the last Lord Chancellor; and the cruelties ensuing had never commenced with him, nor had he yet personally sanctioned the last sentence of the law. Bilney and Bayfield, Tewksbury and Bennet, had been first seized and examined by the Bishops, and then put to death without any writ from his Majesty. The statute of Henry IV., and the warrant of Sir Thomas More, had been regarded as sufficient, and Henry only did not interpose. But Sir Thomas had now retired, and Chancellor Audley was not a persecutor. The examination of Fryth was Henry's own deed, and though the blood of the innocent was already upon him, so far as explained, he now first degraded himself personally to the rank of a Murderer.

The importance attached to this reckless proceeding may be seen, in the eminence of the parties expressly appointed by the King to examine Fryth. These were Craumer, Gardiner, and Stokesly, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, or Henry's own brother-in-law, and the Earl of Wiltshire. The story altogether, is one of the most affecting in the history of the times.

Fearing a concourse of citizens, the scene of the examination was removed to Croydon, to which place Fryth was conveyed under charge of one of the Archbishop's gentlemen, and one of his porters. On the way, the gentleman pitying his prisoner's youth and parts, besought him for the sake of his wife and children, and the world which he might benefit by his gifts, *to be somewhat advised by the counsel* of Cranmer and Crumwell, who were willing to save his life. To this he replied, that his cause

and conscience were such, that he could not on any consideration fly from the true knowledge and doctrine which he had conceived of the Supper of the Lord,—that he was well prepared for his defence, which could not be condemned without involving Augustine and the Fathers in the same condemnation,—that as for life, he had made up his mind to lay it down rather than “qualify” his cause, for death would be better to him and all his, than life in bondage and penury, adding:—“God Almighty knoweth what He hath to do with His poor servant, whose cause I now defend, and *not my own*; from the which, I assuredly do intend, God willing, never to start or otherwise give place, so long as God will give me life.”

While travelling on foot between Lambeth and Croydon, the gentleman and porter devised a scheme for liberating their prisoner, and securing their own credit; this they could hardly have done without some understanding with those above them. But he, whom some in power wished well out of the way, was one who could be no party to the falsehood involved in this scheme, or flinch from the defence of the truth for which he was *set*. He therefore refused to take advantage of their intended kindness, assuring them that if left by them he would deliver up himself at Croydon. There, on the following day, he was examined, and replied so readily in his cause, that “there was *no man willing* to prefer him to answer in *open* disputation.”

Here, therefore, a pause, of several days, ensued; which Cranmer himself helps us to explain. What we have already narrated had taken place between the 10th and 15th of June, and before the 17th, Fryth had been sent back to London. After his examinations were over, and before his return to London, Cranmer had called for him repeatedly, and tried to turn him, but in vain, and the Archbishop must now speak for himself. On the 17th he writes a long letter to Archdeacon Hawkins, his successor, as ambassador, at the Emperor's court; in which it must be confessed that he seems far more elated by “the gorgeous and sumptuous” display at the Queen's coronation, than depressed by the tragedy, in which, immediately afterwards, he had also played his part. Of the former he gives a long and minute account; descending to the guns fired—the dresses worn—the order of cavalcade. “Now, then, on Sunday,

(1st June,) was the coronation," when he, with six Bishops and twelve Abbots, "all revestred in their pontificalibus, with their crosses and crosiers, walked in procession into the church of Westminster," where "I did put the crown upon her head, and then was sung *Te Deum*." It is in this very letter, after finishing his account, that Fryth is introduced, and in the following terms:—

"Other news have we none notable, *but that one Fryth*, which was in the Tower in prison, was appointed by the King's Grace to be examined before me, my Lord of London, my Lord of Winchester, my Lord of Suffolk, my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord of Wiltshire—whose opinion was so notably erroneous, that we could not despatch him, but was *fain* to leave him to the determination of his ordinary, the Bishop of London. I myself sent for him three or four times to persuade him to leave that his imagination, but for all that we could do therein, he would not apply to any counsel. Notwithstanding now he is at a final end with all examinations, for my Lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular power, where he looketh every day to go unto the *fire*."

Surely Cranmer could scarcely intend to speak contemptuously; but a new made Archbishop, who had just been crowning a Queen, when writing to an Ambassador and telling the story, might imagine that "*one Fryth*" was only in good keeping with such high affairs; though in the lips of Cranmer, to say the least, it was an unfortunate slip of the pen; as if *he* had never heard of him before, and his friend as little! "*One Fryth*,"—the Eton scholar of King's College, Cambridge; the Canon selected for Cardinal College, Oxford, when Cranmer declined; the man known to Wolsey, whom the King himself and Crumwell, and foreign agents, had been so eager to decoy into England; the same man whom the late Lord Chancellor pursued with such eagerness till he caught him; who had just overthrown his lordship in argument, and now silenced the Bishops, including Cranmer himself; in short, the bosom friend and associate of Tyndale, who had agitated the councils of England, before Thomas Cranmer was known: but enough. Only it had been well for "*one Cranmer*" had he ever exhibited the same undaunted fortitude, and died a death so glorious and unsullied as that of "*one Fryth*."

Notwithstanding what the primate had here said, it was not till three days after, or Friday the 20th of June, that Fryth came to his final appearance before the Bishops of London,

(Stokesly,) Lincoln, (Longland,) and Winchester, (Gardiner,) in St. Paul's. His constancy, self-possession, and Christian fortitude never forsook him for one moment; and when the question was finally put, whether he would subscribe his answers, he took up the pen, and with his own hand wrote these words—"Ego Frithus ita sentio, et quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asservi et affirmavi," &c.—"*I, Fryth, thus do think, and as I think, so have I said, written, defended, and avowed, and in my books have published.*"

Sentence being passed, and read against him, by Stokesly, he was handed over to the Mayor and Sheriffs. By them he was committed to Newgate, and put into a dark dungeon under the gate. There, laden with irons, as many as he could bear, and his neck made fast to a post, with a collar of iron, he could neither stand upright, nor stoop down! Yet even here, by candle-light, for no other came into the place, was he continually engaged in writing; the letter to his friends, concerning his troubles, which was afterwards printed in his works, being his first effort.

Such was the power of Fryth's example, that another individual, Andrew Hewet, (also betrayed by Holt, the miscreant already mentioned,) who had been first examined in April, and was now brought up again, resolved to follow his steps. The Bishops used many persuasions to allure him from the truth, but in vain. His heart was one with Fryth's, and he told them firmly, that he would do as he had done. He was therefore condemned.

And now at the last, that Henry might have his full share of the guilt and shame of such a martyrdom, on the 3rd of July it was noted to him, officially, by Stokesly, sealed with his own seal, how the matter stood,—but there was *no* reply, and therefore full consent! Next morning Fryth and his companion were led forth to Smithfield.

Being both bound to the stake, "there was present," says Foxe, "one Dr. Cooke, that was parson of the Church called All-hallows, in Honey-lane, situate in the midst of Cheapside. The said Cooke made open exclamation, and admonished the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, any more than they would for a *dog*." At these words, Fryth, smiling,

prayed the Lord to forgive him ! The Doctor's words, however, " did not a little move the people to anger, and not without cause. The wind made his death somewhat longer, as it bore away the flame from him to his fellow ; but Fryth's mind was established with such patience, that, as though he had felt no pain, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow than to be careful for himself ! " This painful event was felt and lamented far and near ; and in fact it marks an *era*, which will be noticed afterwards more particularly.

With regard to that war of opinion, now effectually kindled in England, which we have seen burst forth so decidedly in February 1526, and continue without intermission, it was more than ever on the advance ; but it has now become more necessary to *discriminate*, if we are to keep pace with the actual state of the country. The positive progress of Divine truth must on no account be confounded with certain opinions debated, and movements settled, whether in Parliament or the Convocation. In England were two distinct parties, with views and intentions as distinct as heaven and earth, or as Divine truth is from mere political expediency. The former was, properly speaking, the cause of God ; the latter party, though overruled by Him, involved chiefly the passions and feelings of but one man, or the Monarch, with his obsequious advisers. The former cause, *apparently* without one powerful friend on earth, was certainly, as yet, without a visible leader in England. Notwithstanding both fire and fury, the rage of Henry, and the vain imaginations of his prelates, that cause had been feeling its way, silently but effectually, in a thousand directions ; and the parties benefited were scattered among the people, as " a dew from Jehovah, which tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men. " With regard to other men, in all the discussions between the Pontiff and Henry, on the one hand, and between the latter with his Parliaments or Convocations, on the other, though religion was *verbally* connected with them, all hated, and all as yet had equally persecuted, the Truth. Yet feeble and unprotected as the cause of God might seem, it was essentially the cause of all that happened. All the other movements were but the ground swell ; so that while human passions and worldly interests were in agitation, the Almighty looked down from heaven, and in the

things wherein they dealt proudly or cruelly, He was above them. In short, if the names of men are to be mentioned, the cause of Tyndale and Fryth was that of England's best hope, and the most untoward events were overruled to advance it.

One illustration must not here be omitted, as it is connected with the martyrdom of Fryth. To the outward eye, this was nothing more than the death of an interesting young man, burnt to ashes in Smithfield, but it proved a decisive event. Burnet has said, indeed, that "this was the last act of the *clergy's* cruelty against men's lives,"—but from the account already given, this has appeared to be not quite correct. No doubt the Bishops concerned were guilty to a man, and especially Gardiner, who intrigued and hunted for the life of his finest pupil, and who, with Stokesly and Longland, consigned him to the flames. But the King was as deeply implicated as any one man—nay, most of all, as with him lay the power of mercy, which, with his pen, or his ring, he could have extended in a moment. But *he* commanded the final examinations, and when the victim was on the borders of destruction, though distinctly informed of this, *he* made no reply! No, the martyrdom of Fryth stands by itself in history, not only as the first perpetrated directly by the King and the Clergy in union; but as distinguished from those of preceding years, and from all the violent deaths which were inflicted in England, for five years to come. The preceding martyrdoms had certainly been for the truth, and were accomplished by the Bishops and the Lord Chancellor, without any King's writ, or direct orders from the throne, although Henry winked at them all: the deaths that ensued, for years to come, were state murders by Henry himself. The preceding cruelties and death, however, it must be observed, were inflicted on men who had *abjured*, and who knew they *must* die; but Fryth had called, at once, both the King and his prelates to the mark, and they slew him. The former, no doubt, had their effects, in gradually inspiriting the cause, and advancing its moral courage; but Fryth's calm and unflinching intrepidity, his clear and pointed replies, his refusing either to flee or yield, astonished even his bitterest enemies. As for the people, they had never excited to any of these deeds of blood: over them all, many had deeply lamented, but with the death

of Fryth they were shocked. They had seen him embrace the stake, and suffer with mildness and patience, full of faith, and hope, and joy ; and not a few afterwards burned with indignation against his persecutors. This, in short, was the climax of these early martyrdoms on English ground, and it was the more deeply lamented as involving the death of the dearest friend and assistant of Tyndale himself. Yet was it fit that *he* should occupy such a place in this noble warfare. The effect was felt in Parliament, and at its first sitting, on the simple petition of a poor prisoner, the subject was taken up ; not, indeed, by the Lords or Bishops ; not by the King, but by that instrument of national good, corrupt and servile though it was—the House of Commons. It was then, as we shall see, that heretics were taken out of the hands of the Bishops, and then that no man was to be, as many had been, immured in a dungeon, on *suspicion* of heresy. Even now the Scriptures were let alone, at least not burnt ; nor was any one confined or burnt, for reading or believing them. It was not a little remarkable, nor should it now be forgotten, that such a season succeeded the martyrdom of Fryth.

In conjunction with this event, however, we do not forget the favourable consequences of the marriage of the King ; for whatever may be said of that step, the results being matter of history, of these the reader will be able to judge for himself, as he proceeds. We only remark here, that the enemies of the new learning, or of mental freedom, need not have been so incensed with Henry for the step he had taken, since no English monarch ever gave such proofs of devoted attachment to their cause, as the “Defender of the Faith ;” nor was he now weaned from discovering that attachment, nay, nor yet will be, to his dying hour. As for the new Queen, it should also be observed, that of the three ladies which had been laid out for the King, *whichever* he had married, the same consequences would have ensued. The Princess Margaret, the sister of Francis I., and Princess Renée, the sister of his deceased Queen, had been thought of, in succession, and by Wolsey himself. Either of these would have had *his* full concurrence, if it had so pleased the King, and the matter might then, in all probability, have been much earlier settled ; but it is remarkable that all the three

were of similar sentiments! In any one of these three, the Monarch would have found a *check-mate*, in the bloody game which he had begun to play against the new learning.

Although, however, from June 1533 the storm was beginning to subside, opposition to the truth was by no means at an end. On the contrary, so far as the *pen* and the *press* were concerned, the present year stands most of all conspicuous. We have noticed the slight inaccuracy of supposing that Sir Thomas More retired to a life of study and retirement, when he resigned the Great Seal in May last, as for seven months afterwards he continued active as a persecutor. Even then, he had been writing; but it was during this year especially, that he put forth all his strength, and must have been busy, night and day, with little or nothing else than his great controversy. Had "abundance of words" been only reckoned a mark of greatness, Sir Thomas must have seemed a giant in literature; but now, the amount of his exertions in this warfare can only be placed among its most melancholy curiosities.

We have already noticed the first part of his "Confutation of Tyndale," so called, consisting of 363 folio pages; and now came the remainder, or five books, of 573 pages more, or 936 in all! Of these ponderous volumes, 150 pages were against Barnes, and 786 in opposition to Tyndale!

Sir Thomas was partial to bold assumptions, and must have one, even in his title, as the word "Confutation" was nothing else; for now, if any man has the perseverance to wade through his folio, he will find the old Latin proverb fully apply to many a page—*Gratis anhélans, multa agendo nihil agens*. It may be truly said, that the Lord Chancellor, whether in or out of office, was out of breath to no purpose, and very busy about nothing of any value whatever. To reply to Tyndale had certainly cost him prodigious labour; but the Chancellor, however witty, was not the man to answer him, much less overcome; and as for the spirit and tendency of his writings, we must yet have a little patience, for he is far from being done!

An important diversion from Tyndale personally, now, however, ensued: his cause was gathering strength. Of these two huge publications, the last had scarcely come from the press, when there sprung up another writer, and upon *English* ground,

who disturbed the self-complacency of Sir Thomas not a little. He was of the Chancellor's own profession, though, in other respects, a very different man. An Oxford scholar, he had entered the Inner Temple; had long been eminent as a counsellor; and, as a man, highly esteemed. A Christian, too, he was a great admirer of the Sacred Volume, as appeared by his habitual use of it. "Every night, after his business was past, he read a chapter of the Bible to those that belonged to his house, and the substance thereof he expounded to them." It was natural for such a man to take a deep interest in the times. This year, therefore, he published anonymously "The Pacifier, or the Division between the Spirituality and the Temporality," printed by Berthelet. It was distinguished for its temperate language, and formed a perfect contrast to the controversial style of Sir Thomas. He was, therefore, the more censured for the violence of his writing, as well as his tedious verbosity. The anonymous writer was held up to him as a pattern. Excited once more, he must commence again; but he ran on to 580 pages duodecimo, entitled "The Apology of Sir Thomas More, after he had given over the office of Lord Chancellor of England." He very candidly gives us the popular feeling against himself, for, after all his toil, his Confutation was not read! So far from the high-sounding term "Confutation," the author has now come down to an *Apology*.

But even when vanquished, More could argue still; though certainly a more candid statement of faults found, has never been given by any author, from that day to this. It is valuable, as descriptive of the taste and feeling of many; it is honourable to his opponent, but it proves that the Bishops had better never have employed Sir Thomas More as their English Demosthenes. After all, our author's self esteem was not exhausted; he proceeds to boast that some men had read his book *three* times, and then goes on with his *Apology*.

The retired Chancellor's tone, however, was now, for a short season, more subdued; though whenever he touched on the Spirituality, so called, his irritability returns. Referring to Tyndale and others, he says—"As for wit and learning, I nowhere say that any of them have *none*;" but now this new writer, by his matter and manner combined, greatly puzzled

him. He could not believe so good a man could be an enemy to the Spirituality, and yet "he says nothing good of them." Faults, and these alone, are specified, so that he must be surrounded by some "wily shrews, who have filled his ear with such statements." Still, to the manner of this writer, he must concede the superiority, though he could not imitate it. "The pacifier can yet use his words in fair manner, and speak to each man gently. I cannot say but that is very true. Howbeit, every one hath not like wit, nor like invention in writing; for he findeth many ways of calling evil matter in good words, which I never thought upon, but am a simple plain body, much like the Macedonians."

As soon as this Apology came out, which was chiefly against the Pacifier, *he* published an octavo pamphlet of 200 pages, entitled, "Salem and Bizance" — a dialogue between two Englishmen, in reply. Sir Thomas, still fond of an assuming title, then printed his "*Debellation* of Salem and Bizance," extending to above 280 pages in *folio*! This was followed by the "Apology against Sir Thomas," who said no more.

This anonymous writer was *Christopher Saintgerman*. More could scarcely fail to know the name; but the times were rapidly changing—Saintgerman was twenty years older than himself, and so highly respected, that when Sir Thomas referred to him, he had thought it prudent to do so under the appellation of the Pacifier, or *Sir John Some*. This gentleman, who lived to the age of 80, and died in 1540, is better known as the author of "Two Dialogues on the Laws of England, and the grounds of those Laws"—or of "The Doctor and Student: Dialogues between a Doctor of Divinity and a Student of Law." The first had been published in Latin ten years before this, and both together in English in 1528. His observations on Law—on "the law of natural reason—of heavenly revelation—and of man, that is of a Prince or any secondary governor that hath power to bind his subjects,"—discover a mind far above his age; while, as a lawyer, he was sapping the foundations of the reigning superstition.

We have noticed him the more particularly on one account. It is by no means improbable that he came forward this year, not only from principle, but from feelings of friendship, if not of

kindred. His mother's name originally was *Anne Tyndale*; he being the son of Sir Henry Saintgerman, a knight of Warwickshire, by Anne, the daughter of Thomas Tyndale, Esq. We have not been able to trace the relationship, but his mother may have been, in some remote degree, related to our Translator.

Sir Thomas, we have remarked, said no more to Mr. Saintgerman. The reason may have been that, not knowing when he was beat, he felt as if called away to battle, once more, with his first and able antagonist. By the month of August, at the latest, Tyndale's defence of Fryth against More, and Fryth's letter to him, which he had penned in the Tower, had arrived in print, from abroad. The retired Chancellor then put forth his reply to Fryth, such as it was; which, though in *print* since December last, he had kept back, he says, "more than a year;" and then he fell upon Tyndale, but for the last time. The brief and unexceptionable treatise of Tyndale, entitled, "*The Supper of the Lord*," &c., from which we have already quoted, was an octavo tract of about 60 pages. Sir Thomas, in his usual style, replied, in the same size, to the tune of 282 pages, besides his preface! It was printed, he tells us, "and many of them gone, before Christmas."

This was a final effort, and every way worthy of the close of such a stormy tempest. It is painful to quote his language; but, without noticing it, no just or adequate idea can be formed of the battle which was fought for the truth of God, and the emancipation of the human mind; nor, consequently, of the obligations of this country to the man who, for England's lasting benefit, triumphed, and then went on with his work.

Through the whole of this interminable controversy, vindictive as it was from the beginning, a climax is observable in the violence of the writer. When only Speaker of the House of Commons, and having *no* judicial authority, an expression would drop from him, very different from those that soon followed, though still it was given in his own wild, not to say profane, manner. "By my soul," said he in his "*Dialogue*," "I would all the world were all agreed to take *all violence and compulsion away*, upon *all* sides, Christian and heathen; and that no man were constrained to believe, *but* as he could be, by grace, wisdom, and good works, induced; and then he that would go to God,

go on, in God's name, and he that will go to the Devil, the Devil go with him! There be many more to be won to Christ on that side, than to be lost from him on this side." But once he is a little older, and in possession of *power*, what a change for the worse is visible! "There should have been," says he, "more *burned*, by a *great many*, than there have been within this seven year last passed: the lack whereof, I fear me, will make more burned, within this seven year next coming, than else should have needed to have been—in *seven score*!" The next year he is more outrageous; going so far as to assure his readers, that the Saviour will pronounce Tyndale to be accursed, at the last day, because he had derived all his heresies from the father of lies; while this is expressed in terms by far too coarse for repetition. And now that he is come to the last tract, which he so defamed, but could not answer, we have the last dregs of his gall of bitterness.

For want of active exertion no man could now blame Sir Thomas, although all his biographers seem to have been cautious of pointing to the amount of his herculean labours this year. This, however, being descriptive of character, should not be withheld. Some part he may have composed in the few preceding months, but at all events, in this year alone, there issued from the press, of his composition, more than 850 pages in folio, 580 in duodecimo, and 282 in octavo; or above 1700 pages in all! So gigantic were the last year's exertions of this controversialist. It must seem strange that all he had said was *reprinted* in his English works, but then this was in the days of Queen *Mary*. Though in a smaller type, the folio volume amounts to 1458 pages, of which his controversy occupies above a thousand! It was now nearly five years since More had begun. He had been writing for the King and the priesthood entire; but the crowning vexation must have been, that all this mighty stir had been occasioned by only *one* of those unpatronised exiles, who, he said, "nought had here, and nought carried hence;" and one, too, whom neither Wolsey nor the King, neither More nor Crumwell, or their agents, had been able, as yet, to apprehend.

Such, however, was the great and voluminous advocate for "the old learning;" though it now becomes due to his memory

to observe, that it was *only* after he became such, or *while* so engaged, that he displayed such a temper, and seemed to labour under a sort of black inspiration. For oh, what a change had come over the spirit of this man, within the last ten years ! It was but a little before then that Erasmus drew his character, with graphic minuteness, and so beautifully. If only the half had been true, and there is no reason for questioning the general portrait, one can scarcely believe that it was the same individual who lived on, under the same name. But when writing his Utopia, or rather when lecturing, in earlier days, to a crowded audience, on Augustine's work, "*De Civitate Dei*," More was one man ; and when, approaching to 50, after that he attacked "the new learning," he was another. The course on which he entered in 1528, is also the more deeply to be lamented from the fact, that there still continued to be redeeming points in his character, standing out in bold contrast. The rights of *persons and property* he well understood ; to the *human mind* only, would he allow none whatever. More's superiority to the love of money, and his sterling integrity as Chancellor, in all *civil* causes, were alike remarkable ; nor was his despatch of business less conspicuous. Coming into Chancery, which was clogged with suits, some of which had been there nearly twenty years, at the end of his second year not one was depending. Sir Thomas Audley, his successor, was far, very far, from being a man of such despatch. In these causes, too, More would not have known his mother's children ; for, on various occasions, he nobly shook his hand from receiving of bribes, or presents in money or plate, to any amount, or of whatever description. When he retired from the Chancellorship, he did so most honourably poor. Nay, when the Bishops came to offer him a sum of four or five thousand pounds, as their grateful return for these wordy exertions in their favour, he not only declined its acceptance, but, on the hint of their wish to present the money to his family, he replied, "I had rather see it all cast into the Thames, than that I, or any of my family, should have a penny of it."

Had the unsuccessful controversialist only not suffered his vanity to be flattered by Tunstal, when he called on him, with mock solemnity, by his prelate licence, to "play the Demos-

thenes in English," as he had done in Latin, and write down Tyndale and his translation; had he only kept to his Bench, and judged between parties in civil causes, he had retired with such honour, that there had been not one individual among the King's servants who would have stood so high in the eye of posterity. But it is a dangerous thing for any man to set himself in opposition to Divine Revelation, or attempt to mingle with it the chaff of human tradition. Sir Thomas, however, had taken his ground, and the consequence was, that he wrought himself into such a fury, that even the violent death of his antagonist would not have allayed it. Too like one of old, who "thought it scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone, for they showed him the *people* of Mordecai;" so the Chancellor must not only write himself into obloquy, but wash his hands in the blood of those who believed as his opponent did; that is, in the blood of any man who saw farther than himself, or went not with him into the depths of superstition. For him it was truly an evil hour when he delivered himself up to the blind rage of an infatuated priesthood; for now, in the end, what did it all avail? Independently of his interference proving an entire failure as to argument, the same want of brevity having distinguished his writings to the very close, the same consequences followed, with those which he has himself detailed, after his Confutation was finished. *He was not read!* Some curious peculiarities of the times may, indeed, be picked out of these writings here and there, but it may be safely affirmed that few men have ever read his controversy through. Perhaps not one man ever will.

It is, however, now not unworthy of enquiry, whether Sir Thomas More was not writing throughout the whole of this tedious warfare, under the influence of *apprehension*, as well as professed hot displeasure; and that from his penetrating more deeply than others into the signs of the times. If we are to depend upon a remarkable conversation with his own son-in-law, Roper, there seems to be some good ground for the supposition. "It fortun'd," says Roper, "*before* the matter of the said matrimony was brought in question, when I, in talk with Sir Thomas More, commended unto him the happy estate of this realm, that had so catholic a prince that no heretic durst show

his face ; so learned a clergy, so grave and sound a nobility, and so loving obedient subjects, all in one faith agreeing together !” —“Troth it is indeed, son Roper,” quoth he, “and yet I pray God,” said he, “that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains, treading heretics under our feet like ants, *live not the day that we would gladly wish to be at league and composition with them ; to let them have their churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be contented to let us have ours, quietly to ourselves.*”

In conclusion, the peroration was worthy of the entire controversy. To compensate for his extreme prolixity, Sir Thomas intended to print a *ninth* book to his Confutation, as a *summary* of the whole. He commenced and went on so far, but at last he grew weary, or faltered, and never finished it ! The fragment, more than twenty years after his death, was inserted in his Works. And so ended all his efforts against the man whom he had now confessed to be “the *Captain* of our English heretics.” Tyndale’s advantage lay in his being the advocate of truth ; but it was no mean proof of his power as a writer, that, from motives of the purest patriotism, he had so successfully exposed one Lord Chancellor, and, from his zeal for the diffusion of the Word of God, now so effectually opposed a second.


Whether there had been another edition of Tyndale’s New Testament, since his reprint of 1530, we have not been able to ascertain. Owing to his residence in Antwerp itself, and the promise of his revising the translation, the printers were probably restrained. By this time, however, there were the tokens of increasing demand, perhaps not altogether unconnected with the reigning Queen of England ; but, from whatever cause, the prospect of a large and ready sale will prove by far too strong for these Antwerp printers to remain still. Let the market be never so inviting, among all the English printers, of course, not one dared to move ; but to these foreign workmen George Joye represents himself as saying,—“If Tyndale amend it (the translation) with so great diligence as he promiseth, yours will never be sold.”—“Yes,” they replied, “for if he print two thousand, and we as many, what is *so little a number* for all England ? And we will sell ours better cheap, and therefore we doubt not of the sale.”

Thus, notwithstanding the martyrdom of Fryth in June, nay,

all that the Bishops had yet done to terrify the people at home, or the King and his ministers to prevent importation of books from abroad; notwithstanding all that Sir Thomas More had written and published; and though there was yet no symptom of any favourable regard, on the part of even one official man in all England; it becomes evident that there was to be no wisdom, nor counsel, nor might, which should be able to resist a tide which had now set in with greater power than ever.

MDXXXIV.

TYNDALE ALL ALONE AFTER FRYTH'S DEATH—GENESIS, SECOND EDITION—FRESH ISSUE OF THE PENTATEUCH—SURREPTITIOUS EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT BY JOYE—THE IMPROVED EDITION BY TYNDALE—JOYE'S INTERFERENCE EXPLAINED—DIVINE TRUTH IN PROGRESS—HARMAN IN LONDON—RESTORED TO FAVOUR BY THE QUEEN—GLANCE AT THE PAST AND PRESENT—THE NEW TESTAMENT IMPORTING IN SEVERAL EDITIONS, IN CONTRAST WITH THE DREAMS OF THE CONVOCATION.

N returning to Tyndale at the commencement of this year, it is impossible to do so without feelings of sympathy. By a cruel death, and in the prime of life, on the 4th of July, he had been bereft of that companion who was dearer to him than any man living. That stroke must have been deeply felt still, and long would the feeling of bereavement return upon him, more especially when he sat down to his beloved employment. He had, indeed, toiled in this hazardous undertaking before Fryth came to him from England; but having for years enjoyed his company and aid, as well as so highly prized them both, it must have demanded no inferior degree of Christian submission and fortitude now to plough through the deep all alone. Tyndale actually had no man like-minded, and the place of Fryth was never to be supplied. We by no means forget another valuable agent, John Roger, into whose hands came all that Tyndale had translated; and who proved so admirable a posthumous friend.

But still, in the death of Fryth, there were alleviating circumstances, as there always have been in the afflictions of the faithful. Such a glorious exit was well fitted to prepare

Tyndale for his own, and to render it so much the easier, nay, welcome, when it arrived. We have seen how intensely anxious he was for the *character* of his friend, and in this he might now well exult. That young man had fought a good fight, had finished his appointed course; and, above all, had preserved his fidelity. He had come home from beyond sea, and shown to all England how a martyr for the truth of God ought to die, if he must. Nothing remained for him but the Christian's great metropolis, the heavenly Jerusalem, the palace of the Great King; into which he had entered, no doubt, with joy upon every side. In him there had been no misgiving, not a single word of hesitation, no shift or evasion, no halting between two opinions, no love of life, no fear of death. His crown of martyrdom was, unquestionably, by far the brightest which had yet been won upon English ground, ever since this war of opinion had commenced. As Stephen of old had fallen asleep amidst the shower of stones at Jerusalem; so Fryth, also praying for his enemies, had done the same, in the midst of the flames at London. But, besides all this, there were the noted effects, the impression his Christian heroism had produced, and the season that almost immediately ensued. The sky had begun to clear over England for a little season, and this was quite sufficient to convey fresh vigour to our Translator. It was this year, therefore, that there appeared a second impression of Genesis, and an improved, because a revised edition of the New Testament, both of which now deserve notice.

That it was the fixed and unalterable intention of Tyndale to print an edition of the entire sacred text, there can be no question. He had already commenced with "the first book of Moses called Genesis, newly corrected and amended by W.T. MDXXXIIII." His initials were now, of course, perfectly sufficient to point out the author; and thus, in the very teeth of a tempest of more than eight years' standing, he modestly intimated his firm determination to proceed as he had begun. Of the four other books of the Pentateuch, copies being still on hand, these five being frequently bound up together, form what has frequently been styled the *second* edition of the Pentateuch.

By other local circumstances in Antwerp itself, however, Tyndale was now imperatively called away to the revision and

improvement of his New Testament; and these circumstances, hitherto but very imperfectly understood, deserve as well as demand some explanation. Although Tyndale himself was somewhat annoyed by them, an ardent and growing desire in England for his translation of the Scriptures formed the sole cause of all that took place. We have already alluded to the printers and George Joye communing on this subject. This they had done very cautiously, unknown to Tyndale; and as Joye was now in Antwerp, it is necessary to glance at his previous history.

George Joye, *alias* Gee, *alias* Clarke, a native of Bedfordshire, a Scholar and Fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge, had fled from persecution in 1527, and resided at Strasburg, till he came to Barrow, early in 1532. By his then printing two specimen leaves, in folio, he is supposed to have been aiming after an edition of the Bible for the English market. Before this he had been translating from the *Latin*, as he was competent for nothing more, and since 1530 he had put forth three such translations. Tyndale having been necessarily engrossed elsewhere, with his tract in reply to Sir Thomas More, and on behalf of Fryth in prison, relating to the Lord's Supper, Joye came into closer conference with the printers at Antwerp. He then engaged in correcting, after his own opinion, from the *Vulgate*, an edition of Tyndale's New Testament, now passing through the press. Christopher Endhoven, of whom we heard so much seven years ago, being now dead, the business was carried on by his widow. This, it will be remembered, was the press at which the first surreptitious edition had been executed; and the progress of the present one had been very carefully kept secret from Tyndale, even after his return to Antwerp. This volume, in 16mo, with a title in rubrics, which was finished at press in August 1534, is now exceedingly rare.

Collation. "The New Testament as it was written and caused to be written by them which herde yt, whom also our Saueoure Christ Jesus commaunded that they shulde preach it unto al creatures."—Title, at the back of which is an "almanacke for xviii. yeres." The signatures run a to z. A to H. Then the Epistles of the Apostle St. Paul, on sign Aai, and extend to Ccc. At the end of the Revelation is this colophon—"Here endeth the Newe Testament, diligently ouersene and corrected, and printed now agayn at Antwerpe by me Widowe of Chrystoffel of Endhouē, in the yere of oure Lorde mcccc. and xxxiiii in August."

A copy of this book, in fine condition, was once in the possession of George Paton, Esq., of the Custom House, Edinburgh. When his books were sold, the present writer well remembers seeing it fetch thirty guineas at public sale. The late bookseller, Mr. Constable, gave for it double the money, and at last it found its way into the Grenville collection, where it now is. We are unable to mention another copy.

Meanwhile, Tyndale was very busily occupied in revising and improving the translation of his New Testament, and in three months only after this, it was ready for circulation. Out of England itself, too, ere his first sheet had gone to press, there had come to him a species of encouragement, altogether unprecedented. This arose from his tried friend Mr. Harman having gone to London, and the consequences will meet us as soon as we return home from Antwerp. But before saying more of the book, or of Joye's interference, we first present a brief collation,—

“The Newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greek by Willyam Tindale, and fynished in the yere of our Lorde God a MD and xxxiiij. in the moneth of November.” This title is within a wood border, at the bottom of which is a *blank* shield. “W. T. to the Christen reader,” 17 pages. “A prologe into the iiii Evangelystes,” 4 pages. “Willyam Tyndale, yet once more, to the Christen reader,” 9 pages. Then a *second* title—“The Newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr, Anno MDXXXiiij.” Matthew begins on folio ii. ; Revelation on cccv. ; and afterwards follow “the Epistles taken out of the Old Testament,” running on to folio cccc. A table of the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays, 16 pages—with “some things added to fill up the leffe with all,” 5 pages. The signatures run in eights, and a full page has 33 lines. It has wood-cuts in the Revelations, and some small ones at the beginning of the Gospels, and several of the Epistles.

The *second* address of Tyndale to the Christian Reader forms a *caveat* with reference to Joye's interference; and there can be little doubt that the first title with his *name* inserted in full, and as having compared the Sacred Text once more with the *Greek*, was owing to the same cause. The occurrence, which could not fail to be felt at the moment, is to be valued now thus far, that it gave occasion for Tyndale to speak out, and discover whether he had not all along translated from the *original*, and was laudably jealous over the precise terms of his translation. When he alludes to Joye, it is in the language of a scholar, who could not but regard him as rash and incompetent; and in point

of fact, he soon discovered himself to be a man of very inferior calibre, whether in regard to learning or sound judgment. Placed in such critical circumstances as Tyndale had been for years, while every *word* of his translation had been so carefully scanned, and a controversy was actually in dependence at the moment with the Lord Chancellor of England, with regard to certain terms, there was certainly no trivial occasion both for alarm and offence. The important word "*Resurrection*," Joye had very strangely altered to "*the life after this*;" and, in reference to the book generally, "I wot not," says Tyndale, "what *other* changes, for I have not yet read it over." This word, an all-important one, was especially so at that season, and occasioned Tyndale solemnly to profess his faith in the resurrection from the dead; having observed that the word was not so rendered as Joye had done, "neither by him, nor by any other translator in any language." But the alterations were far from being confined to a single word. In one place, indeed, Joye speaks as if he had mended only "a *few* certain doubtful and dark places," but the truth comes out when he adds, "I say I have made *many* changes." This becomes manifest, from his very simple explanation of what had been his procedure.

When I came to some dark sentence, that no reason could be gathered of them, whether it was by the ignorance of the first translator, or of the printer, I had the Latin text by me and made it plain! And gave many words their pure and native signification!

Of some of these changes he was not a little vain, and, through "Tyndale's Scribe," recommended them to his adoption; but the corrections were worse than the Vulgate from which they were taken, and his officious intermeddling with a living Author's work, put forth as they were after Tyndale's apprehension, was deeply offensive to many. The fact was, that Joye, in his ignorance, was contributing to the corruption of the Sacred Text; and, in one sense, to a greater degree than the Antwerp printers, who, though they had erred occasionally, as foreigners to the language, still rose quite above the specimens which Joye had before furnished from Strasburg. Not a little conceited of his powers, he had been dabbling with the translation, and with the *Vulgate* only before him, as he said, to make

it plain! Now, the whole public life of Tyndale has been not unfitly described, as "a series of hostilities against the defenders of the Latin Vulgate." But it became much worse when Joye was taking liberties with the Vulgate itself, and was quite nettled because our Translator would not imitate him in his rash folly. In frowning, therefore, upon such interference, Tyndale only showed his discernment; though, after all, poor George Joye may now be cordially forgiven for a petulance even tinged with malignity, owing to a few terms in which he expressed himself. He it is who contributed his mite to establish the scholarship of our original Translator, and to an extent but little known to some of our moderns. "I am not afraid," said he, in one place, "I am not afraid to answer Master Tyndale in this matter, *for all his high learning in HEBREW, GREEK, AND LATIN, &c.*" What other tongues he referred to, we cannot say; but after this testimony, though uttered in a miserable spirit, we have no occasion to draw upon the high-flown compliment paid to Tyndale, but by no mean judge, after he had communed with him at Worms. We refer to Herman Buschius, the friend of Spalatinus. He mentions other languages, though *not* German, as Herbert Marsh imagined; but Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with which he begins, are quite sufficient.

Tyndale has been accused of expressing himself too warmly against Joye, but his words appear to have been dictated by zeal for the purity of the Word of God, and such as became any man with whose language such freedoms had been taken. After this, the "Apology" of Joye made matters worse. It involved little else than an unfair, not to say intemperate and unfeeling attack on the original translator. Thus, for example, he talks of Tyndale's *long sleeping* since his last edition. Sleeping! So thought not Henry the Eighth; so felt not Sir Thomas More, whom he had kept thoroughly awake for years; although both the King and the Chancellor would have been most happy had Tyndale then only drawn the curtains and retired to rest. Of Tyndale's eminently laborious life, Joye could not be altogether ignorant, though it may have been above his comprehension; but there could be no excuse for the absence of gratitude, much less for the presence of any evil

feeling; and if this Apology, so called, did not come out till after Tyndale was in prison, as there is reason to apprehend, then no wonder that the writer was very soon made to feel the consequences. The public feeling at the moment clearly proves that he must have been blameworthy both in temper and conduct; for the fact was, though never known before, that for some months Joye lay under the imputation, both in England and Antwerp, of having been concerned in the *apprehension* of Tyndale! This turned out to be a gross aspersion, as we shall hear next year; but still, as "the merchants of Antwerp, and many others that were his *friends*, did greatly blame him," there must have been something very reprehensible. "At this juncture," says one author, "he does not appear to have possessed that conscientious integrity which would have added Christian dignity to his character; and it is to be regretted, that whilst he (at other times) defended the Truth, the Truth does not seem to have made him free from guile and deception."¹ It was the sin of the age, when almost every man was taught equivocation from his youth. We have only to add, that Joye could not remain in Antwerp; but removing as far distant as Emden, he there published a small duodecimo—"The subversion of More's false foundation." But we shall hear of him again, after Tyndale's apprehension.

Few things, however, happened to our Translator which did not bring out the character of the man more fully, and to great advantage. But for what had taken place, we should never have had his noble protestation with regard to his secret motives, as well as the grand object he had kept in view, ever since he began to translate. The words may be regarded in the light of a *peroration*, for they mark the close of his labours, while still at liberty. Not that he is about to die, but they were among the *last* words he had printed before his apprehension, and, as such, become the more memorable—

"Moreover, I take God, which alone seeth the heart, to record to my conscience, beseeching Him that my part be not in the blood of Christ, if I wrote of all that I have written, throughout all my books, aught of an evil purpose, of envy or malice to any man, or to stir up any false doctrine or opinion in the Church of Christ; or to be *author of any sect*; or to draw disciples after me;

¹ Townley's Biblical Literature, vol. ii., p. 394.

or that I would be esteemed, or had in price, above the least child that is born ; save only of pity and compassion I had, and yet have, on the blindness of my brethren, and to bring them into the knowledge of Christ ; and to make every one of them, if it were possible, as perfect as an angel of heaven ; and to weed out all that is not planted of our heavenly Father ; and to bring down all that lifteth up itself against the knowledge of the salvation that is in the blood of Christ.

"Also, my part be not in Christ, if mine heart be not to follow and live according as I teach ; and also, if mine heart weep not night and day for mine own sin, and other men's—beseeching God to convert us all, and to take His wrath from us, and to be merciful as well to all other men, as to mine own soul—caring for the wealth of the realm I was born in, for the King, and all that are thereof, as a tender-hearted mother would do for her only son.

"As concerning all I have *translated*, or otherwise written, I beseech all men to read it for that purpose I wrote it : even to bring them to the knowledge of the Scripture. And as far as the Scripture approveth it, so far to allow it ; and if in any place the Word of God disallow it, then to refuse it, as I do before our Saviour Christ and His congregation. And where they find faults, let them shew it me, if they be nigh, or write to me, if they be far off ; or write openly against it and improve it ; and I promise them, if I shall perceive that their reasons conclude, I will confess mine ignorance openly."

Such, while yet at liberty, was nearly the impressive conclusion of Tyndale's labours. His enemies were now thirsting, more than ever, for his blood ; though still he has yet nearly two years before him. But the base and artful traitors have already embarked from England—they are almost in sight ! With them, and the long eagerly pursued victim, very soon, we must repair to the castle of Vilvorde !

Parliament being now prorogued, one feature of the time is worthy of notice. It was the exchange of the fear of heresy for the fear of *treason*. That bill in mitigation of the treatment of any who were suspected of the former, is worthy of remark, as its success has been partly ascribed to feelings excited by the death of *Fryth*. One Thomas Philip, who had been delivered by Sir Thomas More to Stokesly, of London, by indenture, in 1530, had been cruelly detained in prison by him ever since ! Of Philip, who had appealed to the King, but could not gain access to him, an account is given by Foxe, with an interesting letter of exhortation to firmness, from "the Congregation," or those followers of Christ who met in Bow Lane, Cheapside ; but Foxe concludes by saying, that he knew not what became of him. The truth is, that, at last, he complained to the House of Commons against Stokesly, and as the Bishop would not appear

at their bar to answer for his conduct, the Commons' House framed their bill, which had now passed.

It repealed the statute of Henry IV., by which *Bishops* might commit to prison on *suspicion* of heresy; heretics were only to be proceeded against, by *two* witnesses, and to answer in *open* court; if guilty, the King's writ must be obtained, before any sentence could be executed; but it was declared that none should be troubled *upon any of the PONTIFF'S canons or laws, or for speaking or acting against him.*

This act was generally regarded by the people as an especial blessing, since it not only delivered them in a great degree from the paw of ecclesiastical tyranny, but immediately brought some of the most worthy characters from their dungeons. Not only did Philip, who had been there for years, escape, but Thomas Patmore, who had been confined as long, obtained a commission from Audley, Crumwell, and Cranmer, to enquire into "the injurious and unjust dealings" of both More and Stokesly. Patmore, who was most probably a relation of that gentleman who had been so shamefully treated for importing and dispersing Tyndale's New Testaments in 1531, seems to have been restored to his former living. Thus, after a long season of most reckless cruelty, here now was the dawning of a day of *retribution*.

This year, amidst all the policy, and even the wrath of statesmen, still absorbed in their own affairs, concurring events, in which the overruling hand of God had been conspicuous, were favourable to the progress of Divine Truth in Britain. That cause continued to be one *by itself*, and still certainly without any visible *Head* in England. There had been frowns, and proclamations, and denunciations; there had been solemn warnings, and martyrdoms; but never one smile from the Throne, no sanction from the Privy Council, not one voice in Parliament. But what did all this signify? We observe edition upon edition of the New Testament, as well as the Law of God, prepared at a distance, for English eyes. The cause was God's; by way of emphasis, *His*. He alone had carried it on, in defiance of all the power and policy of the nation; and He will continue to do so, after the same marked and peculiar manner, until the Sacred Volume He was now giving to this favoured country, shall be completed.

After such efforts made in printing the Scriptures in Antwerp and to the extent which we have already witnessed, it may naturally be expected that we shall discover in England itself at least some of the grounds of encouragement. The intelligence of all that was transacted in Parliament, of course, went to Antwerp immediately, for there was no city on the Continent where every thing passing in London was better known, or so soon. The bill introduced by the Commons, which would have the effect of taking any who were suspected of heresy out of the hands of the Bishops, was of itself ominous of better days. Originating in a complaint against the late Lord Chancellor and the present Bishop of London, and this complaint terminating in such a cure, was better still. There must have been various other encouraging circumstances, of which we have no account; but there was one party now in England of whom, till now, we have heard nothing so tangible and distinct.

The reader is fully aware that five years ago a gentleman of Antwerp, Mr. Harman, was grievously molested by Hackett the English envoy; that he, and his wife, equally zealous with himself, were confined in prison for months, and had been seriously injured through the furious enmity of both Hackett and Wolsey. Such a change had taken place, that he was now arrived in London, and to seek redress! It is worthy of remark, that he did not apply to Audley, the Lord Chancellor of the day, though certainly a very different man from either of his predecessors; nor to Crammer; nor to Crumwell; but to the Queen herself. The writings of Tyndale had been for years well known to her; and that she had stolen a march upon his Majesty, with one of his publications, cannot be forgotten. Unhappy man! It apparently interested him for the moment, but it was only as the voice of John did the ear of Herod or that of Paul the ear of Agrippa; since all such impressions, for Henry was not without them, like the morning cloud or the early dew, passed away. The Queen, however, though she had been in no favourable situation, had been interested, and now, it is quite evident, more than ever. At all events, Mr. Harman, or Herman, fully succeeded in his application, and, fortunately, the very letter written on his behalf by Anne Boleyn herself has been preserved. The following is a copy:—

By the Queen.

“ANNE THE QUEEN.

“Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we be credibly informed that the bearer hereof, RICHARD HERMAN, merchant and citizen of ANTWERP, in Brabant, was, in the time of the late Lord Cardinal, put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship, of and in the English house there, for nothing else (as he affirmeth,) but only for that he, still like a good Christian man, did both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hinderance in this world, help to the setting forth of the NEW TESTAMENT IN ENGLISH: We therefore desire and instantly pray you, that, with all speed and favour convenient, ye will cause this good and honest merchant, being my Lord's true, faithful, and loving subject, to be restored to his pristine freedom, liberty, and fellowship, aforesaid, and the sooner at this our request, and at your good leisure to hear him in such things, as he hath to make further relation unto you in this behalf. Given under our signet, at my Lord's manor of Greenwich, the xiiii day of May. *To our trusty and right well beloved, Thomas Crumwell, Squire, Chief Secretary unto my Lord the King's Highness.*”²

Whatever may be said, whether to the praise or disparagement of Anne Boleyn, it should not now pass unnoticed that no *man*, either of influence or office in all England, ever so expressed himself *while* Tyndale lived. Nor is this merely a letter of authority; the sentiments of the writer appear throughout, and it also conveys some information. From one expression it is evident that Mr. Harman had done much more than coolly import the volumes. “With his *goods* and policy, to his great *hinderance* in this world,” he had done this. Every one acquainted with the history of the Hanse Towns, knows how much had been involved in the forfeiture of his privileges as a merchant adventurer. The “English house,” like all these towns, exercised a judicial superintendence over its members, and punished them by a species of commercial excommunication. Mr. Harman had evidently been suffering under this for years. He had been a friend of the cause, and therefore the friend of Tyndale.

As Crumwell had been appointed “chief Secretary of State” only one week before the date of the preceding letter, this must have been one of his earliest acts in that capacity. But the tide is turning for a short season, and so does the “chief Secretary” with it.

On the whole, what singular recollections does such an

² Cotton MS., Cleop. E. v., fol. 330.

incident as this suggest ! What a striking difference between even the letter of Crammer, only eleven months ago, and the present ! *That* involved the death of "one Fryth going to the fire," Tyndale's friend and assistant ; *this* is in vindication of all that Tyndale had done ! We glance at the contrast, only in justice to the change which had, for this year, taken place ; but there is one other reflection which seems to be forced upon us.

Tunstal, that early opponent, once of great power, was yet alive ; and what would he have said, in 1526, to such a document, from the Queen of England ? He is now *professedly* approving of the Pontiff's entire exclusion from this country, nay, and preaching this to the people ; while there is no word now of "the crafty translation of the New Testament in the English tongue, containing that pestiferous and most pernicious poison, dispersed throughout all our diocese of London, in great numbers." But this is *the* book itself, and this is one of the very men who, to his damage and loss, had so heartily imported it. The writer had these days in her eye when she took up her pen ; and yet, says the Queen, Harman was only acting in character, and doing only what he ought to have done, "as a good Christian man." Wolsey and Warham were in their graves. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were in the Tower. Tunstal and Gardiner and Stokesly are muzzled. Norfolk, the Prime Minister, must wink hard. The Secretary of State is requested to proceed forthwith, "the sooner at this our request ;" while Henry himself, wilful, wayward, and reckless as he was, is, at the least, occasionally now kept in check by the writer of this letter.

It was fit that the very book which had been so vilified, so trampled on and burnt, by the King, Wolsey, Warham, and Tunstal ; which had been fastened in derision, by Sir Thomas More, to the garments of Tyndale's brother, or the men who were then marched to the spot where they must cast it into the flames ;—nay, the book which had been denounced from the Star Chamber by the King himself, should at last meet with some *such* notice as this ; and that it should proceed from the pen of one, who, at this moment, could turn the heart of even such a Monarch. The Translator himself should never be

forgotten, but *he* never set his foot on English ground again; the change was the work of no human hand, and more than the finger of Providence was here. Is it too much to say, that for the sake of His Blessed Word—first its entrance into this country, and then its effects—God had shown strength with His arm, and scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts?—had put down the mighty from their seats, and honoured a man of low degree? Nor had the Word, so singularly introduced, returned to Him void. Think of the many whom Fryth had met with in England before his death, and of the high character he gave them. God had filled His own, however poor, with gladness, though of the rich there was only *one* at this moment to justify the whole proceeding, and thus far espouse the hated though uninjured cause.

This token of regard on the part of Queen Anne was not unfelt by Tyndale. He must have known her sentiments as well as most men, and been fully apprised of her influence—an influence which had been at once deprecated and dreaded by the old school. He had learnt also of this incident in sufficient time for him to lay down at the press *one* copy of his corrected New Testament, on *vellum*. Beautifully printed, with illuminations, it was bound in blue morocco, and the Queen's name, in large red letters, equally divided, was placed on the fore-edges of the top, side, and bottom margins: thus, on the top, ANNA; on the right margin fore-edge, REGINA; and on the bottom, ANGLÆ—Anne Queen of England.

The Translator, when he put forth his first edition, in that spirit which Christianity alone inspires, *sunk* his own name; and would have done so afterwards, but for the character and writings of his amanuensis, Roye; and this year the interference of Joye; but here he does so once more. Even his name is withdrawn, and with great propriety all *prefatory* matter is omitted. Tyndale was no sycophant. There is no *dedication*,—no compliment paid, as there never ought to be, to any human being, along with God's most holy Word. The history of this beautiful book, since it was handled by Anne Boleyn, above three hundred years ago, would have interested any reader; but all that can here be stated is, that the last private individual into whose possession it had come, was the late Rev.

Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode. After his death, in April 1799, the volume came into its proper place, when, with his large and valuable library, it was bequeathed to the British Museum.

The Scriptures, as translated by Tyndale, were now coming more freely into England, and were reading in various places with all eagerness. No man was now molested abroad as Mr. Harman had been, nor was any man to be tormented at home, for selling or buying, possessing or reading them, as had been the fashion too long. For the moment at least, the storm was changed into a comparative calm, and it is curious to contrast all this with the doings of the Convocation, which sat in November and December. By their own journal, it appears that they addressed the King before rising.³ This was on the 19th of December, and exhibited a striking proof of a house divided against itself. Their resolution passed both Houses of Convocation, in which they all agreed that *Cranmer* should make instance, in their names, to the King, that his Majesty would vouchsafe, for the increase of the faith of his subjects, to command that all his subjects in whose possession any books of *suspected doctrine* were, especially in the *vulgar* language, imprinted beyond or on this side the sea, should be warned, within three months, to bring them in, under a certain pain, to be limited by him! And that, moreover, his Majesty would vouchsafe to decree, that the *Scriptures* should be translated into the *vulgar* tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the King, and to be delivered to the people *according to their learning!*

The *first* request exhibits the influence of Gardiner and Stokesley in the Convocation, the latter that of Cranmer; and it seems to be evident that the two parties must have come to a compromise, for the sake of each party securing, if possible, its favourite request; or this might be a *feeler*, put forth to ascertain more precisely the existing state of their *master's* mind. At all events, the two requests exhibit glaring inconsistency, since the books of *suspected doctrine* might be made to include all the Scriptures ever yet printed. How Cranmer acquitted himself with the King, is not upon record. There was, how-

³ Journal of the Convocation, fol. 60.

ever, *no* interdict, *no* collecting of books; but the reader must not fail to observe next year, when Cranmer comes to attempt a translation of the New Testament, by actually employing these Bishops, what was the result, and how they wrangled.

Meanwhile, dreaming, as some of these men in this Convocation were, about the Scriptures being translated—for it was but a dream—what a singular contrast is presented in the editions of Tyndale printed this year, and the vindication of Harman, by the Queen herself, for importing them eight years ago! And now, if at last, after such long and vigilant pursuit, Tyndale himself was about to be betrayed into the snare so basely laid for him, his seizure will only add renewed vigour to the press. Besides the Testament by Joye, we have already mentioned Tyndale's own corrected edition finished only in November; but their year ran on to the 25th of March, and before that day we have not fewer than three impressions all *dated* in 1534. The books being nearly of one size, rather less than Tyndale's own, may be mistaken for the same edition, but there are various points of distinction:—

I. "The Newe Testament, Anno MDXXXIII." printed within an ornamented compartment; at the top, Jesus preaching on the Mount; on the right side, the brazen serpent; on the left, Moses with the two tables; and at the bottom G. H. on a shield, perhaps the initials of the printer; the name, if found out, will appear in our list. II. "The Newe Testament, Anno MDXXXIII." also in black letter, but *not* in a compartment, nor having any such initials affixed. These two books have been compared. The first is in the collection of Earl Pembroke at Wilton House, the second is in that of Lea Wilson, Esq. They are in the same type, but the folios of the first are paged throughout, the second is *not* paged at all; and there are various characteristic differences, both in the orthography and the disposition of the pages. III. "The New Testament, Anno MDXXXIII." also in a compartment with G. H. &c. This edition, imperfect, is in the Bodleian, and, as described by Herbert, p. 1543, and Dr. Cotton, p. 131, might be mistaken for the first mentioned. But this book, though the numbering of the folios be often incorrect, runs from Matt. fol. i.—ccclx. falsely numbered ccclxii.; whereas the Testament at Wilton House runs only from Matt. fol. i.—cccxlvi. This *third* book, however, owing to what Dr. Cotton has said, we have ranked under 1535, (see p. 242,) though perhaps the above might have been also placed there.

Besides these, there is in the Bristol Museum a New Testament in *quarto*, dated on the back 1534—certainly ancient, but the title-page is gone. Dr. Gifford thought it might have been printed in *Scotland*, as Lewis did, of one in 1536; but an acquaintance with the interesting state of Scotland, as about to be given, precludes every such conjecture.

In justification of the anxiety felt by Tyndale respecting the reprints of his translation by others, it deserves notice, that in *both* the Testaments first men-

tioned, there is an omission which unfortunately became *parent* of the same mistake in not a few subsequent editions. It is in 1 Cor. xi. The words—" *This cup is the New Testament in my blood*" are left out! The omission, though significant at such a time, could scarcely be intentional, as it could answer no end; but it occasioned the leaf to be *reprinted* in various instances afterwards.

Thus the contrast between the Convocation held in England and these busy men abroad, furnishes one of the most observable features of the time. It was like a flag of defiance hoisted in Antwerp, to signalize the moment, or the consequences, of Tyndale's apprehension.

MDXXXV.

TYNDALE'S APPREHENSION AT ANTWERP—IMPRISONMENT IN THE CASTLE OF VILVORDE—DISTINCT INFORMATION CONVEYED TO CRUMWELL AND CRANMER—THE STRENUOUS EXERTIONS OF THOMAS POYNTZ, BUT IN VAIN—TYNDALE'S PROGRESS IN PRISON—THE BISHOPS APPLIED TO FOR A TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—A FRUITLESS ATTEMPT—FRESH EDITIONS OF TYNDALE'S TRANSLATION, PRINTED AND IMPORTING THIS YEAR.

THE last year turned out to be nothing more than a brief respite, or a transient gleam of sunshine. The present was distinguished throughout, by the imprisonment of Tyndale *abroad*, by cruelty and bloodshed at *home*. The former was an exhibition of enmity to the truth on the part of its opponents; the latter gave decided proof of fear for the safety of the throne. But before adverting to the peculiar state of affairs in England, we first proceed, as in previous years, to enquire respecting the Translator of the Scriptures.

After a thorough investigation of this period, there can remain no hesitation in ascribing the apprehension of Tyndale, to the influence and authority of the *old* party in England, in alarm at the steady progress of the "*new learning*." "A *plan* was laid," says Foxe, "for Tyndale being seized in name of the Emperor." By the *name* of the Emperor, as now mentioned, could be meant nothing more than the authority of the perse-

cuting decrees he had sanctioned; but from any share in this plan, Henry, in the *first* instance, must be entirely exonerated; as the chief agents employed will turn out to have been as great enemies to the King of England, and his *royal* progress, as they were to Tyndale and his *providential* one. For years, it is true, Tyndale had been deemed a man of such importance, that he had enjoyed the distinction of having been pursued by the agents of Wolsey the Cardinal, and of the King himself—of Sir Thomas More the Lord Chancellor, and even Crumwell the future vicegerent; but in the final seizure, his Majesty had no concern whatever; though at *last* he will certainly come in for his full share in the guilt of Tyndale's death. In the concealment of this plot from Henry before it commenced or succeeded, we descry, not improbably, the existing powerful influence of the Queen, Anne Boleyn. Had she been apprised of it, and moved the King, this might have proved fatal to the scheme.

Up to this hour, it has all along been generally supposed that there was only *one* man hired to apprehend our Translator; but there was a second, of far greater note as to character, joined with him, both in counsel and action; and so, says Halle, "he was betrayed and taken, as *many* said, not without the help and procurement of some Bishops of this realm." The *help*, partly consisting in money, of which we shall find, presently, there was no lack, is to be traced, therefore, to this source. The Bishops, in 1527, had leagued together under Warham, and contributed to the strange and fruitless project of buying up the New Testaments to burn them; and now, though Warham be gone, several survivors of the same temper were still more eager to consign the Translator himself to the flames. That Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, who had succeeded against Fryth, was in the secret, and deeply concerned in the intrigue, there will be little or no doubt presently; but *if* so, he may have been the *chief*, for such was the well-known temper of the man. "Unless," says Bonner, who knew him well, "unless he was the only and chief inventor of any matter, he would have thwarted it." Tutored and bred up under Wolsey, though the King and the Cardinal, Sir Thomas More and Crumwell, had not succeeded, and though abroad neither Hackett nor West, Sir

Thomas Elyot nor any other agent, had been able to apprehend Tyndale; yet intimately acquainted with all circumstances, with persons and places, and of great address, there was no man now alive who excelled Gardiner in gaining his end by secret and circuitous methods. As his strength and skill lay in fetching a compass, like the gyrations of a hawk before pouncing on its prey, so was he much more likely to succeed in ensnaring Tyndale than any one who had previously attempted it. At least, no other individual knew so well how to take advantage of the rising discontent of monks and friars.

The men in England selected on this occasion, were *Henry Phillips*, belonging to Poole in Dorset, on the borders of Gardiner's diocese; and the other individual, in counsel with him, hitherto unknown, was *Gabriel Donne or Dunne*, a monk from Stratford Abbey, who had proceeded to Louvain. The former, a good-looking young man, acted as the *gentleman*, and the latter, in disguise, as his counsellor and *servant*.

Tyndale had been living for nearly a year in the house of Thomas Poyntz, an English resident at Antwerp, when Phillips, who had lately arrived from England as a gentleman, having a servant with him, met him at the tables of several of the merchants, with whom he was a frequent guest. Having acquired the confidence of Tyndale, he was invited more than once to the house of Poyntz, who, though he had some suspicion of him, received and showed him courtesy for Tyndale's sake. He thus acquired an intimacy with our Translator's habits and haunts which he soon treacherously used for his apprehension. Proceeding to Brussels, he obtained there the necessary authority from the Emperor's court, together with the Emperor's Attorney and other officers; and in a few days after, having waited till Poyntz was unavoidably absent from home, he called at his house and asked for Tyndale, from whom he first borrowed forty shillings, (value, about £30 of the present day,) and then invited him to dine with him. This was declined by Tyndale, who in turn invited him to dine with him at a friend's house where he was engaged. Phillips, feigning acceptance of his invitation, went out with him at the hour appointed, but had two officers set in a narrow entry through which they had to pass. These on a signal from Phillips seized Tyndale, whom

they secured in prison. The Emperor's Attorney afterwards secured his books and effects in Poyntz's house. Tyndale was soon after sent to the castle of Vilvorde, twenty-four miles from Antwerp.

The friends of Poyntz, who was from home, made immediate application to Brussels, but without effect. The English merchants did the same through their governor, but, as he was cool in the cause, their suit was equally vain. The generous host of Tyndale made every exertion, with a zeal and perseverance far from common, but ultimately with no success. Intervening events, however, first demand our notice, as they are connected ultimately with Tyndale's apprehension.

The state of the Continent at this period having become exceedingly critical with regard to Henry's personal security as King of England, it became necessary for that division of his Privy Council who favoured his movements, to have a watchful eye over the secret intrigues of the adverse party, and their correspondents in foreign parts. For *ten* long years, it is now very observable, Tyndale had been working abroad, and *only for good*—to whom the Monarch and his ministers had been ever opposed; but now, another man is becoming active and formidable, who, for more than *twenty* years, and abroad too, shall work *only for evil*; his baneful influence extending not only until the death of the reigning King, but to that of two of his children. This was Reginald Pole, the future Cardinal, whom Henry had cherished, and educated with a princely munificence, and even kindness, such as he had never shown to any other human being. The cousin of the King, and now abroad; of polished manners, possessed of the best education, having easy access to the highest circles wherever he travelled; the vivacity of his genius and his playful affability endeared him to all. His Majesty, having literally made him the man he was, became eager to have his opinions in writing, as to himself and his movements; expecting, of course, that they would be entirely in his favour. Pole assented, and, all the time living on Henry's bounty, carried on the delusion. His opinions grew into a volume, which he began in January of this year; and so late as June he had the profound hypocrisy to give assurances, in writing, that he meant to serve the King in the cause

desired.¹ His book, however, such as it was, had been completed in *March*, but it was retained for more than twelve months after that, and shown to select enemies, just as if intended to produce the more astounding effect on the day of its presentation, next year.

Now, comparing the last ten years with all those that followed, it is not difficult to perceive the finger of retributive justice pointing out the contrast. But it is rendered far more striking from a singular coincidence at the present period, and never before observed. It was this. Henry's mind continued in great kindness and respect for Pole, down to the end of April, or the beginning of May, this year. It then became necessary to watch him. But the *same* man who was now engaged to examine and report as to the state of the Continent, and the movements of POLE; in his very *first* despatches, brings the imprisonment of TYNDALE before the eye of both Crumwell and Cranmer. He writes, however, merely as though he would *invite* their sympathy; for it is evident, from his style, that he had received no instructions to enquire with kindness after him. The writer, Thomas Tebold, (Theobald,) was a man of no notoriety; but being well qualified, by shrewdness and address, to answer Crumwell's purpose, he was to travel from city to city, and report. He had left England about the end of June, proceeding first to Antwerp, and by the middle of July commenced his first letters, despatching them at the end of the month. From these we learn that he met Phillips at Louvain, who boasted of his treacherous act, and threatened to bring others into the same net, railing at same time against the King of England as a tyrant and robber of the Commonwealth. He evidently stood in dread of the merchants of Antwerp. In another letter addressed to Cranmer, he shows no scruple at informing the Archbishop, that by *dissimulation* he had obtained long and familiar conversations with Buckingham, one of the Black Friars of Cambridge, who was evidently in the pay of "him that hath taken Tyndale, called Harry Phillips." This Buckingham was the man, whom Latimer so successfully exposed, at Cambridge, in 1526. By this letter it appears that he

¹ Cotton MS., Cleop. E. vi., fol. 334.

must have lived for some time among his brethren, in the Black Friars' monastery at Edinburgh, on the high ground opposite the *wynd* of that name, or nearly in the site of the present Royal Infirmary. Having received intelligence from Louvain, Buckingham, in company with some other friar, had left that city about the 28th of March. There was evidently a bond of union between the parties, and Phillips paid all charges, possessing, as we have learned, money at command. Tebold further proceeds to inform Cranmer, that it was evident Tyndale was doomed to die; that Phillips had said, "that there was no man of his counsel but a monk of Stratford Abbey, beside London, called GABRIEL DONNE, who at that time was student in Louvain and *in house with* this aforesaid Harry Phillips," but now in England where, "by the help of Mr. Secretary, he had obtained an abbey of a thousand marks by the year."

Thus, then, whatever is to become of our immortal Translator, by the month of August, 1535, it plainly appears that both Cranmer and Crumwell were very distinctly informed of the circumstances connected with his apprehension. The former, especially, is warned of Tyndale being in imminent danger of death, as well as of a certain Monk by name, deeply implicated. Was it possible that, in future life, he could ever forget the name of this man? But whether the Archbishop or Mr. Secretary then moved one step; or whether Tyndale, to say the least, was ultimately neglected and forgotten, and this very monk was left at large to be promoted; it must be left for the sequel to explain. At all events, Tyndale has still fourteen months to live. Here was ample time to interpose.

Previously to these letters, however, some application had been made to England; for the report in Antwerp was, that his Majesty *had* interfered, requesting Tyndale to be sent back to that city. It was but a groundless rumour! But August had now come, when Mr. Poyntz, like a sound-hearted Englishman, and impatient of delay, could no longer refrain. At such a crisis, it is refreshing to find that there was one man true to his *crest*, throughout;² whether Crumwell or Cranmer move or not.

² A cubit arm, erect, the fist clenched, pp. vested arg.

His first step was to send an earnest letter to his brother, imploring his immediate and most zealous exertion.

The presumption is, that *this* letter, dated 25th August, at last took effect; for we have now the proof that Tyndale's situation must have been explained to his Majesty. Mr. John Poyntz had been, for twenty years, in familiar intercourse, not only with the Court, but the King; he had been *long* about the King's person, and *in* the household, though now at his estate in Essex. Hence the style of his brother's letter. It was to be a *direct* appeal. At all events, Crumwell was roused at last. He had indeed spoken with great bitterness of Tyndale, when writing to Vaughan; and we have seen Cranmer, too, in company with Sir T. Elyot, then charged to seize him; but the times had now materially changed, and they alike wavered with them. Before, there was no such Queen upon the throne; and Crumwell could not have forgotten her letter to himself, last year, respecting Mr. Harman. He, therefore, now acts very differently, at least for a little moment. Since Marshe, the Governor of the Merchant-Adventurers, had been complained of as so remiss, the messenger despatched had been directed to wait upon another person, Mr. Robert Flegge; who replied³ 22nd September, that he had with all diligence got the letters delivered,—that the Marquis of Barrow, to whom one of them was directed, had left for Germany, but he had sent Mr. Poyntz after him,—that the Marquis had replied to the application by writing to several of his friends at Court that they might use their influence in obtaining the King's request. The other letter to the Archbishop of Palermo, who had consulted the Queen and Council, was answered by a letter direct to Crumwell.

By Foxe's narrative, in his *first* edition, we learn that Flegge had consulted with the chief English merchants—that Mr. Poyntz had to proceed sixty miles to the eastward. However, he overtook the Marquis at Achon, (Alkhen,) fifteen miles from Maestricht. On reading the letter addressed to him, the Marquis, at first, retorted, that “there were of *their* countrymen *burned* in England not long before”—alluding to the Dutchmen

³ Cotton MS., Galba, B. x., fol. 62.

burnt in Smithfield. Poyntz acknowledged the fact; "howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if his lordship, or any other nobleman, had written, requiring him to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied."—"Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the Princess is ready to ride." Then said Poyntz, "If it shall please your lordship, I will attend upon you to the *next* baiting place." The Marquis assented, adding, "If you so do, I will advise myself by the way, what to write." At Maestricht, accordingly, Mr. Poyntz obtained the letters referred to by Mr. Flegge; one to the Brabant Council, one to the Merchant-Adventurers, and a third to Crumwell. Mr. Poyntz proceeded direct for London, but there he had to wait during the greater part of the month of October. "At length," says Foxe, "the letters (in reply) being delivered him, he returned and delivered them to the Council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same." This was on or before the first of November. But Phillips being there, following his suit against Tyndale, and fearing lest he should lose his purpose, he accused Poyntz, who, in his turn, was apprehended and delivered to the keeping of two sergeants-at-arms, and a charge of twenty-three or twenty-four articles brought against him by the Procurer-general.

Eight days after, he was ordered to have his answer ready. Meanwhile, he must send no message to Antwerp, or any other place, but by the Brussels post: he must send no letters except in German, and these to be examined first by the Procurer-general: he must speak only in that language, that his keepers might know every word he said. To this last rule there was but one exception, when an *English* Noviciate of the White Friars was allowed by their Provincial to converse with Mr. Poyntz. It was only a politic step, to ascertain his principles, before receiving his written answer. Among other topics, Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester, and their executions in England this summer, were introduced, as one key to their purpose. On the eighth day, when the Commissioners came for the answer in writing, Mr. Poyntz had not his excuse ready, when they gave him another week. He then presented a general reply, but they insisted upon a specific answer to each of the articles, separately. Thus he "trifled them off" from the

first of November to the twenty-fourth of December. On the morning of that day, they informed him, that if his reply were not brought in before night, he should be condemned without it: it was eight in the evening before the Procurer-general received the document. This led to a tedious altercation in writing, during which process Mr. Poyntz demanded bail, on security being offered. They at first assented, but afterwards declined to take any security whatever. He had applied to the English Merchants in Antwerp, for surety, and had they come forward, it would have altered the case from a criminal to a civil one; but, strange to say, if they actually had received the application, it was in vain. In the meantime, the expenses of this process were accumulating to a considerable amount. During the whole time, Poyntz was not in a common prison, but in the keeping of the two Sergeants-at-arms: besides his own expenses, he had to maintain *them*, so that the daily charge was not less than five shillings; an enormous sum in those times. Altogether he had now been detained about thirteen weeks, from the first of November to Candlemas, which, at five shillings daily, had cost about £23, or equal to above £300 of the present time. For part of these charges they now demanded payment or surety, and gave him eight days to settle the matter. Poyntz sent a messenger to the English Merchants who were then at Barrow (Bergen) Market, resolving, however, not to wait his return. If taken, he knew it would be but death, and so during the night he contrived to escape, and at the opening of the city gates, in the morning, got off. As soon as it was perceived that he was gone, men on horseback were sent out in pursuit; but he knew the country well, and at last arrived safely in England.

Here is a man, hitherto unknown, though certainly he now demands our most grateful remembrance. For his friend he could not possibly do more than he had done. It was the most memorable exploit in his whole life; and, what is remarkable, we shall, by and by, find it to have been engraven on his *tomb-stone*, which, we are gratified to add, is *still distinctly visible*, and not far from London.

With respect to Tyndale himself, now in close confinement at Vilvorde, we are not altogether without information. The

fact of his imprisonment was now well known in England, Scotland, and Germany; and the zeal against him was "burning hot," especially at Louvain, a place long celebrated for its ardent attachment to the old learning. This may easily be conjectured from the men now arrayed, and apparently *gathered together* against him. *Dunne*, having fulfilled his commission, and for six months done his best, had left for England; but *Phillips* and *Buckenam*, with others, were still at Louvain, only twelve miles from Vilvorde; and they, in conjunction with the doctors there, had led Tyndale into discussion. He, having been permitted to reply in writing, was not slow to answer. "There was," says Foxe, "much writing, and great disputation to and fro, between him and them of the University of Louvain; in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he, most pithily, grounded his doctrine."

They had, indeed, now laid Tyndale in prison, but even this could by no means prevent the progress of his work. It must not pass unobserved, that there came out this year another, or the *third* edition, of his "Obedience of a Christian Man," and it may very safely be presumed not without his approbation, if not concurrence, as it was printed at Marburg, where he and Fryth had dwelt. Wolsey had been five years in his grave, whose policy it so effectually exposed; but Tyndale had there said, even *after* the Parliament of November 1529, that, as they had not *uprooted* the tree, it would grow again. By the reprint, therefore, he seemed to repeat, that, in his estimation, much still remained to be done in England; and he himself was now suffering under the very system he had there exposed. The republication at this period, however, would certainly not contribute to his enlargement, nor would it now help to raise him in the estimation of Henry VIII. Once on a time, it is true, he is reported to have said—"this is a book for me and all kings to read,"—but then, to such a man, there were "hard sayings" in it, and that emotion had died away.

Another piece also now appeared, and appropriate to the war then raging with the Doctors of Louvain. This was Wicliffe's Wicket, or an exposition of the words, "*This is my body*,"

accompanied by Tyndale's judgment respecting the Testament of William Tracy.

It was now precisely five years since "the translation of Scripture," said to be "*corrupted* by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New," had been denounced by the King of England and his Bishops, "as utterly to be *repelled, rejected, and put away* out of the hands of *the people*, and not to be suffered to get abroad among his Majesty's subjects." But the cause of Tyndale was that of a higher power, and as evidently *for the people*. Nothing, however, had been done, in the meanwhile, to furnish any other translation; nay, at *that* time, these men had the daring impiety to say to the people at large—"You cannot require or demand Scripture to be divulged in the *English* tongue, otherwise than upon the *discretion* of your superiors; so as whensoever *they* think in their conscience it may do you good, they may and do well to give it unto you: and whensoever it shall seem otherwise unto them, they do amiss in suffering you to have it!!" They then said also, that this King of theirs "did openly say and protest, that *he* would cause the New Testament to be, by learned men, faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue; to the intent he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, *as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same!!*" At the same time, they took care to inform the people that the King "thinketh in his conscience," and that by *their* "deliberation and advice, that in not suffering the Scripture to be then divulged in English, he *did well!!*"

By the good providence of God, however, we have seen that, seven years before 1530, Tyndale had resolved that his countrymen should actually possess the Divine Word, and thus come to know more of the Scripture than such men as these; and as both husbandmen and artizans had been brought before Tunstal, Bishop of London, so early as 1528, Tyndale, confessedly, had laboured with great effect. For nine years past we have seen one edition after another coming into the country.

But now, at the last, it seemed as if something were actually going to be done, and by Henry's learned men. Even the Bishop of *Winchester* himself told Crumwell, that by the month of June he "had been spending a great labour in translating

Luke and John!" This was an incident by far too remarkable to pass now without farther notice; and the more so, as it admits of an explanation, fully as curious as the fact itself. In the Convocation last December, it will be remembered that the necessity for a translation of the Scriptures had been urged, while all *other* books of suspected heretical doctrine were to be called in within three months; and though nothing was done as to the latter design, the King seems to have been addressed as to the former. This was, in fact, a second implication of all that Tyndale had translated or written. One is curious, therefore, to observe the *first* attempt of these men, standing as it does, in contrast with the hitherto unaided, nay, despised exertions of the persecuted and now imprisoned Translator and patriot.

In proceeding with the plan, Cranmer took an existing translation,—Tyndale's, of course, for as yet there was no other,—and having divided it into eight or ten parts, he got them *transcribed*. These he transmitted to so many Bishops, the best learned, accompanied by a request, that each part should be returned to him, with their corrections, by a certain day. The time appointed having arrived, every portion, including Gardiner's, no doubt, is said to have been returned to Lambeth, with one exception—the *Acts of the Apostles*, which had been assigned to Stokesly. Cranmer then sent to Fulham, for the corrected manuscript; but Stokesly, far less compliant than Gardiner, not being then in such fear of court favour, or of his neck, only made the following reply:—"I marvel what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, and never will. And therefore my Lord shall have his book back again; for I never will be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." When the Archbishop was informed of this uncourteous speech, he merely observed—"I marvel that my Lord of London is so froward, that he will not do as other men do."—"Why, as for that," said Lawney, one of the Duke of Norfolk's chaplains, who stood by,—“Your Grace must consider that the Acts of the Apostles are a portion of the New Testament. Peradventure, my Lord of London knows that Christ has left *him* no legacy,

and therefore he prudently resolves to waste no time upon that which will bring him no profit! Or it may be, as the Apostles were a company of poor illiterate men, my Lord of London disdaineth to concern himself about their *Acts*!”

That such an attempt as this should have entirely failed, can excite no surprise; and it not only did so, but Cranmer ever afterwards, from this moment, despaired of obtaining a translation of the Scriptures by any such means; and of this he will himself inform us, two years hence. These men of name and pretension must stand aside, for never shall even a single book of the Sacred Volume be conveyed to their country by one of them.

In contrast therefore, once more, to these prelates, whether in Convocation, as in 1534, or out of it, as in 1535, in the printing press of Antwerp we can discover no pause or hesitation; no sympathy whatever with the scruples of the blind in England, or any fear of the enemy in Antwerp itself. During last year and the present, not fewer than *seven* if not *eight* editions of Tyndale's New Testament had issued from the press! Nor was any printer ever prosecuted, save the first in 1526, or Christopher of Endhoven. Thus, if the Translator himself throughout the whole of even this year continued to war with the enemies of Divine Truth on the Continent, it was as if “the stars in their courses” were fighting with England; nor was there to be any truce in this contest till the enemy was overcome, nay overruled, and constrained to accept of the long proffered boon.

The editions of the New Testament to be ascribed to 1535 were at least three. Of the first, which has hitherto been ascribed to last year, Dr. Cotton has said, —“This book was doubtless printed at Antwerp, but from the great variations observable in it, I cannot believe the date 1534 to be the true one; especially when it is considered that Tyndale's own (corrected copy), from which it is *principally* copied, did not appear till November in that year.” But still by their computation, as the year continued to the 25th of March, till that day 1534 would be their date. Owing to the circumstances now stated, however, we rank it under 1535.

Collation.—Title, within four wood-cuts, “The Newe Testament, Anno MDXXXIII.” On the reverse of the title, “The bokes conteyned in the Newe Testament.” The cut of the Apostle Paul prefixed to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, Thessalonians and Hebrews, in Tyndale's edition of 1534, is small; in this it occupies the breadth of the page. Such is a brief notice of the book described by Herbert, p. 1543, and by Dr. Cotton, now in the Bodleian Library. That copy, however, is but very imperfect.

Of the second edition, distinguished by its being in *folio*, one copy is mentioned by Dr. Cotton to be ascribed to this, if not the following year.

The third edition, in small 8vo, or 12mo, may be easily distinguished by its *orthography*, which is very peculiar, having the colophon in large letters,—“fynessed 1535.” There is one copy in Exeter College, Oxford, wanting the first title and preface; and in which the prologue to the Romans seems to be transposed, but there is a beautiful one, quite perfect, in the University Library of Cambridge. *Collation*.—After the first title and Tyndale’s preface, tables for the Evangelists and the Acts, and “The boke conteyned in the Newe Testament,” we find a second title,—“*The newe Testament, dyligently corected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tyndale: and fynessed in the yere of our Lorde God A. MD and xxxv.*” There are small wood-cuts at the beginning of each gospel, and larger ones in the Revelations, with heads of Chapters, supposed to be for the first time. A full page contains 38 lines. While we at present regret our inability to give an explanatory account of this book, it remains a great curiosity of its kind. Witness its orthography, so different from all the other editions:—

further, moether, broether, maester, stoene, oones, thoese, sayede, whorsse, behoelde.
 father, mother, brother, master, stone, once, those, said, worse, behold.

But is it possible that this could have been part of Tyndale’s occupation within the walls of the castle of Vilvorde? While warring with these Doctors of Louvain, on the one hand, was he, on the other, at the same time engaged in earnest pity for *the ploughboy and husbandmen of Gloucestershire*? This orthography, being regarded as provincial, so it has been supposed. If the conjecture be well founded, and Tyndale himself had to do with this edition, it is but seldom that, in the history of any man, such an instance of the true sublime can be produced. The book has never been assigned to any Antwerp printer; but if Tyndale only furnished a *list* of words, to be employed whenever they occurred in the translation, the volume could have been printed in Holland or any other place in Brabant.

At all events, the book comes before us in the light of a step in advance, or additional triumph. The Translator was “suffering trouble as an evil doer, even unto bonds; but the Word of God was not bound,” nor to be bound.

To those who have not before been acquainted with the history of the English Bible, and in conclusion of the year 1535, one fact remains to be stated, which must occasion some surprise. For some time past, there had been *another* translation of the Scriptures into English in progress, which was now completed. From the degree of mystery which still hangs over it, the undertaking must have been conducted with great privacy; but it is a curious and not unimportant circumstance,

scarcely before observed, if indeed at all known, in connexion with the late Lord Chancellor, so barbarously put to death by Henry, in July ; that, though not a party concerned in the cost, while yet alive, nay, long before his death, and at the very time he was writing against Tyndale, with this proceeding he may, if not must, have been acquainted all along, even from its origin ! From a single line throughout his many pages, no one could have imagined this ; but the evidence will come before us in due time.

Meanwhile, it was on the 11th of October that the last sheet was put to press, under the eye of *Miles Coverdale*. Printed, as it had been, abroad, copies could not have been ready for importation to England, till about the opening of next year, at the soonest ; but if any had reached this country, at whatever time, the book, owing to very peculiar circumstances, to be explained, could not have been shown to Henry the Eighth before the month of June. This, indeed, was the earliest moment ; for, most probably, it was not presented to the King till much later in that year.

But the origin and history of this translation we must reserve for the year following, or 1537. Then, only, can we view with advantage and effect, the whole case at once, and in comparison with that translation, on which our eye has been fixed from the beginning. In other words, Coverdale's will then be compared with that Bible which became the prototype, or basis, of all that have since followed, to the present day.

No such digression is admissible here, as the reader must be impatient to follow the history of that memorablè enterprise, which has engrossed his attention throughout all the war, as well as that of the man who had been raised up to carry it on to victory.

MDXXXVI.

LAST YEAR OF TYNDALE—ANNE BOLEYN—THE NEW OR UNPRECEDENTED CONVOCATION—LATIMER PREACHING BEFORE IT—STATE OF PARTIES THERE—OLD AND NEW LEARNING—PROCEEDINGS IN CONVOCATION—THE FIRST ARTICLES—CRUMWELL'S FIRST INJUNCTIONS—NO BIBLE MENTIONED—TYNDALE'S LATTER DAYS—PHILLIPS ONCE MORE—INDIFFERENCE OF ENGLAND—THE COURT OF BRUSSELS—HOME AND ABROAD NOW DEEPLY IMPLICATED—THE MARTYRDOM OF TYNDALE—POYNTZ, THE FRIEND OF TYNDALE—FUTURE HISTORY OF THE MISERABLE BETRAYERS—THE ONLY PROSPEROUS CAUSE, OR THE YEAR WHICH EXCELLED ALL THE PRECEDING.



WE are now within nine months only of the martyrdom of Tyndale, but it is necessary that the reader should have before him some of the leading events that transpired in England during that period, as they have a direct bearing on his character, and life-long exertions to give the Word of God to his country.

On the 5th of January, Queen Catherine died, and before the month closed, Queen Anne was delivered of a son, still-born; but before this she might have perceived that Henry's affections had begun to waver. He manifested this more openly *then*, and his passions having already strayed in search of another object, all her endeavours to recall them to herself were vain. Indeed, before the sorrowful mother was fully recovered from her languor and distress, her death had been resolved on, and steps taken and deliberately pursued for this purpose with the most dexterous secrecy.

The mock trial and judicial murder of the Queen, the marriage of the King next day to Jane Seymour, are scenes with which every reader of English history is familiar; but the part which the votaries of the "old learning" took in the plot, and their exultation in its success, have been less observed. In their feeble apprehension, the great obstacle to the revival of their influence was now removed. Rome itself was seeking to regain the ear of Henry through her messengers, who seem to have been well aware of his wavering affections long before the unhappy victim herself, and sought to divert them into a channel favourable to their purpose. But all in vain; partly by the marriage into which he had plunged so barbarously, and

partly by the policy of Crumwell. Queen Jane was favourable to the "new learning," and King Henry wanted more money, which only the suppression of monasteries could yield. Not all the subserviency of the clergy, or the Jesuitry of the Court of Rome, could bend him from a course which gave him so pleasing a prospect of augmented revenue, while he was overruled to allow a greater measure of liberty to the circulation of the Scriptures than had hitherto been enjoyed.

Henry, having called a new Parliament, on the 8th of June, had resolved also to have a *new* Convocation, and one differing in its character from all that had preceded it on English ground, or, indeed, *anywhere else*. Of the Parliament we can already judge. "Henry's two divorces having created an uncertainty as to the line of succession, Parliament had endeavoured to remove this, not by such constitutional provisions in concurrence with the Crown, as might define the course of inheritance, but by enabling the King, on failure of issue by Jane Seymour, or any other lawful wife, to make over and bequeath the kingdom to *any* person at his pleasure, not even reserving a preference to the descendants of former sovereigns!"¹ But we have now to look into the Convocation.

The confusion and misrepresentation which reigns throughout almost all our general histories, respecting this Convocation and its results, more especially with regard to the English Bible, render it imperatively necessary for the reader to observe what actually took place. Having already witnessed the failure of these Prelates in 1534 and 1535, their procedure in 1536 only invites the more careful inspection, if not the deeper interest. A universal mistake has consisted in the supposition that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, then ambassador at Paris, was here present; but there are many others, especially in relation to the Scriptures in English.²

¹ Hallam's Constitutional History.

² Thus, for example, Hume, in his History of England, informs us, that "a vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the Scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished, and *published at Paris!*" Burnet represents certain "arguments" as so prevailing with *both houses of Convocation*, that "they petitioned the King, that he would give order to *some* to set about it. "These arguments, joined with the power that the Queen had in his affections,

The friends of the "old learning" round the King, included two distinct parties—the nobility and the clergy. The present prospects of these two, were direct contrasts to each other. The former were looking forward, with eagerness, to the acquisition of property; the latter were trembling in the apprehension of losing it. The nobility were happy to aid the King in his late affair, and had borne him through it; but certainly not without full expectation of his recollecting their services, for they had laid the King under a debt of gratitude; the clergy had also rejoiced in the death of the Queen, and will immediately give their official sanction. But then, it was not to follow as a matter of course, that because this latter party had gone along with Henry in his bloody progress, that he was to aid them, or even spare them, as a body, in theirs. By no means. On the contrary, the clergy, at all events, must prepare for farther inroads and fresh humiliation. Crumwell had, last year, been, very conveniently, made "Vicegerent, Vicar-General, and Commissary Special and Principal," involving vast powers; placing him, in fact, next to the royal family, for specific and prospective purposes; and we have now to see the height to which he thought himself entitled to act.

The Convocation had met on the day after Parliament, or the 9th of June. Cranmer had resolved to try what a sermon could effect at the opening. We have seen how eager he was respecting Latimer preaching before the Court, and he appointed him now to preach before the Convocation. His text was appropriate enough. "*The children of this world are wiser in their generation, than the children of light,*"—and he did not fail to speak as he thought. He delivered two sermons, on the same day, from this text, and in the afternoon, especially, came to the point. Perhaps nothing of the kind ever equalled the keen and searching power of these discourses, in which he bore testimony

were so much considered by the King, that *he gave order for setting about it immediately!* To whom that work was committed, or how they proceeded in it, *I know not.* For the account of these things has *not* been preserved, nor conveyed to us, with that care that the importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate: for three years after this, it was printed at Paris, which shows *they made all convenient haste*, in a thing that required so much deliberation! "

to the piety prevailing among the people of England, and inveighed against the clergy, not only for the little they had done to promote that piety, but for the opposition they had offered to the cause of truth. He details at length the evils to be removed, and urges them all to “do *something* whereby they might be known to be the children of light,”—as “all men know that we be here gathered, and, with most fervent desire, breathe and gape for the fruit of our Convocation;” and “as our acts shall be, so shall they name us.” After warning them by that wicked professor who “beat his fellow-servants, and did eat and drink with the drunken,” he closes all by saying:—

“Come, go to, my brothers; go to, I say again, and once again go to, leave the love of your *profit*; study for the glory and profit of Christ; seek in your consultations such things as pertain to Christ, and bring forth, at the last, something that may please Christ.—Preach truly *the Word of God*. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the children of light, while ye are in this world, that ye may shine in the world that is to come, bright as the sun, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to whom be all honour, praise, and glory.—Amen.”

This stringent and intrepid discourse must have been as gall and wormwood to many who were present; but it certainly was meet, that some such address should salute their ears, and at such a time as this. It was fit that they should be told, when thus all assembled to hear, that already there were among the PEOPLE “*many* children of light;” while they had not yet done one thing, whereby the inhabitants of England had profited “one hair.” It was fit that Tunstal should be reminded, thus publicly, of his miserable injunction in 1526, and his torturing examinations in 1528, and his burning of the Sacred Volume in 1530: nay, that in that very St. Paul’s, where, after his return from Spain, he had denounced the New Testament, of which now so many editions had been sold and circulated, he should have to sit still and listen to such harrowing interrogations as these. And although some may question the delicacy of Latimer introducing himself, more especially as he was reverting to the most humiliating scene in his past life, perhaps the solitary speck in his public character; still it was fit that the ears of Stokesley and his fellows should be made to tingle, in

remembrance of their past cruelties. Stokesly had actually officiated, before the sermons began!

In short, taking the discourse all in all, a more perfect disclaimer of any thing having, as yet, been done, by these men in England, could not have been given; nor a higher attestation to the powerful, though denounced, exertions of Tyndale, as well as to their positive and extensive effects. It was only in perfect keeping with all that has been recorded, that such an eminent and distinct testimony should have been delivered before an assembly of foes and friends, at St. Paul's in *London*, three months before Tyndale received the crown of martyrdom, —and that by Latimer, the man, among all present, best qualified to judge.

It becomes of no little curious importance to observe who were actually assembled to hear all this; and the more so, that the statements frequently given have been both defective and erroneous. Of the twenty-one Bishops, sixteen were present at the Convocation, and two voted by proxy. As for the other three, not present; Gardiner of Winchester was *still in France*, where indeed he remained for above *two* years. Athaqua or Attien, Bishop of Llandaff, if yet alive, being a Spaniard, could not now vote; and Kite of Carlisle, once Archbishop of Armagh, an appointment which he had received from Leo X. in 1513, and resigned for Carlisle in 1521, was now in extreme old age, and died next year.

But besides the sixteen Bishops present, there were forty mitred Abbots and Priors, or fifty-six in all. In the lower house fifty members attended, namely, twenty-five Archdeacons, seven Deans, seventeen Proctors, and one Master of a College. Of the eighteen who voted from the Bench, those who were with and against Cranmer will show how equally they were divided when discussion began. We give them, with the dates of their appointment:—

1531. <i>Lee</i> of York.	1533. <i>Cranmer</i> of Canterbury.
1530. <i>Stokesly</i> of London.	1534. <i>Goodrich</i> of Ely.
1530. <i>Tunstal</i> of Durham.	1535. <i>Shaxton</i> of Salisbury.
1520. <i>Longland</i> of Lincoln.	1535. <i>Fox</i> of Hereford.
1519. <i>Vesey</i> of Exeter.	1535. <i>Latimer</i> of Worcester.
1533. <i>Clerk</i> of Bath.	1535. <i>Hilsey</i> of Rochester.

1534. <i>Lee</i> of Lichfield.	1536. <i>Barlow</i> of St. David's.
1534. <i>Salcot</i> of Bangor.	1536. <i>Warton</i> of St. Asaph.
1536. <i>Rugge</i> of Norwich.	1536. <i>Sampson</i> of Chichester.

Thus, although the reader will still recognise well-known enemies to the progress of Divine Truth, and to Tyndale personally, he will observe that the coast is clear of the aged and literally blind Nix of Norwich—of West of Ely, the crafty foe of Latimer—of Standish, the slanderer of Colet and Erasmus—of Fisher, the ablest opponent of the *new* learning—and of Cardinal Campeggio of Salisbury, as well as Ghinucci of Worcester, two Italians, ever ready to support the *old*—besides five others. If death had not thinned the ranks of these men, it is evident that Cranmer had been left in a small minority; but it now appears, that, since his appointment, only three years ago, as many as *eleven* vacancies had occurred, and of these not fewer than eight voted with him. So late as the 31st of May, the other party had been strengthened by Rugge *alias* Repps, being elected for Norwich; but it shows the keenness of Crumwell and Cranmer, that on the very *day before* the Convocation, they got Warton into St. Asaph, nay, on the day of *opening*, having procured Sherburne's resignation, they put Richard Sampson, the King's great champion, in his place.³ Even then, however, they divided, it appears, nine to nine. Fortunately for Cranmer's peace, Gardiner was not there, and two disciples of the old learning voted only by proxy, viz. Exeter and Lichfield, for whom Longland of Lincoln acted.

Preliminaries being adjusted by Friday the 16th of June, the old party in the lower house had prevailed in securing one of their number to be Prolocutor in the Convocation. This was Richard Gwent, an Archdeacon of Stokesly's, now presented and confirmed by the upper house. But by way of keeping the balance even, or rather of discovering how strong was the rod of royal authority over them, there entered, on the same day, not even Crumwell himself, for he was as yet too busy with Parliamentary affairs, but Dr. William Petre, as *his* deputy! He claimed the precedency due to his immediate master, and the

³ Nicholas' Synopsis, where the day of his consecration is stated *the 9th of June*.

commission he brought with him being read, Cranmer assigned him his place, next to himself. Some might well question, and probably did, as Fuller supposes, whether "a deputy's deputy" might properly claim *his* place who was principally represented. It has been said that it was with difficulty that the clergy suppressed their murmurs at Crumwell's appointment to his office—a man who had never taken orders, nor graduated in any University; but their indignation increased, when they found that the same pre-eminence was claimed by any of his *clerks*, whom he might commission as his deputy at their meetings.

On Wednesday next, however, the 21st, Crumwell entered, and as VICEGERENT AND VICAR-GENERAL seated himself judicially above all. He then presented them an instrument, annulling the King's marriage with the late Queen. They all signed it, and one party most willingly, though, as already noticed, the measure did not pass the House of Lords till the 30th.

On Friday, the 23rd of June, Gwent brought up from the lower house, a long list of what they styled *mala dogmata*, or erroneous doctrines. The number amounted to not fewer than *sixty-seven*; and it now remained for Cranmer, Latimer, and others, to say, what was to be done with them; for this was no other than "The protestation of the Clergy of the lower house, within the province of *Canterbury*." As a picture of the men within these doors, and of the opinions that were now travelling the country, the document is of value. The puerility and the absurdity of most of the items, strikingly evince the degraded state of the human mind, in those who sanctioned the list; while, on the other hand, some of those very items prove, that, in the face of their most furious opposition, Divine Truth had already found its way into a thousand channels.

Independently of Latimer's testimony, this was a second, and from many individuals. If it be said that their alarm may have led them to exaggerate the good that had been done, it must be remembered that God had been carrying forward His work with secret energy, and that *they* were not the men to know *all*: but still they come forward in proof that *the Sacred Volume*, so far from having been read in vain, had already produced some of its finest effects, and, it may safely be pre-

sumed, to a considerable extent, since they affirmed that these truths were "*commonly taught and spoken.*" It is true, that all this had been accomplished in the face of opposition, and certainly without the bold and public sanction of any present; but, though it has been too little observed, the moment was a crisis in the history of England, more important than any one that has since occurred in her eventful history. As far as the vital interests of Christianity itself are concerned, who is there now, understanding these interests, who can forbear to exclaim—"Oh! had they but let 'well' alone! and left those cardinal principles, which the majority of these men now branded as evil, to have found their way into every city and hamlet, till they had leavened the community!" But no; the perfection, the *all-sufficiency* of the Sacred Volume to accomplish all the purposes of the Divine will, was a tenet held by no one there.

And now the war grew warm, the strife interminate, for what else could be expected from an assemblage such as this? Cranmer alone, as yet possessed of no fixed principles, nor any distinct conception of where he was going, though even backed by Latimer, with all his wit and shrewdness, could have done nothing. Even in the *absence of Gardiner*, they would have been crushed or overruled. Queen Anne was gone, and the old party had determined to try their strength. "Oh!" exclaims old Fuller, "what tugging was here, betwixt those opposite sides, (for I *dare not* take Bishop Latimer's phrase, as he took it out of his text—betwixt the children of this generation, and the children of *light*,) whilst, with all earnestness, they thought to advance their *several designs.*" The truth is, that the House of Lords itself was often interrupted in their business by these men; and in their "Journal," the reason recorded for many adjournments was this, that the Lord Bishops "were busy in the Convocation."

It was while these discussions were proceeding, or rather about their commencement, that a notable scene occurred, in which *Alexander Ales*, a native of Edinburgh, made a conspicuous appearance. One day, as Lord Crumwell was proceeding to the house, he met Ales "by chance on the street," and, as if determined on still farther humiliation of the Bench, "he called him, and took him with him to the

Parliament house, to Westminster." Upon entering, all the Bishops "rose and did obeisance to their Vicar-General, and after he had saluted them, he sat him down in the *highest* place." "Right against him sat Cranmer and Lee as Archbishops; and then Stokesly and Longland, Shaxton and Clerk, Goodrich and Fox, Sampson and Rugge, Latimer and certain others," adds Ales, "whose names I have forgotten." "All these did sit at a table covered with a carpet, with certain Priests standing about them."

The Vicar-General of the Realm commenced by stating the object for which they had been convened, to "determine certain controversies concerning the Christian faith in this realm;" that the "King studied night and day to set a *quietness* in the Church;"—that such controversies "must be now fully debated and *ended* through their determination;"—that he desired that they would conclude all things by the Word of God, for his Majesty would not "suffer the Scriptures to be wrested or defaced by any glosses, or by any authority of *Doctors or Councils*, much less would he admit any articles or doctrines NOT contained in the Scripture;"—finally, that His Majesty would give them high thanks if they would "determine ALL things by the SCRIPTURE, as God commandeth in Deuteronomy."

However strange the former part of this address must appear to every enlightened Christian now, toward the close the trumpet gave a certain sound; and, so far as words could convey meaning, no man present could misunderstand the message. But what followed? "After this," says Ales, "they began to dispute of the *sacraments*." First of all, the Bishop of London, Stokesly, (whom, a little before, Crumwell had rebuked by name, for defending of unwritten verities,) went about to defend that there were *seven* sacraments of our Christian religion, which he would prove by certain glosses and writers; and he had upon his side the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich. The Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, and Worcester, and certain others, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, were against him. After they had made much strife and contention about the sayings of the doctors, Cranmer rose and reminded the Convocation that the very subjects they had met to discuss, as well as their own character and

office, forbade brawling about mere words;—that “the controversies now moved were *not* of ceremonies or light things, but of the true understanding and of the right difference of the Law and the Gospel—of the manner and way how sins may be forgiven—of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the Law accusing them of sin—of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify a man, or whether we receive our justification through faith—what constituted good works—what were the traditions which bound men’s consciences; and finally, whether the ceremonies which were not instituted by Christ, ought to be called sacraments or no.”

This assembly, to a man, had already acknowledged Henry to be the Supreme Head of their Church, and now also had made obeisance to his Vicegerent, their Vicar-General; but such was the catalogue of affairs brought forward, and as explained by Cranmer himself. He did not stop to inquire whether the men whom he urged to engage in discussion *were* peace-makers, *were* the sons of God, *were* Bishops indeed,—but, waiving this, here was a field for strife and debate, confessedly wide enough, if not boundless, and as now spread out, it certainly exhibited a strange mixture of truth and error; where the mere acts of outward conformity were mingled with the inward feelings of mental obedience; and comparative trifles were enumerated in company with matter of divine authority. But still, should Cranmer *commence* with *faith* and not with *obedience*, or with what he styled “the principal points of our Christian religion,” or “high and earnest matters,” and NOT with ceremonies, an effectual turn may yet be given to discussion. Two steps were before him, the right and the wrong; and as *he* had precedence, and was about to state the *order* of debate, and now had this in his own hands, one naturally waits with anxiety to hear his decision,—and here it was.

“Wherefore, in this disputation we must FIRST AGREE *of the number of the SACRAMENTS*, and what a Sacrament doth signify in the holy Scripture; and when we call Baptism and the Supper of the Lord sacraments of the Gospel, what we mean thereby!”

How much of mental misery, nay of bloodshed, has some-

times depended upon only a few words, uttered by one man, when in possession of what is called power—official power! To such a momentous instant, Cranmer had now come. By his ingenuous confession afterwards, he came to the knowledge of divine things “but by slow degrees, or by little and little;” but had he only known how much of his own future misery, as well as that of many others, now hung as on a hair, depending on his course of debate, or *his* decision as to the *order* to be pursued, he must have paused, if not shrunk back. That the example which he now first set and sanctioned, both as to “Articles” and the *order* of discussion, was to form a precedent down to the Act of Uniformity, and farther still, was far beyond his foresight: though had he taken only one leaf out of the masterly writings of the man, so denounced both by his royal Master and his singular Vicar-General, he had never so decided. For twelve long years Tyndale had been warring with the darkness which brooded over his native country; and although perambulating the very field of battle on the Continent, with a judgment and prudence peculiar to himself, he would on no account first engage in the *Bellum Sacramentarium*; but Cranmer here plunges into it at once, and that too in discussion with men who discerned not the things of the Spirit of God; but who, to this hour, had been the notorious persecutors of the truth, as well as of every man who had imbibed the love of it. Cranmer, however, was emphatically now, a man *under* authority.

But to proceed,—Lord Crumwell observing, by his countenance, that Ales was pleased with Cranmer’s address, thought it the proper moment to call upon *him*; and having introduced him to all present, under the high appellation of “the King’s Scholar,” he desired him now to say, what he thought of this disputation. The exiled Scotsman complied, maintaining throughout, and for the *first time* upon English ground, for many centuries, before any such audience, that there were only *two* Sacraments,—easy to be kept, and very excellent in signification,—and that these were “Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.” Stokesly sat with impatience, and at last fired,—saying of what Ales had affirmed—“*It is all false.*” To this he answered, “I will prove all that I have said to be *true*, not only

by the Scripture, but by the old doctors, and by the School writers also."

Upon this Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, interposed, and, in a noble address, warned his brethren that they could not "by sophistical subtilties steal out of the world again, the light which every man doth see." "*The people,*" said he, "*do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us.* Now many things be better understood *without any glosses at all*, than by all the commentaries of the Doctors." He then warned them not to make themselves a laughing stock to all the world, or to give the people the opinion "*that ye have not one spark of learning, nor yet of gentleness in you.*" He concluded with the noble sentiment:—

"Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth. And whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength, or authority. For the truth is of so great power, strength, and *efficacy*, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength: but after she hath hidden herself long, at length she putteth up her head, and appeareth."

Encouraged by this oration, and confining himself to the Sacred Volume, Ales proceeded to ply the Bishop of London with this argument—"Sacraments be signs or ceremonies, which make us certain and sure of the will of God—but no man's heart can be certain and sure of the will of God, without the *Word* of God. Wherefore, it followeth, that there be no sacraments without the Word of God. And such as cannot be proved out of the Holy Scripture, ought *not to be called* sacraments."

Stokesly, however, again interrupted him and said—"Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the Word of God, yet are ye far deceived, if ye think that there is none other Word of God, *but that which EVERY souter and cobbler DOETH read in this mother tongue!*" The Vicar-General and others smiled when he had done; but it was now twelve o'clock, and time to disperse.

The next day, however, when the Bishops were again met, this dangerous man of Edinburgh must not be admitted. He was punctually present with Lord Crumwell, and ready to

accompany him ; but poor Cranmer, ever in character, timid and time-serving, became alarmed as to consequences, and sent to Ales to inform him that the Bishops had taken offence at the admission of a stranger into the Convocation ; and Crumwell himself thought it best for the present to give way to the Bishops, lest they should find worse means of getting the intruder out of the way. So he kept Ales back, making use of his papers only during the remaining discussion.

The obvious purport of this dispute respecting the ordinances of Christ, here styled sacraments, was, whether there were *seven*, or only *two* ; and Ales firmly maintained his ground, but his arguments had no effect whatever in swaying such men.

In these circumstances, what was to be done ? To one of the parties it seemed at last, that some expedient must be devised, to *enforce* obedience or conformity, silent or quiet submission. But where did the power reside ? Only in the breast of a man, who had been washing his hands in blood, and “ following the sport ” on the day of his Queen’s execution ! In the language of sacred writ, that he was also “ proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words,”—“ vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind,” we have already had but too much evidence ; only he was now about to proceed one step farther, and should *he* only fix on more sacraments than *two*, all must yield, and at least bow assent.

Of course, neither Henry, nor any of his advisers, understood that Christianity, as revealed in the New Testament, repudiated all constraint of receiving and holding opinions by human authority ; or, to use a word often employed since, all “ imposition ; ” that the nature of faith did not admit of this—that God himself had appointed no such means to enforce belief, nor nominated any Vicegerent to attempt this—that dominion over conscience is God’s exclusive province, within which, especially, His name is “ Jealous ”—that any man, therefore, presuming to enter here, must needs be an usurper, demanding blind submission,—so that whatever means be adopted, they must be nefarious. But, apart from all these vital considerations, so far as the present uproar was concerned, both Crumwell and Cranmer well knew, that they had only to repair to the royal presence, and describe this scene of strife,—“ the perverse

disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, who supposed that *gain* was godliness." They did so at last, when a message arrived from Henry. He soon stilled the tumult, very much in the manner of Sardanapalus of old—" *Sic volo, sic jubeo, and let my will for reason stand.*" These men had been convoked, in fact, not to discuss, but to "do the King's business."

The form in which this settler came, was in that of certain "Articles," which *all* must subscribe. They were strangely enough entitled—"Articles devised by the King's Highness' Majesty, to stablsh Christian *quietness* and unity among us, and to avoid *contentious* opinions!"

These, the first articles propounded in England, though not originally composed by Henry, were carefully revised by him; at least, in the preface, he speaks of having, in his own person, many times, bestowed on them "great pain, study, labour and travail!" No doubt, Cranmer and his coadjutors had done their best before then; and if, after passing through such an ordeal, these articles are to be regarded as the amount of their united wisdom, they only discover what darkness and confusion still reigned in the minds of all men in power. It is not only the substance, but the *order* in which they are stated, which, at once, betrays this confusion. At the same time, we now discover that Cranmer must have had his secret reason for passing over every Christian doctrine, or matter of belief, and giving it out as imperative, that they must *begin* with the sacraments! So it was with the Articles: for after simply allowing the particulars of the Christian faith to be contained in the Scriptures, but joining with them the Nicene and Athanasian creeds; we have 1. Baptism. 2. Penance. 3. The Sacrament of the Altar, or the Mass. 4. *Justification*. 5. Images. 6. Honouring of Saints. 7. Praying to Saints. 8. Rites and Ceremonies. 9. Purgatory. They, in fact, *allowed* the use of images, *sanc-tioned* prayers to the Saints, *defended* purgatory, and *recommended* prayers for the dead. Far from following the sentiments of Ales, not only spoken, but more fully delivered in writing to Crumwell, and meant to have been read before them—they assert three sacraments; 1. Penance, 2. Baptism, 3. the Lord's

Supper—maintaining that infants, dying before the second, perish everlastingly ! and that the real body and blood of Christ are *present* in the third ! No wonder that Cranmer trembled for his Articles, or was afraid of the set speech of Ales, next day ; for *if* it had been listened to by any, not to say all, it might have at least retarded the attempt to “stablish Christian quietness,” after this fashion.

Nor had these miserable articles any such effect. On the contrary, when once published, they occasioned, says Burnet, “great variety of censures.” Beyond the walls of their assembly, “quietness,” of any kind, was not to be the order of the day ; although, at this moment, all the men within must acquiesce in the unbending will of their acknowledged Head. At least one hundred and nine individuals subscribed ; including Crumwell and the two Archbishops, sixteen Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Archdeacons and Proctors.

Nothing can more forcibly illustrate the absurdity of this blind consent to certain propositions, professedly religious, than that this assembly had never yet been able to agree upon any translation of the *Sacred Volume* itself ; nor, upon this subject, according to Cranmer’s strongly expressed opinion next year, if left to themselves, would they ever have agreed, to the end of their days. But after thus subscribing, it would have been more inconsistent still, had they now departed, without any reference to the subject. They had, to a man, professedly recognised the Scriptures as containing the essentials of the Christian faith, but could not agree on a *translation* into their own language ; neither could they, as a body, approve of *that* translation, through which many of the people were already so far before them in acquaintance with Divine Truth. They agreed, however, upon the form of a petition, to be presented to the King, that *he* would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, (which so many had already read without his indulgence,) and that *a new translation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpose*. This was a convenient method for postponing the subject ; but, providentially, their dissension or agreement was of no earthly moment, since neither the petitioners, nor the

King they addressed, were to be *allowed* to furnish that translation of the Bible for England, which was, ultimately, to become her own.

With regard to the other doings of this Convocation, his Majesty had determined to reduce the prodigious number of holidays. All feasts or holidays during harvest time, or from the 1st of July to the 29th of September, were therefore at once *abolished*, as well as those which fell during term time at Westminster; the number throughout the year being greatly curtailed. And as a General Council had been summoned by the Pontiff, to assemble at Mantua, Fox of Hereford submitted to both houses the King's reasons for declining to take any part in its proceedings, he being resolved to hold no intercourse with *that man*; for such was the phrase. To this document all present subscribed. This was on the 20th of July, or the last day of that Convocation, to which Latimer, at the beginning, had preached in vain.

Thus, Parliament having risen, and the Convocation being dissolved, after having shown nothing save profound subsereny to the wishes and the vices of the Sovereign, both Crumwell and Cranmer will contrive to save themselves the trouble of consulting either of these bodies, for some time to come; for it must be borne in mind that there was neither Parliament nor Convocation held till the year 1539.

Immediately after this, the first act of Crumwell, as Vicegerent, was to issue certain injunctions, and, upon one account at least, they demand notice. Since the days of John Foxe to the present, they have been generally misunderstood, and, with respect to the Scriptures especially, have led all subsequent historians wrong. These injunctions of 1536 differ materially from those to be issued in 1538. The latter, in 1538, were addressed to the Bishops, but not the former; the latter embraced the *Scriptures*, which these now issued did not, and could not.

With regard to these now put forth, they were merely following up the doings of the Convocation just dissolved. The act abolishing the holidays in *harvest*, though intended to help it forward, rather inflamed than satisfied many; and *Crumwell's* present injunctions, therefore, embraced the holidays, and the

articles recently subscribed, but nothing more. The remarks of Burnet and Collier are, on this account, equally inapplicable. The former describes these injunctions as "the first act of pure supremacy done by the King; for in all that went before, he had the concurrence of the two Convocations." But in these, the King and Vicegerent *had* such concurrence. The *holidays*, it is expressly stated, were abolished "with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy, in Convocation lawfully assembled:" and as for the *articles*, all present had subscribed them, in conjunction with Crumwell himself. "These injunctions," says Collier, "we may observe, were only directed to the *Deans* and downwards. Thus the Lord Crumwell had something of modesty in his wonderful office, and forbore the brandishing his vicegerency over the Bishops." But the fact was, that the "brandishing," as we have seen already, had taken place before many witnesses, anterior to this, in the Convocation; when the King, through Crumwell, had awed them into silence and unanimous acquiescence. *Hence* his injunctions were addressed only to the Deans, and all below them.

Turning away, therefore, from the Convocation of 1536, which, with reference to the Sacred Volume, was equally fruitless of any benefit to the kingdom with that of 1534, no sooner do we come to the actual history of the English Bible, than it turns out to have been by far the most remarkable year of all that had preceded it! Nay, to those who have never looked narrowly into the subject, it may seem next to incredible, that there should have been of Tyndale's New Testament, as many editions as in most of the preceding years when put together! Such, however, was the fact, and of this state of things our Translator could not have been kept altogether in ignorance, more especially as the jailer and his family were won to his principles. So far as he did know, after such a passage through life, this must have cheered him in his entrance to the haven of eternal rest, as a finer sun, which was to shine for ages upon his native land. He had corrected his New Testament in 1534, and these were reprints of that edition; but we must refrain from any farther account at this moment, reserving this for the close, as the appropriate and the only refreshing intelligence

throughout the whole year. Besides, the absorbing question, at present, must be—"What has become of those guilty men who had ensnared our Translator? and, above all, of Tyndale himself?"

Upon once more looking abroad, and before we approach the castle of Vilvorde, or the martyr's stake, it is of importance to record whatever can be certainly ascertained, not only respecting the betrayers of Tyndale, after that Mr. Poyntz had so providentially escaped; but the agitation of Henry VIII. himself in connexion with one of them, in his assumed character of *the gentleman*. Since not only Halle and Foxe, but all other historians fail us here, these particulars, now read for the first time, will, it is presumed, prove the more interesting.

It will be remembered that *Theobald*, the man whom Crumwell and Cranmer had sent to the Continent last year, felt no scruple whatever in imposing upon Phillips, in order to extract from him the precise circumstances respecting Tyndale's apprehension; and these he had duly communicated both to the Primate, and the Vicegerent. He told Phillips that he had come to *remain*, and had seemed to comply with the entreaty, that he would abide in the same house. The natural consequence of this dissimulation soon followed. Theobald departed, and Phillips then saw that he had been deceived. He soon learned that he belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and immediately reported him to be, what he really was, a spy; though evidently not commissioned by either of his employers to resort to Louvain, or there interest himself on behalf of the illustrious exile and prisoner at Vilvorde. Phillips himself, however, as we have seen, remained about Brussels and Louvain, all the time that Mr. Poyntz was held in prison; but after his escape into England, the abandoned youth fled, leaving Tyndale to the tender mercies of the wicked. The probability is, that Mr. Poyntz, immediately after his arrival in London, had succeeded so far as to excite alarm respecting this man; and this he could easily do, by communicating, through his brother, with the King direct. But probability approaches to certainty, when it is observed, that by the month of *March*, soon after Mr. Poyntz had got to England, the conduct of Phillips had effectually roused the indignation of the English Monarch. This young

man had not only been pursuing Mr. Poyntz and Tyndale himself, unto death, but "raging against Henry," as Theobald had stated long ago; though no notice had been taken of the warning. For eight months, from July last year, to March in this, there is no evidence to be found that either Crumwell or Cranmer had moved one step, and even now the apparent apathy of both seems to force itself on our notice. The Vicar-General was busy in chiming in with the King's odious purposes and plan against his Queen: the Primate was looking after the worldly interests of a brother-in-law. But it will be abundantly more awkward, or rather humiliating, for both, if, after the letters from Theobald, one of the betrayers of Tyndale had actually been permitted to sit down in the CONVOCATION in June, and there listen to Latimer, when he lectured so roundly the whole fraternity! We shall see.

Already we have had sufficient evidence that the mind of Henry, at this juncture, was like "the troubled sea," as it continued to be, throughout the whole of this year. His "secret commission" upon Anne Boleyn was already at work, and it was while they were so engaged, that we find two letters of the incensed monarch, dated from his palace near London. Both manuscripts (in Latin, and bearing the same date) are very imperfect; but there is enough remaining to answer our inquiry. The King, it will be evident, was enraged at least, if not alarmed; but it was only because of the language and conduct of Phillips, with reference to his own beloved self. For Tyndale, or in regard to his seizure and imprisonment, we look in vain for one word of sympathy; though his condition, by this time, could not fail to have been fully known to his Majesty.

The first of these letters⁴ was addressed to the Consuls and Senators of Nuremberg, and the second to an old correspondent of Henry, Lawrence Stayber, in the same city, in both of which he entreats, that, if either of his two subjects, James Gryffith Apwell (ap-Howell), or Henry Phillips, both guilty of the most heinous crime, should pass through their territory, or that of their allies, they take care to apprehend and send them over to

⁴ Vitellius, B. xxi., No. 39, and fol. 103.

England at his charge. He advises Stayber to endeavour by spies, "on both public and private roads," to trace these men, and so get them into his power.

These letters furnish one proof, among others, of that widespread discontent which now prevailed against the King. Gryffith and Phillips were not precisely of the same party before this; but there was an evident sympathy between all these malecontents, wherever they dwelt, and whenever they met; and they were all, more or less, acting in concert, either against his Majesty's proceedings, or "the new learning."

As for this man, with whom Phillips is now classed, James Gryffith or James Greffeth ap-Howell, as he is sometimes called, he was not a common individual, or, like Phillips, of low parentage, but the son of a gentleman in Wales, and a nephew of Sir Rice ap-Thomas, the well-known military commander, under both Henry VIII. and his father. Gryffith had been imprisoned in London; but, according to this letter, pardoned. This was in 1533, on which he fled, in June of that year, into Scotland; where Lord Dacre and T. Wharton, the ambassadors, were ordered to watch him. He went not alone; on the 2nd of July, Dacre informs Henry direct, that he had come to St. Ninian's, near Stirling, having his wife and eight persons with him, and that he named himself uncle to (Sir Griffith) Rice of Wales, the son of Sir Rice already mentioned. From thence he soon proceeded to Edinburgh, with his train, "well favoured and appointed;" where, though not received by the King, he frequently "resorted to the Lords of the Council." So long as Scotland was at war with England, he wished to remain, and was permitted to do so for some time; but by the month of December we find him in Antwerp, where he had been evidently desirous of stirring up war with England, and proffering aid from Wales, if Queen Mary and the Emperor's Council would only send ships across the sea. Carondelet, the Archbishop of Palermo, declined, saying that the King of England, the Emperor, and that country were friends. In May 1534, Gryffith was at Lubeck, and had gone from place to place, as he was doing still. The truth is, that both of these men, whether separately or in company, were now on their way towards Cardinal Pole. He became the nucleus of all the disaffected.

Every one that was discontented, in distress, or in debt, gathered round him, or at least applied to him; and although neither Phillips nor Gryffith received encouragement, in two years after this, we shall find the *former*, unwittingly, excite in Pole the utmost fear and apprehension.

It cannot be forgotten, that Phillips had, within the Court of Queen Mary, denounced Henry as "a tyrant and a *robber* of the commonwealth." The "first-fruits," no doubt, had already been consigned to the King, and he was, at the moment, in the act of receiving the spoils of the monasteries; but this man had been permitted to remain unreprieved by the Court of Brussels; while Gryffith, for a longer period, had been allowed to harbour in Flanders. This, for political reasons, had been hitherto endured; but, as the Emperor and Francis were, though known to few, actually preparing for war, and Henry had resolved to remain neutral, hence we account for the English envoy, Mr. *Vaughan*, being now withdrawn. But to the disgrace of the King of England, this envoy, the only one who had ever spoken favourably of Tyndale, is recalled without a commission to say one word to save his life.

Nine months ago, or in August last year, both Crumwell and Cranmer had been very pointedly informed, by their common agent, of Tyndale's situation, as well as of the myrmidons who had betrayed him; the first generous visit of Mr. Poyntz, post haste, after this, had confirmed the whole; when at last, in October, Crumwell sent one solitary letter. Since then, here was Mr. Poyntz, escaped to England only with his life, and now comes Stephen Vaughan, who once pled so powerfully against persecution for opinions. But no; nothing was done!

It has now, therefore, become but too apparent, that neither Henry, nor his Ministers, were free from the blood of William Tyndale. Had he, or they, exerted their official power to the last, the guilt might have fallen not so heavy upon them; but instead of this, they had all, as we have seen, only ten days before Vaughan's letter, stepped into blood at home; and what sympathy or generous feeling could be expected from them?⁵

⁵ The 17th and 19th of May were indeed days of blood in London; when

His own country having thus left him to perish, the only remaining quarter to which we can turn, is to the Government of Flanders itself. Curiosity must be awake to know the character of the parties into whose hands Tyndale had fallen. The reigning princess, Mary, was merely a vassal of the priests. With the chief man, still in power, *Carondelet*, the Archbishop of Palermo, we have been long familiar, and to him the character of Tyndale must have been well known for nine years past, at least; but he was a mere courtier, without heart; and from the days in which Cornelius Grapheus, the learned Secretary of Antwerp, had, under his eye, suffered so severely, for publishing a book on "the liberty of the Christian Religion," he had been familiar with cruelty. No mercy was therefore to be expected from him. *Erardus à Marchia*, the Cardinal and Bishop of Liege, the man to whom Reginald Pole fled next year for protection, was, of course, a determined opponent of the Scriptures; and *Montigni* lived under the sovereign power of the monks. Such were the men of influence and authority. It was only three years since Erasmus himself, that eminent reviver of literature, was invited to this Court. But he was then, and ever afterwards, afraid to venture near it, even though the Emperor himself had invited him, and money had been remitted to defray his travelling charges. Some time after this invitation, his picture of the Government was sufficiently graphical, and it serves our present purpose. Having referred to the monks, in a letter to Cholerus, in 1534, he says—"These animals are omnipotent at the Emperor's Court," in the Low Countries. "*Mary* is a mere puppet, maintained by our nation; *Montigni*, a man of authority, is a tool of the Franciscans; the Cardinal of *Liege* is an ambitious friend, and when he takes offence, a violent enemy; the Archbishop of *Palermo* is a giver of good words, and nothing else."

And thus it is, at last, that the history of the times, and of the men of the times, whether in England or Brabant, but too well prepares us for anticipating the martyrdom at Vilvorde.

Queen Anne, Lord Rochford, Sir F. Weston, Sir H. Norris, and others, were unjustly put to death.

After the escape of Mr. Poyntz, "Tyndale," we are informed by Foxe, "was proffered an advocate and a procuror; for in any crime there, it shall be permitted to counsel to make answer in the law; but he refused to have any, saying, that he would make *answer for himself*; and so he did." But at last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned, by virtue of the Emperor's decree at Augsburg. Such had been "the power of his doctrine, and the sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment, which endured about one whole year and a-half, (or rather a year and three-quarters,) it is said he converted his keeper, the keeper's daughter, and others of his household. The rest that were in the Castle, and conversant with Tyndale, reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust: and the Procurator-General, the Emperor's attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was '*Homo doctus, pius, et bonus*'—a learned, pious, and good man."

The decree issued at Augsburg, on the 19th of November, 1530, was still in full force, after which, no man was admitted into the judicature of the Imperial Chamber, unless he approved of it; and the Privy Council of Brussels, of which Carondelet was President, enjoyed ample authority in all matters, religious as well as political. The persecutors of Tyndale, therefore, knew full well, since his own King and Council had left him to perish, how they could, at any time, close the controversy, and slay him. That detestable decree had not only enjoined the continuance of all the former ceremonies, rites, and superstitions, —but particularly rejected the doctrine of *justification by faith alone*. The doctors of Louvain must have discussed many subjects with their prisoner. His translation of the Scriptures, of course, he would defend to the last; but here was one point, on which Tyndale would remain firm as a rock. There was no man in Germany, to say nothing of England, who had written with greater distinctness on the subject of justification; no man who had discovered a more profound esteem for this sacred and precious truth. This was one of those "high matters," on which he had so warmly pressed his dearest earthly friend, Fryth, to remain immovable in London; and it is not a little remarkable,

that, at this moment, besides his New Testament in *folio*, Tyndale's first publication was either printing or finished, and in London, too, under this very title—" *A treatise of justification by faith only*, otherwise called, The Parable of the Wicked Mammon."

From the past history frequently showing how early, and with what accuracy, Tyndale was in possession of intelligence from England, we have already supposed it to be quite possible, that, though in prison, he may have heard of many things that had occurred there, during the last nine months; and, more especially, that his New Testament, as corrected in 1534, was so pouring into his native land, by repeated editions, from Antwerp. This is the more probable, from his having been made useful to the keeper of the Castle and his family, having thus gained their favour. But, besides this, all that he had translated, was now actually proceeding to the press, in *folio*, and under the eye of a competent friend and great admirer, John Rogers. This was more than Crumwell, or Cranmer, or the King, yet knew; although the volume was to prove absolutely the *first* Bible, the reading of which throughout England *they* were to enjoin! But now, and after such years of persecution, the end was come!!

It appears to have been at some hour on Friday, the 6th of October, 1536, that Tyndale was led forth to be put to death. Before leaving the Castle, he delivered a letter to the keeper, addressed either to Mr. or Mrs. Poyntz of Antwerp; but no copy of it remains. Having reached the fatal spot, the noble martyr was fastened to the stake—upon which, crying with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice—"LORD! OPEN THE EYES OF THE KING OF ENGLAND"—he was first strangled, and then his body was consumed to ashes! Though, strange to say, even up to this hour, "no marble tells us where!" For surely, if ever the lines of England's choicest Christian poet were strictly applicable to any single man, every word, by way of eminence, belongs to the Memory of William Tyndale,—

—"His blood was shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim,
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be divinely free,

To soar, and to anticipate the skies.
Yet few remember him. He lived unknown
Till persecution dragg'd him into fame,
And chased him up to Heaven. His ashes flew—
No marble tells us whither.⁶ With his name
No bard embalms and sanctifies his song;
And history, so warm on meaner themes,
Is cold on this."

Tyndale's dying invocation most emphatically expressed *his* opinion of Henry VIII.; and uttered, as it was, with a *loud* voice, though in a foreign land, was meant to be heard, if not also carried to England. The precise meaning of the speaker, in these dying words, it may be difficult to divine; but if Cranmer could go so far as to grossly flatter his Majesty, even on the third of May, Tyndale told him the truth with his last breath, from the stake, on the sixth of October. He regarded all that Henry had yet done, as the work of a blind man, and certainly this was the most charitable of all constructions. Though to us now, who view the royal progress entire, and such as it was, that blindness, even by this time, was no longer a mere misfortune, but his crime. The King had already, and but too manifestly, closed his eyes, and hardened his heart, of which his future life will afford the saddest evidence.

As for the Martyr himself, since no good man was ever cut off in the *midst* of his usefulness, so neither was Tyndale. His work was done, and by an invincible providence, he had been singularly preserved to the last. In the councils of heaven, he had accomplished, as a faithful servant, his day, and evening's welcome hour had come. Occupying a place in the history of his country, which no other man could ever occupy after him, he was now called off from his labour, and with a character unspotted. That character has been drawn long ago, and with so much of simple beauty, that we must give it entire. Oh, what a contrast does it exhibit to almost all those men around him, whether at home or abroad, to whom his life and labours have constrained us to allude!

⁶ How long shall this be true? How long shall England's best benefactor be without a monument to speak a nation's gratitude?

“First, he was a man very frugal, and spare of body, a great student, and earnest labourer in the setting forth of the Scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his pastime, Monday and Saturday. On Monday he visited all such poor men and women as were fled out of England, by reason of *persecution*, into Antwerp, and these, once well understanding their good exercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve; and in like manner provided for the sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday, he walked round about the town, seeking every corner and hole, where he suspected any poor person to dwell; and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet overburdened with children, or else were aged and weak, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two days of pastime, as he called them. And truly his alms were very large, and so they might well be; for his exhibition that he had yearly, of the English merchants at Antwerp, when living there, was considerable, and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poor. The rest of the days of the week, he gave wholly to his *book*, wherein he most diligently travailed. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchant's chamber, or other, whither came many other merchants, and unto them would he read some one parcel of Scripture; the which proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly and gently from him, much like to the writing of John the Evangelist, that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience, to hear him read the Scriptures: likewise, after dinner, he spent an hour in the same manner. He was a man without any spot or blemish of rancour or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any sin or crime; although his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God; but only upon the blood of Christ and his faith upon the same. In this faith he died, with constancy, at Vilvorde, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christ's martyrs, blessedly in the Lord.—And thus much of the life and story of the true servant and martyr of God, WILLIAM TYNDALE, who, for his notable pains and travail, may well be called the Apostle of England, in this our latter age.”

Such was the estimate of old John Foxe in his day; and though, in various instances, he stands chargeable with indiscriminate praise, in the present he has not exceeded; nay, living so early, he could not be expected to distinguish the relative greatness, and peculiar distinction of Tyndale's character. Standing above all his contemporaries, with only one man by his side, his companion Fryth, he had *never* temporised, *never* courted human favour, *never* compromised or sacrificed one iota of Divine truth; but with his face to the foe, and dying on the shield of faith, he was called to quit the well-fought field, for his mansion near the throne; to refresh himself, after the dust and turmoil and heat of the day, in the paradise of God, to exchange contention with the votaries of darkness and superstition, for the harmony and the light of

heaven; the solitude of his dungeon, for the presence of his Redeemer, in the city of the living God.

But the influence and usefulness of such a man, could not possibly die with him. If he had now rested from all his labour, we shall find his works following him. The light he had kindled, was to prove "the joy of many generations." Hence the force of individual consistent Christian character—the importance of individual exertion.

At the place of honour, or as it were close by the martyr's stake, we must not omit to notice his kind and generous friend, Thomas Poyntz; and the more so, since it has never been before observed who he was. It is well that we have one Englishman, who boldly stood by our illustrious countryman to the last, and only left him at the risk of his own life, when he could do no more. He is entitled to the grateful remembrance of posterity.

The Poyntz family, descended from Drago FitzPons, who accompanied William the Conqueror into England, is well known to have been one of the most ancient in England. One branch settling in Gloucestershire, and another in Essex; it is singular enough, that Tyndale *commenced* his career with the one, and *closed* it with the other. The Lady of Sir John Walsh, where he had been tutor, was the daughter of Sir Robert Poyntz of Iron Acton, Gloucestershire; and Mr. Poyntz, with whom he last lived at Antwerp, was the second son, and finally the heir of the Essex family.

When Tyndale was seized, it lends additional interest to the zeal of this gentleman at the moment, when it is observed that he had been but recently married, and to a German lady, Ann, the daughter of John Calva, Esq. To her, after the confusion had subsided, and notwithstanding the state of the Continent, or the risk he had run, he returned; and became the father of three sons, Gabriel, Ferdinand, and Robert, and of one daughter, Susanna.

The Manor-house of North Okendon, in Essex, eighteen miles from London, to which he addressed his letters, and to which, of course, he fled from Brussels, had been in possession of his ancestors from the days of Edward III.; and his elder

brother, John, to whom he wrote with such generous warmth and so earnestly, having, by the death of his father, come to the estate in the year 1500, died in the first of King Edward's reign, without issue. Thomas, who survived him fifteen years, but remained some time abroad, of course succeeded; and dying also at North Okendon, in 1562, lies there interred.

His eldest son, born about two years after Tyndale's death, in 1538, Sir Gabriel Poyntz, High Sheriff of Essex, was interred by his father's side in 1607; and the only daughter, Susanna, married to the Mayor of London, Sir Richard Saltonstall, lies by a mural monument in the adjoining parish of South Okendon.

Although acquainted with the history of this ancient and retired parish church, the writer could not be satisfied without visiting the burial-place of Mr. Poyntz, and examining for himself the memorials of his family. He was chiefly desirous of ascertaining, not only what vestiges remained, but whether there was any expression still legible, in regard to by far the most memorable event in the life of Tyndale's friend; and more especially because the interpretation intended to be conveyed by the lines on his tomb, had never been adverted to by any author. Most probably they have never before been understood, except by relatives at the time of his decease.

It was in the month of September 1837, or precisely three hundred years after the English Bible at which Tyndale laboured, the basis of all following editions, had reached this country. He found the little church, with its flint stone embattled tower covered with ivy, in a condition distinguished for its cleanliness; and the monuments of different families, some of them in elegant marble, in perfect preservation; but the humbler tablets excited the deepest interest.

In a horizontal line, in the wall of the Chancel, are the monuments of the Poyntz family, in regular succession from about the middle of the fourteenth century; while that of Tyndale's devoted friend remains, easily to be distinguished from the others, by its still conveying to the reader, what had been his own impressions, in reference to the scene through which he had passed at Brussels.

"This gentleman, for his most faithful service to his Prince,

and his most ardent profession of the truth of the gospel, was in bonds, and suffered imprisonment in countries beyond seas, so that he was, at this time, *evidently destined to death*; but forecasting with himself, relying on Divine Providence, he wonderfully escaped out of prison. In this little chapel, he now peacefully sleeps in the Lord. Anno 1562, or the 5th of Queen Elizabeth." The following is the epitaph, as copied from the tablet in the wall:—

"Thomas Poyntz Armiger [filius Gulielmi] Pointz, ad quem post mortem fratris, Joannis, Dominu[m] hujus villæ et patronatus Ecclesiæ pervenit; qui duxit in matrimonium Annam van Calva, Filiam et unam cohæredam Joannis Calvæ Armigeri nationeq. Germani, ex qua genuit Gabrielem, Ferdinandum ac Robertum filios, filiamq. unam Susanam.

"Hic pro fidelissimo Principis svi servitio, ac ardentissimo euangelicæ veritatis professione uincula, et incarcerationes in transmarinis regionibvs passus est, adeo ut Cædi jam plane destinatus esset, nisi divina fretus providentia euasione é carcere mirifice sibi prospexisset: in hoc sacello jam placide obdormit in Domino anno 1562. R. Reg. Eliz. quinto."

At that early period, there may have been some prudential reason for the immortal name of Tyndale not being mentioned. But now, after the lapse of three centuries, without this expressive key to the inscription being known to many generations, to the audience assembling there every week, or, perhaps, to any other persons; till this be hinted, the lines themselves convey but feeble meaning. To this name alone, the epitaph owes all its emphasis; and to it, the humble tablet may, perhaps, now owe a more frequent inspection. Passed over hitherto, without marked observation, if we once except the Manor-house of Little Sodbury, it is the solitary relic left upon English ground, pointing to perhaps the greatest benefactor that our native country ever enjoyed.

As for the excellent man himself, this unpretending memorial has, all along, conveyed his *own* testimony to survivors; but a far more conspicuous token of respect for his memory may now well be erected; and the people should know how much they stand indebted to a man "sleeping peacefully in the Lord," in the vault below.

Let us now turn to a very different subject, and present a melancholy, though instructive view, in the dark side of this entire picture.

The two unhappy men, agents of their party, Henry Phillips, the reputed gentleman, and Gabriel Donne, the servant in disguise, who had been hired to apprehend Tyndale, and who entered so heartily into the design, now present a contrast of the blackest hue. No particulars respecting them have ever been recorded; but because of their sad connexion with Tyndale, they must not now be consigned to oblivion.

As to PHILLIPS, we still stand mainly indebted to Theobald, in his official correspondence, as a spy, employed alike by Crumwell and Cranmer. In the year 1535, Phillips, as we have seen, had been watching Theobald for months after his departure from Louvain; but the latter had proceeded on his way, stopping only for a short time at Cologne, Frankfort, and Heidelberg. He then visited Nuremberg, Wittenberg, Augsburg, Ulm, and Tubingen. From Augsburg, in March 1538, he writes to Cranmer about Gryffith, whom he might have apprehended if he had had a commission, but says nothing of Phillips. However, from Padua, in October of the year following, he writes to Crumwell, that Harry Phillips, lately student in Louvain, "*at what time he betrayed good Tyndale,*" had come from Flanders to Italy to beg succours of Cardinal Pole, but that some suspicious circumstances in his appearance induced the Cardinal's friends to fancy he was a spy, or even a traitor sent by the party in power in England to assassinate him; and hence, instead of affording him any assistance, they had closely watched him, and prevented him from entering the territory of Venice, where the Cardinal was. Reduced to extremities, Phillips begged for money from all parties to assist him to return to Flanders, but, suspected and avoided by all, none would afford him the least aid, till, driven by necessity, he sold his clothes, and is supposed to have entered the army of some one of the powers that were then at war in the south of Europe. No more is heard of him.

Thus sunk into oblivion one of the betrayers of our Translator. He might descend into battle and perish, or die in misery before long; but not so the *other* man, the *Monk*, the elder, and probably by far the more guilty, of the two.

GABRIEL DONNE or DUNNE, the Monk of Stratford Abbey, has hitherto remained unobserved or unknown, at least as the

crafty assistant of Phillips; and for three hundred years his name has escaped that disgrace, which, it is to be feared, must now ever rest upon it. In extenuation of himself, Phillips not only pled his youth, but complained of his having been the victim of "*evil counsel*;" and a shrewd Cistercian monk, so much older than himself, would not be slow to tender it, on such an occasion; while the *money*, with which Phillips was so plentifully furnished, and of which he boasted, proves that there were other powerful prompters to the heinous deed.

Donne was originally a Student of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards entered the Abbey of Stratford near London, of which he became a conspicuous inmate. A suit arising in 1514 between the Abbot and Convent, who were patrons of the living of Westham on the one side, and the Vicar of Westham on the other, "the provident and religious man Gabriel Donne, Monk of the blessed Mary of Stratford of the order of Cistercians," appeared and stood Proctor for the Convent in the cause, which was carried by appeal to Rome. He next appears, as we have seen, in 1535, in the degraded character of a spy and tool of the "old learning" party, *hired* to seize the long-persecuted Translator of the Scriptures. Returning to England from Louvain, his friends, or perhaps those who employed him in that infamous service, had influence enough with Crumwell to get him appointed Abbot of Buckfastleigh, in Devonshire, and he was actually present in that character at the Convocation held at St. Paul's in June 1536 (see p. 249), and his signature appears subscribed to the Articles then issued. He surrendered his Abbey in 1539 and received a pension of £120 per annum, equal in value to £1,800 at present. He afterwards became a Prebendary of St. Paul's and Rector of Stepney, *sine cura*; and was actually appointed by Cranmer, who can hardly have known his character or history, his Official and Keeper of the Spiritualities in the City and Diocese, and was so till the appointment of Nicolas Ridley, in April 1550. He died in 1558, and was buried in St. Paul's, having kept his preferments through all the changes of political and religious opinion of these chequered years. Such was the end of Phillips' "man of counsel" in the apprehension of Tyndale. Permitted by the long suffering of God

to exist for twenty-three years after his sad exploit at Antwerp, he seems to have died without any remorse. Living as he did, and for some time under such favourable circumstances, under Ridley, nay till above thirty editions of the entire Scriptures, and about seventy of the New Testament, had issued from the press; all was in vain!

Such were the two men who had been richly hired to ensnare and seize Tyndale. In the one accomplice, there is to be seen nothing but a fugitive and a vagabond to his dying day; in the other, a man who had time given him for reflection, and space for repentance; but we search in vain for either the one or the other. So true it is, in many instances, that though "favour be shown to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness; he will not behold the majesty of the Lord." It is not for us to draw rash conclusions as to the state of the dead, and far from our province, to pronounce judgment; while no man can say, with impunity, that the ways of Jehovah are not equal. The awful consequences of cruelty and sin are certain, though not immediate; and "though a sinner do evil an hundred times," said the wisest of men, "and his days be prolonged; yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God," with them only "who fear before him."

To those who have never before been aware of the fact, it must appear extraordinary, that the *Martyrdom* of Tyndale, the first translator of our Bible into English, should stand so emphatically by itself. There was *no other*, with which the Councils of England, and of a Continental kingdom, were both concerned; *no other*, in the guilt of which, both our own country, and a foreign power, were alike involved. The eyes of Henry the Eighth, and those of his Ministers, were wide open, when the martyr fell under a decree of the Emperor Charles V. Considered as an event, amidst all the wide-spread and long-continued violence of the times, his martyrdom rises up to view, and appears like a conspicuous solitary column. If there be any memento inscribed, it is a *double* one—German on one side, but English on the other.

In this, the year of the Translator's martyrdom, was there to be no demand for the work of his hands? Was truth to be silent or suppressed, because folly frowned? So far from this,

though the two last years had been more highly distinguished than ever, for the number of editions, the present year exceeded them both put together. Or, to speak more generally and from the beginning: from the year 1525 to 1530 there had been at least six impressions, which, on an average, was more than one edition annually; since then there had been seven if not eight editions, which was equal to two every year; but in this one year, or the last of the Translator's life, there were nine if not ten editions from the press. One gentleman, deeply conversant with the subject, does not despair of his being able to make out the round dozen.

Once more, therefore, and for the third time, the members of the Convocation had met again, as if resolved to force themselves upon the notice of every future historian, and we have already seen them striving to settle matters of high behest; but to the highest of all, or the Sacred Volume itself, we are here confined; and, now that Tyndale is gone, it seems to be due to his proceedings, to glance at what these men had as yet said; for there had been *nothing done*, as Latimer, with such pungent or galling frequency, had thundered in their ear.

They pray "that the King would *graciously indulge* unto his subjects of the laity the reading of the Bible in the English tongue," though as yet, by their own showing, there was not a Bible to read; they therefore go on to petition, "That a *new* translation be forthwith made for that end and purpose." By this expression *new* did they mean to frown on the translation of the New Testament already in the hands of thousands? or, to cast contempt on that part of the Old Testament translation already published? or, to slight Coverdale's new-born attempt to complete it?

All this, however, only lends additional interest to the volumes, which, throughout the whole year, had been issuing from the press, and coming into England "thick and three-fold," without the "gracious indulgence" of his Majesty being either asked or granted. Of these New Testaments three separate and entirely distinct editions were in *quarto*. Of the duodecimo or small octavo size we know of five editions; and though in these pages we adhere to those books only which have been verified, we may add that another edition, if not two,

may yet be ascertained to exist. All these editions, with the exception of one, had been printed abroad in Antwerp; but that one, in several respects, may be considered as equal in importance to all the others. The size of the book, *in folio*; the season of its publication, *the present year*; but above all, the printer and the place, *his Majesty's own patent printer in London*; all conspire to render the volume even still a mystery. It comes before us, unaccountably, as the top stone of this hazardous but successful enterprise; brought into view, also, about the very time when our Translator was breathing his last, or consuming to ashes at Vilvorde. Some account of it, in particular, must not be withheld.

“The Newe testament yet ones agayne corrected by W. Tyndale: And in many places ameded, where it scaped before by neglygence of the printer. Also a Kalender, and a necessary table, wherein easely and lightly may be founde any story cōteyned in y^e foure Euangelystes, and in the Actes of y^e apostels. Also before every pystel of S. Paul, is a prologue, very frutefull to y^e reder. And after y^e newe testament, foloweth the Epistels of y^e old testament. Newly printed (by Tho. Berthelet) in the yere of our lorde MDXXXVI.”—in the compartment of *the boys in triumph*, and with a small medallion of a head laureated, supported by sphynxes; peculiar to this printing press.

Collation.—Prefixes, viz. Almanake 23 years — Kalender — W. T. to the Christen Reder—a prologue into the four Euangelystes—the Office of all Estates, and the Bokes conteyned in the Newe Testament: 14 leaves. The Newe Testament contains folio cxvii., but the folios run on to ccv.; then the table of the Epistles and the Gospels, in double columns, &c. But at the end we have the following distinguishing mark—“GOD SAUE THE KYNGE, AND ALL HIS WELL-WYLLERS.” Words which may have been actually printing, and in London too, not far from the hour when the Translator himself, the most eminent *well-willer* the King ever had, was praying for him, and passing into heaven.

Of this rare volume, a copy now lies before the writer. Very correctly printed, it is, perhaps, the first to be distinguished throughout for one peculiarity in its orthography, viz. the Anglo-Saxon particle of negation, *nat* for not, and *natwithstanding*; which was occasionally adopted after this, as in the Latin and English edition of Redman, 1538, and of Powell, in 1547 and 1549. In all other respects, the book is an exact reprint of Tyndale's corrected edition in 1534, having his name on the title-page, and his long prologue to the Romans, which, by itself, had been so often and so long condemned!

The name of Thomas Berthelet as printer, it is true, is not mentioned, whether out of delicacy to the Bishops and their adherents, we cannot tell; but Ames, Herbert, and Dibdin, agree in ascribing the book to his press. It is known, indeed, by the type, and the ornamental title of the boys in triumph. In the Harleian Library there were two copies of this edition, one of them bound in red morocco, finely ornamented with gold. It is probably one of these which is now in the Bodleian at Oxford. But at such a season as this, in this style, and by the King's printer, the book, we repeat, is a mystery still. Must it not have been got up under favour of the late Queen? Such a supposition is only in harmony with her letter to Crumwell, on behalf of Mr. Harman, and with Henry's printer being the man employed. But, at all events, such was *the first Sacred Volume printed on English ground*.

We, of course, cannot be supposed to have attached any *essential* influence to the late Queen. But, in conclusion of this year, it ought to be remembered, that as she was now gone, and her influence at Court, whatever was its amount, had died with her; this will now render the future overruling of the King and his adherents, or of all surviving parties, only the more obvious and distinct.

In Bunyan's immortal story of the "Holy War," when ear-gate was once broken up, and its bolts and bars shivered into a thousand pieces, Emmanuel himself came forward, and set his throne in it; the weapons of war were then carried within the walls, to be employed on the citadel of the heart. So, in this long and arduous contest, Wolsey and Warham, Fisher and More, with many other opponents, were now gone; but if printers within the shores of England, and near to Henry's own person, have begun thus to act, what will signify all his proclamations, or the wrath of all his official men? In truth, the day was nearly won. The printing press abroad was now busy, in a style quite unprecedented; and next year, though quite unforeseen by the King, or Crumwell, or Crammer, the victory will be complete! They had no idea whatever, of what was awaiting them, only eight months hence.

MDXXXVII.

MEMORABLE INTRODUCTION OF THE ENTIRE SACRED VOLUME—MYLES COVERDALE—HIS CIRCUMSTANCES COMPARED WITH TYNDALE'S—COVERDALE'S TEMPORARY SUCCESS—THE REMARKABLY SUDDEN CHANGE—TYNDALE'S BIBLE—ITS ARRIVAL—ITS RECEPTION—BOUGHT AND READ—THE KING AGREES—GRAFTON THE PROPRIETOR—ALL PARTIES OVERRULED—CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST YEAR OF TRIUMPH.



WITH regard to the highest favour ever bestowed upon this kingdom, there are no years so marked and memorable as those of 1526 and 1537. The former, distinguished by the arrival and introduction of the New Testament Scriptures, printed in the native tongue; the latter, by that of the entire Sacred Volume. The former, in defiance of all the authorities; the latter, with the immediate concurrence of the King and his best advisers. The former came as Tyndale's first effort; the latter arrived as the distinct and appropriate tribute to his memory; both alike being foreign printed books.

It was now above fourteen years since the design had been first formed. Up to this period, there had been more than *ten* years of hard fighting, in single combat, with the nation entire, from its monarch downwards; but more than *twenty* editions of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had passed through the press. They had gone into a thousand unknown channels; deep, nay, indelible was the impression already made upon many minds. Latimer has informed the Convocation of his brethren, that among the *people* there were "many children of light;" and Fox has told them, that "the lay people knew the Holy Scriptures better than many of themselves;" but it was time that the King and all around him should be overruled. The day drew near, though they knew not of it. The Translator was gone, it is true, but his translations were safe; and not only in safe keeping, but in the press. The volume must have been preparing before he was consumed to ashes. But, at all events, the Scriptures entire, from Genesis to Revelation, will now be introduced; and his Majesty, however incensed before, or armed with power and pride still, must at once bow in assent, and all other men proceed, as it had been appointed

they should. The opposition hitherto had been both loud and long; but when once the day for the arrival of the Scriptures comes, not a man must move his tongue against them.

We have heard already of one translation of the Bible by Coverdale; but the death of Queen Anne had retarded its appearance in England. Henry had married Jane Seymour, after which the name of her predecessor here inserted was no passport to royal favour. Some time, however, having once elapsed, although there be no positive proof of this book having ever been laid before the King, what is curious enough, a *reprint* of it had obtained favour in his eye; so that we are now prepared for a comparison of Coverdale's Bible, with that of Tyndale, edited by his surviving devoted friend John Rogers, under the name of Thomas Matthew, and imported this year.

It is remarkable that such obscurity should have rested on the origin of our two first Translators of the Scriptures; though that which still prevails over the very name and parentage of Coverdale, be by far the greatest. No such surname being certainly known to exist, in the person of any other man, it has been supposed to have been taken or given, as in foreign countries, from the district in Yorkshire where he was born. The parish or township of Coverham, near Middleham, in the North Riding of that county, claims him for a native. Burnet strangely imagined him to be a foreigner, and native of Denmark. Into this mistake he may have been led, from Coverdale having afterwards married abroad, though this was to a lady of Scotch extraction, Elizabeth Macheson; a circumstance which we shall find proved of great value to him, in the reign of Queen Mary. The surname itself being so unknown, if Lewis be correct in saying that one of this name took the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law at Cambridge, A.D. 1531, it could scarcely apply to any other than the future Translator; and it seems no unsuitable introduction to his engagements from that very time. According to Godwin, he received a doctor's degree from Tubingen, and, though late in life, was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge, but no dates are mentioned.

The origin and progress of Coverdale's translation have

remained in equal obscurity ; and hence the extremely different opinions which have been hazarded as to the length of time he occupied in preparing for the press, or in printing it after it was ready.¹ If he had overtaken a translation of the entire Sacred Volume in the space of two years, or even three, and employed nearly another in printing it, when the time in which he lived is considered, it will be allowed by all who are competent to judge, that he must have been very busily occupied. And if it shall turn out that he was not only unmolested, but fostered in his undertaking, this he may have accomplished. Extreme opinions, so wild or wide of the truth, whether on marble or in print, need not be refuted ; though they show the necessity for some more feasible and distinct account, if any evidence can be found.

We have heard of Coverdale before, again and again ; though to those who have ever paid any attention to the subject, by this time it may have appeared extraordinary, that we should seem to have either forgotten him, or omitted frequent mention of his name. But the truth is, that we have searched for him all along, and yet, upon the broad surface of all these manuscripts, with the exception of one significant letter, we have not found a single intelligible allusion, since after meeting with him in Hamburg, according to Foxe. We supposed that he had then returned again into England. This he certainly did, granting our old historian to be correct in thus sending him abroad ; for the whole story rests upon his sole authority. But this was above six years ago. Amidst this unbroken

¹ Upon a marble tablet erected to his memory, by the parishioners of St. Magnus in London, where he used to preach, they have engraved, that he "spent *many* years of his life in preparing a translation of the Scriptures ;" and they add — "On the 4th of October MDXXXV. the first complete English printed version of the Bible was *published* under his direction." On the other hand, more recently, in "a historical account of the English versions of the Scriptures," we have been told that instead of "many years," this translation of the entire Bible "could not have commenced before November 1534, and, probably, it was not until the following month ! Thus, the longest time that Coverdale could have had for the completion, both of the translation and of the printing, was *eleven months* ; and if this work did, in any way, result from the resolutions of the Convocation, 19th December, 1534, then the whole was executed in the short space of *nine months and a half* ! The time when he began was certainly not previous to November, 1534."

silence, however, we have this epistle from Coverdale himself, and but one, which has effectually prevented him from being forgotten. It would scarcely have been intelligible much before the present year, when, wherever he had been, we find him, for the first time, and then certainly upon English ground.

There is one notable circumstance, connected with Coverdale's name, which has never been pointed out, not the least curious in the history of these stormy times. The reader need not here be told, that a searching controversial war had been going on in England for years, or that the man who enjoyed the melancholy eminence of being the grand opponent to the new learning, was Sir Thomas More. But it so happened, that in opposing the translation of the Scriptures, and their introduction into his native land, it was a main point with the Lord Chancellor to report *names*; and this he did, not only with accuracy, but emphasis. Hence, not only is *Tyndale* named, times out of number, and *Fryth* very frequently; but we have "Friar *Barnes*, sometime doctor in Cambridge;" "Friar *Roye*, the apostate;" "George *Constantyne*;" "George *Joye*, otherwise called Clarke;" "Richard *Bayfield*, both a priest and a monk;" "Thomas *Bilney*;" "John *Tewksbury*;" "Thomas *Hytton*;" "John *Byrte*, otherwise calling himself Adrian, otherwise John Bookbinder, and yet otherwise I cannot tell what." In short, *names* were, in the Chancellor's esteem, of first-rate importance in the controversy; and, therefore, not only the Translator himself, by way of eminence, but all the subordinate agents, who, in the humblest manner, aided in the importation of his translation, or even read it, were held up to reprobation, or to the terror of all England. What, then, had become of Coverdale? Why was *he* not treated with derision as well as Tyndale? How is it, that in the wide compass of More's voluminous controversy, the name of Coverdale is not exposed as that of a delinquent, nay, never *once* mentioned? Was he not engaged? Must he not have been busily at work somewhere, at the same time that Sir Thomas More was so busy in ferretting out, and naming, every suspected individual? We have seen Coverdale make one narrow escape. His *name*, in 1528, when so many men were punished, had been very distinctly held up before Tunstal, as a noted delinquent. He had been

preaching; he, as well as Barnes, had approved of Tyndale's New Testament, and of its dispersion; but we then quoted his own letter to Crumwell, in August 1527, as accounting fully for his safety, and his being then passed over in silence. But if since that period, and more especially at the very season when Sir Thomas was continuing to write so furiously against Tyndale's version, and all who dared to read it, Coverdale has been engaged in translating; and if by the close of 1535, he has finished at press an impression of the English Bible, he must have been employed upon it for a considerable time. There can be now no doubt that he was, and as little that Sir Thomas More had been perfectly aware of his occupation; though his singular silence, maintained throughout, must have always remained a riddle, not to be solved, but for this one solitary letter from Coverdale's own pen, which has never been printed till within these few years. It is addressed to Crumwell²—"From the Augustine's this May-day." After good wishes in the style of those times, he begs,—

"For the tender love of God, and for the fervent zeal that you have to virtue and godly study, *cordis genibus provolutus*, I humbly desire and beseech your goodness, of your gracious help. Now I *begin* to taste of Holy Scriptures; now, honour be to God, I am *set* to the most sweet smell of holy letters, with the godly savour of holy and ancient doctors, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain, without diversity of books, as is *not unknown* to your most excellent wisdom. Nothing in the world I desire, but *books* as concerning my learning. *They* once had, I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me, which He, of His most plentiful favour and grace, hath begun. Moreover, as touching my behaviour, *your Mastership's mind once known*, with all lowliness I offer myself, not only to be *ordered in all things, as shall please your wisdom*, but also as concerning the education and instruction of others, alonly to ensue your prudent counsel."

This document is important in several respects; and though the year in which it was written be not marked, the style proves that Crumwell had already much in his power, and that, therefore, he must have been engaged officially near the King. His Majesty's Commissioners in our day, who first printed the letter, in 1830, have said—"From the superscription it was clearly before Crumwell became Secretary of State,

² MS. Crumwell's Correspondence in the State Paper Office; and see Gov. State Papers, i., p. 383.

probably before he was of the Privy Council," and they have dated it 1st May, 1532. But the "superscription" is literally the same which Vaughan and others employed, when addressing Crumwell in 1531; and as time must be allowed for Coverdale to complete his translation, we are inclined to think that the letter may have been written on May-day 1531. In May 1530, the Bishops and Sir Thomas More were mad to fury against Tyndale; but by the next year, his influence being more powerful than ever, Crumwell may have felt that something must be attempted.

After such a letter, and "books once had," it is natural to suppose that Coverdale lost no time. He had been set to "the smell of holy letters" by no common Patron—a man rising into great power; though the spot to which this second translator retired has never yet been ascertained. But wherever it was, there he sat down, and amidst all the war's tumultuous noise, as well as shielded from the keen arrows of the Lord Chancellor of England, he was left, like Luther on his mountain ground at Wartburg, to pursue the even tenor of his way. How striking is the contrast, when we turn for a moment to the situation of Tyndale, whether in 1531 or 1532? Having had no fixed abode, no certain dwelling-place, but under the pelting of a pitiless storm, by May 1531, for more than seven long years, he had already been doing his best for England. As far as reproach, denunciation, and persecution, could go, it might be said, "with many an arrow, deep infixed his panting side was charged."—"As I now am," said he to Vaughan, in April of that year, "very death were more pleasant to me than life." Let the date given in the Government State Papers turn out to be the correct one: then, at that moment, Sir Thomas Elyot had been charged by Henry VIII. to seize Tyndale, if he could; at home, the Bishops were tormenting Latimer, and burning Mr. Bainham; and as Coverdale dates his letter from *St. Augustine's*, he could scarcely miss hearing that gentleman, with Tyndale's Testament in his hand, address the Congregation there, as he did, with tears! At all events, if that letter was written on May-day 1532, Bainham had been consumed to ashes in Smithfield, that very morning.

If, however, we now assume the latest date, or that of the

Government Commissioners, to be the true time, it is evident Coverdale had quite enough to do for fully two years to come, in bringing his manuscript of the entire Scriptures into such a state, as that he could please his employers, with regard to any word or any rendering contained in it.

According to his own expression, he was then ready to *set forth* this special translation. In other words, he was then ready for the press. Nor is the time unworthy of notice. It will be remembered that by May in that year, Crumwell had been appointed Secretary of State, and that his influence was rising rapidly to its great height. He had, therefore, much more in his power, while Coverdale, as we have seen for years past, was at his disposal, or entirely subservient to his will. Now, it was the *New Testament*, all along, of which the authorities had been most afraid; the systematic alteration of certain words in it might be regarded as likely to allay their apprehensions, and could be very easily done, before the manuscript was committed to the press. At all events, Coverdale was then ready to "set forth" his translation, "according as he was *desired*;" and the letter just quoted, indeed, is chiefly valuable as a key to certain expressions to be found in the preliminary matter affixed to the Bible of 1535. No fault can ever be found with Coverdale's amiable temper as a man, while his expressed humility as a scholar shines pre-eminent. Among his contemporaries he must ever be ranked very high. As a translator he did well; and had he not been encumbered with patronage, he would have done far better. We must, however, take the work as it came from his hands, and can now judge of it only by its merits.

But if the situation of the two men has furnished one contrast, the *origin* of the two translations presents another, not less worthy of remembrance. The *origin* of Tyndale's must ever be traced to his own bosom and conscience alone. Before leaving England, he might have said,—“The word of the Lord was in mine heart, as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay;” nay, and with the prophet of old, he might have added—“All my familiars watched for my halting; saying, Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall

take revenge upon him." With Coverdale, it was far otherwise. It was an undertaking, no doubt, congenial with his taste ; but, left to himself, if we are to believe his *own* words, he never would have attempted it. In his prologue "to the Christian reader," he styles his work a "special translation," because he proceeded *as he was desired* under authority. "But, to say the truth before God, it was neither *my labour, nor my desire to have this work put into my hands*; nevertheless, when I was *instantly required*, though I could not do so well as I would, I thought it yet my duty to do my best, and that with a good will."

Then, again, as to the *expense* of this undertaking, Coverdale was patronised. In Tyndale's case, under the influence of the power of Christianity and the noblest patriotism, the whole commenced at his own risk; and purely for his country's benefit, we have seen him, again and again, embarrassed in more ways than one. But Coverdale had no risk whatever to run. He was *employed*, and, whether he was to succeed or not, the work was to involve him in no expense whatever. He spake as he felt at the moment, and it was intended, no doubt, as a *hint* to the King; but certainly it was by far too bold to say, that "he trusted, that God would bring his simple and rude labour to good effect, seeing that others had been *moved by the Holy Ghost* to undertake the *cost* of it." The glaring truth was, that the community at large had been even by *that* time happily brought into such a state, by manifold editions of Tyndale's translation, that the patrons of Coverdale were *moved* by no higher feeling than that of imperative expediency; and this feeling forms decidedly one of the strongest testimonies to the effect and power of Tyndale's exertions.

Having proceeded however to the close, Coverdale had now to approach his Majesty, no doubt under *direction*, that nothing might be wanting to secure acceptance; and therefore he came with the *first* of those dedications, which, to say the least, ought never to have been bound up with the word of the living God.

In the course of his dedication, he compares Henry VIII. to Moses, to David, to Jehoshaphat, to Hezekiah, "yea, a very Josias;" and as if all this had not been too much, he says—"I thought it my duty, and to belong unto my *allegiance*, when I had translated this Bible, not only to dedicate this translation

unto your Highness, but wholly to commit it unto the same : to the intent that if any thing therein be translated amiss, it may stand in your Grace's hands, to *correct it, to amend it, to improve, yea, and CLEAN TO REJECT IT, if your godly wisdom shall think it necessary !*"

In the volume which Coverdale thus presented, were these words, of his own translating,—“He that rebuketh a man, shall find more favour *at the last*, than he that flattereth him ;” though, certainly, at the moment, it might seem, that under such high patronage, and after incense so dense and abundant as had been offered to his Majesty, he must succeed. And not only succeed, but overshadow the man who had been so signally raised up by God, and who, for twelve years, had been God's own sanctioned instrument, for conveying into Britain His blessed Word. Often have we marked *his* labours, as forming a distinct and independent undertaking, with which Divine Providence would not permit mere time-serving men, whoever they were, or worldly politicians, to interfere ; but how will it be possible to draw this distinction *now* ? And, more especially, as this is only the first of several distinct attempts, to bestow on this country, a translation different from that of the first—the unpatronised Tyndale's ?

Yet in serving man only, and in seeking to please him, there are many critical moments ; while in serving God, there is not *one* : and, therefore, with regard to this attempt, it so happened that Coverdale had overshot the mark at a most critical period. This might have well warned any future individual, of the danger connected with such dedications. The last sheet of this Bible having been put to press on the 4th of October, 1535, Coverdale had closed the heading, or title, of his dedication to Henry, by imploring the Divine blessing on himself, and his “dearest just wife and most virtuous Princess, *Queen Anne*.” Any copy of this book, bound, could not have reached this country before the beginning of 1536, at the soonest. But by February, if not earlier, the very name of Queen Anne, so far from being a passport to royal favour, was fatal to anything, to which it was affixed ! Crumwell, too, as we have already seen, had fallen in with the King's barbarous intentions, so that till another Queen arose, in the person of Jane Seymour, the book

must have remained unrepresented. After that, it is true, the Convocation assembled in June; but, as a body, they appear to have entertained no favour for the translation,—no, nor even sympathy for those who, as Coverdale has told us, had been “*moved to pay the cost!*” So far from this, “the Convocation agreed upon the form of a petition to be presented to the King,” as already noticed, “That he would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a *new* translation of it might be *forthwith* made, for that end and purpose.” And, therefore, said Lewis, it appears that the *Clergy* did not approve of the translations already made by Tyndale and Coverdale, and their *own* attempt to have the royal permission to make a new one had *not* succeeded.

Here, however, was a Bible, completely finished by Coverdale, dated in 1535; and before any remarks respecting it, we give the Title and Collation.

“BIBLIA. THE BIBLE, that is the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe, MDXXXV.” The book is in black letter, printed in double columns, in a foreign secretary-gothic type, with wood-cuts; but the dedication, prologue, and contents of Genesis, are in a different letter. *Collation*.—Wood-cut title; dedication to K. HENRY VIII. including his “dearest just wife, and most vertuous pryncesse, QUEEN ANNE,”—indicating the powerful influence she possessed in that year, 5 pages. “A prologue to the reader,” 6 pages. “The Bokes of the hole Byble,” 2 pages. “The contentes of the boke of Genesis,” 1 page. “The first booke of Moses,” fol. i.—xc.; then a map of the Holy Land. “The second parte of the Olde Testament,” Josua to Hester, fol. ii.—cxxx. “Job to Solomon’s Balettes,” fol. i.—lii. “All the Prophetes in Englishe,” fol. ii.—cii. “Apo-criphe,” fol. ii.—lxxxiii. falsely numbered lxxxi., a blank leaf. “The Newe Testamente,” fol. ii.—cxliii. and on the reverse of the last is, “Prynted in the yeare of oure Lorde MDXXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October.”

The death of Queen Anne in May 1536, having proved fatal to the appearance of this book till after the event, various expedients were then tried to ensure success. “The interval,” says Professor Walter, “between the date on the title-page and the actual publication, is clearly marked by a curious alteration in the dedicatory letter to Henry VIII. which contains these words,—‘your dearest just wife and most vertuous pryncesse Qu. JANE.’ This is not as it was printed; for Anne has been altered into JANE by the pen.” Thus, indeed, it stands in the British Museum copy, but there is great variety as to this appellation. Lambeth Library has one copy with Anne, another with Jane. The Bodleian has Anne. Sion College has Jane, and in some copies the *name* of the Queen had been expunged. None of these expedients, it must be obvious, could possibly meet the case. The preceding phrase was now as inauspicious as that of the Queen’s name. The epithet *just*, as intended to mark

both Coverdale's and Crumwell's approbation of Henry's *second* Queen, had come too late; and it was more than awkward when applied to the third marriage, as it seemed to say that the question of legitimacy would *never* be laid to rest. Only one other device remained to be tried, which was that of a new title, as if it were a different book; changing the year to the next, or 1536, and leaving out the words "*translated out of Douche and Lotyn,*" as follow, "BIBLIA. THE BYBLE: that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faythfully translated in Englyshe, MDXXXVI." But all was yet in vain, and that year expired without leaving one shadow of proof that the book had obtained the royal approbation. In June, the Prelates virtually expressed their dissatisfaction with all that had yet been done; and we have already seen that there were no injunctions on the subject in 1536.

From all this, it becomes evident, that wherever Coverdale had superintended the press, whether at Zurich, Frankfort, or Cologne, for they have all been mentioned, in 1536 he must have been in London; and in 1537 we have evidence not only of his occupation and place of abode, but of his long-continued confidential communication with Crumwell. We have never seen him but as his obedient servant for ten years past, or since August 1527. His return to England therefore, and his continued residence in it till next year, being thus ascertained, all such assertions as that "COVERDALE, assisted by Rogers, who corrected the press, revised the whole of Tyndale's work before they reprinted it, not only the published but the unpublished part of it," as Mr. Whittaker had imagined, are now at an end. Coverdale was at home in England, all the time that Rogers was so busy abroad; and from the superior manner in which he executed his task, it is evident that he required no such assistant. The alliance of Coverdale with Tyndale, at any time, is a historical fiction, which must now be discarded. No two undertakings could well be more distinct; though Rogers, it will be evident, had sat in judgment on whatever Coverdale had translated.

With reference, however, to the Bible brought into England in 1536, of Coverdale's qualifications as a Translator from the original, there can be little or rather no question, after what Mr. Whittaker has so ably written respecting his acquaintance with Hebrew; though, at the same time, his leaning to the Vulgate and German versions has been made equally apparent by Professor Walter; who goes so far as to insist that the

version cannot be ranked so high as that of a primary one.³ The truth seems to be, that between Coverdale and Crumwell, *expediency* had been far too much consulted in the undertaking throughout. Hence even the first title-page, bearing these words, “translated out of *Douche and Latyn*.” These terms, as Whittaker had not seen them, he could scarcely believe; adding, “if this be the case, the title-page contains a very great misrepresentation.” Hence the withdrawal of the words in 1536 by Coverdale, and this year by Nycolson; to say nothing of the awkward substitute, “translated *in* Englyshe.” At the same time, Coverdale himself informs us that he had *five* different translations, both Latin and Dutch, that is German, before him, and “to help him herein;” and though he certainly does not appear to have venerated these “interpreters” as *authority*, he regarded their translations with “gladness,” and therefore could not upon all occasions be free from some degree of bias.

But we are now advancing into the year 1537; and yet, if there has been any application to the King respecting this Bible, there is no reply. Not a single petition from Crumwell in its favour is to be found. A printer however, and in London itself, now appeared in furtherance of Coverdale’s design—James Nycolson in St. Thomas’ Hospital, Southwark. By this time he had reprinted Coverdale’s Bible, with his dedication to the King; and it deserves notice that there were other copies with a different title, *without* the dedication. From the spelling, we presume the latter to have been the first expedient for royal favour; but this is immaterial, for the fact is, that they both succeeded. Both titles bear at the foot of the page these words, “*Set forth with the Kynge’s most gracious licence.*”

But when, or in what month of 1537, could this have been obtained? There was, as already hinted, no Convocation; but were the Bishops not consulted? It should seem not. Their Vicar-General had thought it unnecessary; for *he* it was who had applied to Henry and obtained his licence. Coverdale

¹ See “An Historical and Critical Enquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, by John W. Whittaker, M.A., 1819;” and Letter to Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, by Henry Walter, B.D., 1823.

himself was now in London ; and though there be not a word yet found in favour of the first Bible printed in 1535, he now applied earnestly to his old patron, for *farther* favour to Nycolson, whom he was employing as a printer of several smaller things. The King's "gracious licence" speaks for itself ; and if Crumwell and Cranmer, nay, and his Majesty be gained over, what hope remained of the smallest notice being ever taken of Tyndale's labours ? What hope of any just estimate being now formed of his merits as a Translator, however superior ? He had not only left the world, but left not one solitary friend at that court, where his name had been branded with infamy, from the days of Wolsey until now ; and, therefore, long before Coverdale had even sat down to his work. Besides this, the King and Crumwell, and Cranmer, had, for years, fully committed themselves *against* Tyndale ; the two former by the most violent language, and Cranmer, all these years, by at least bowing to the storm, and winking hard at his martyrdom. Nor must it be forgotten, that the Primate, in his official capacity, in company with his brethren, had been striving hard after some translation by their own authority.

Such was the actual state of matters, down to the beginning of August this year ; when, as far as it is yet known, not one man in all England, from the King downwards, said, or even imagined, that any change was at hand ! But such are the ways of Him who is the Governor among the nations. That which He most highly favours—that which, by way of eminence, is His own cause, He may allow for a moment to sink into forgetfulness, or in oblivion die, only that His own hand may be the more conspicuous.

Waiving therefore all implication of Coverdale, in any sense whatever, whether as an individual, a translator, or a Christian, the favour *now* bestowed upon him by *man* becomes a part of English history, by no means the least observable. It was permitted to take its course. It was permitted to do so, till it had reached its utmost height. But what if all this were only to render the interposition of Divine Providence more apparent and striking ? Capricious the King of England might be, to a proverb ; but Henry the Eighth was God's servant, as entirely as Nebuchadnezzar was of old ; and though all things,

at present, seem to run one way, in a few days only we shall see them all at once take another direction.

We shall see the translation set aside, which the *King* had licensed, and of which even *Crumwell*, and perhaps some others, had paid the cost! No other man than *Cranmer* shall be the moving cause. *Nycolson* the printer shall, next year, be out of favour with Coverdale; nay, *Coverdale* himself be engaged in correcting the press of *another* translation under the sanction of both Henry and Crumwell; while the *Bible*, which we have just reported, shall be not only passed by, but ere long interdicted by authority!

But why, it may be inquired, why make such distinction between the two translations? To this, at present, we only reply, that supposing they had been precisely of equal merit, surely something was due to the memory of him who had ploughed, and sowed, and toiled so long; who had first cast up the high way, and lifted up a standard for the people; without one word of encouragement, or one smile of Court favour, from any of these men. The important distinction, however, between the two translations, will be pointed out, when once we have recorded the historical facts.

We must, therefore, as we have often done before, look abroad, but only for a few moments, as we shall soon have occasion to return to England again.

In England itself, by this time, there were many admirers of Tyndale, who now revered his memory; many who had read and believed the truths of Scripture, which he had been importing into his native land since the year 1526; but they were like the seven thousand in Israel, in the days of Elijah. The printing press at home was fettered in the hands of but a very few individuals, and there was no man of sufficient nerve in this country to take up the cause. Tyndale himself, too, has been also withdrawn; but all this will only render that Providence, with whom the work had begun, still more conspicuous, when lending the finishing stroke to all that His chosen servant had translated. This then appears to have been, and not till then, the proper moment for *overruling* the men in England: that is, *after* all the three influential individuals, the King, Crumwell, and Cranmer, had fully committed themselves, again and again;

and before any "injunctions" were issued, which might have misled the *people*.

As there was one man to whom Tyndale had been useful, John Fryth, who had first stood by him as an assistant, and then preceded him to a better world; so now, there had been a second raised up, to do justice to his memory, as a translator. This was John Rogers, *alias* Matthew, a native of Warwickshire, born, it is most probable, about the year 1500. He had been educated at Cambridge, and having come to Antwerp while Tyndale resided there, he became a Chaplain to the English merchant adventurers. By his intimate conversation with our Translator, he was induced to examine the Scriptures for himself, and the result was that he embraced, in a great degree, the same views with this eminent man.

Where Rogers sat down to superintend the press, remains still only a matter of conjecture: but it must have been soon, if not immediately after Tyndale was imprisoned at Vilvorde, that his friend set about his edition of the Bible, in large folio; as the work was finished, and ready for importation to England by the month of July 1537.

That this tribute to Tyndale's memory originated in the individual zeal of his friends, there can be little or rather no doubt; as Rogers had printed more than the half of the entire volume, before we have any evidence of the men coming forward, who then took up the work, as a matter of business or trade. These were Richard Grafton, and Edward Whitchurch, so well known afterwards, as printers in London. The former enjoyed the high honour of embarking almost his *all* in the undertaking; for neither Cranmer nor Cromwell, nor the King, ever contributed one farthing of the expense. By the time, therefore, that Rogers had got to the beginning of *Isaiah*, these two individuals having embraced the design, on *that* page the numbers begin again, with a title, "*The prophetes in Englishe*," in black and red letters, surrounded by sixteen wood-cuts; and on the next page there is printed in flourished text capitals R.G. at the top, and E.W. at the bottom, with a large wood-cut between. The name of Tyndale affixed would have been fatal to its acceptance with Henry. That of Thomas Matthew, at whose instance *perhaps* the undertaking may have commenced, was therefore

printed in the title-page, and T.M. at the end of the dedication ; but to mark Rogers' connexion with the book, we have at the beginning, "An exhortation to the study of the Holy Scripture gathered out of the Bible," which is subscribed J. R. : and what is singular, at the end of the Old Testament, we find W. T. in very large flourished text capitals, evidently intended for William Tyndale. Not that he had finished the whole, the remainder being completed, as we shall presently describe. The object that Rogers had in view was to forward the work, and do justice to the labours of the man he admired. Accordingly, the whole of the New Testament, and of the Old as far as the end of 2nd Chronicles, or exactly *two-thirds* of the entire Scriptures, are Tyndale's verbally, with an occasional variation only in the orthography ; and as for the other *third*, while Rogers may have taken advantage of Coverdale's printed sheets, he evidently had sat in judgment on every page, and his method is not implicitly followed.

When referring to this book, Bale has said that "Rogers translated the Bible into English, from Genesis to the end of Revelation, making use of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and English (that is, Tyndale's) copies." But this is merely a specimen of those loose and inaccurate statements which have been made by him, and Johnson, and various other writers. There is now no question that Tyndale translated his New Testament from the Greek ; and the Old, as far as he had gone, from that Hebrew which he so admired. What Rogers did therefore, was, that he adopted Tyndale as far as he had proceeded in translating ; and as a variety of passages from the Old Testament had been not only translated, but *published* before Coverdale's Bible saw the light, so it must be presumed that there were other chapters in manuscript.⁴ In short, Rogers had the whole of Tyndale, whether in print or manuscript, as well as Coverdale's sheets, for the remainder, before him : and having now arrived at the close we find these words : "*To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted, and fynessed in the yere of oure Lorde God, a. MDXXXVII.*" No month is men-

⁴ In whole or in part, Esther viii. Prov. xxxi. Isaiah i. ii. vi. vii. xlv. li. liii. lvii. lviii. Jer. xxviii. Ezek. i. viii. xxxvi. Joel ii. iii. Hosca xi. Amos iv., and Zech. ii. viii.

tioned, but it must have left the press by the middle of July, if not in the end of June.

Richard Grafton, therefore, was now ready; but before any application is made to England, in favour of that Bible which was providentially to form the prototype of so many millions, it becomes of importance, first to ascertain the precise circumstances under which it came into our native land.

The occupation of Cranmer and his coadjutors—the position of other men—the actual state of the country, and especially of the capital, where the plague had again appeared, will explain these.

After long and frequent discussions, Cranmer, Fox, and Latimer, with “other Bishops and certain learned men,” had brought their labours to a close, and agreed on the terms of their book, “The Institution of a Christian man,” more frequently styled the Bishops’ Book, in the July of this year. In the preface they thank the Almighty for sending *such* a King to reign over them, which “so earnestly mindeth to set forth among his subjects the light of Holy Scripture, which alone sheweth the right path to come to God to see Him, to know Him, to love Him, and so to serve Him, as He most desireth.”

Coverdale, as well as Crumwell his patron, could, at this moment, desire little more. Henry had treated the Bishops’ book with *caution*; he would not commit himself by any formal gracious reply; yet has he permitted these words to *pass*, which could refer to no other than Coverdale’s Bible, if to any Bible already printed at all; but they will acquire double emphasis, when the course that Cranmer and Crumwell, and even Henry, pursued in *a few days hence*, comes to be observed.

There is, in short, another translation of the English Bible coming from abroad; and, it is true, that as far as any connexion with the Continent was concerned, the reader may be still haunted by the recollection, that he has found both Cranmer and Crumwell in busy confidential communication with such an unprincipled spy as Theobald; and not only this year, but throughout the next. This, however, we can neither help nor soften. Gross inconsistencies of character must stand as matter of history; but, in the present instance, they will only render it the more apparent, *who* it was that gave the Bible to Britain. To the people of this country, it is of infinite moment

now, that they should see more fully into the Divine character, with regard to an event never to be forgotten.

We repeat, however, there is at this hour, *another Bible*, in folio, coming over the sea to old England, one page of which neither Cranmer the Primate, Crumwell the Vicar-General, or Henry the King, had ever beheld, and respecting which not one of them had ever been consulted. Such appears to have been the exact state of matters, *immediately before all that Tyndale had accomplished in translating the Sacred Volume was laid before his Majesty.*

Grafton therefore having arrived in England, from what has now been narrated, we can scarcely make any mistake with regard to Cranmer's state of mind. He had, in truth, been made as *sick of discussion*, as he had been *afraid of the plague*, and had only made his escape from both ; though had his fellow commissioners but once suspected at the moment, what effect this sickness would have upon him, certainly they had argued less. Like the Jews at Rome, of old, they must have had "great reasoning among themselves" over this "Bishops' Book ;" and, as the Primate hints to Crumwell, in his apprehension, there would be no end to it.

It may be regretted that there had not been some solitary expression of sympathy or admiration in the Translator's lifetime ; but such was the preparation of Thomas Cranmer for the sight of Tyndale's labours—such the moment when his translation was brought before him ! Grafton had resolved to apply first to the Archbishop, perhaps as not having been the patron of Coverdale ; but whatever was the motive, he must have immediately followed him into Kent. We give the title and collation of the Book which Grafton had brought home with him.

Title.—"THE BYBLE, which is the Holy Scripture ; in which are containyd the Olde and Newe Testament, truely and purely translated into Englysh—by Thomas Matthew.—MDXXXVII."

Collation.—This title is in red and black letters, within a wood engraving, filling the page ; and, at the bottom, in large letters, "SET FORTH WITH THE KINGE'S MOST GRACIOUS LICENCE." A Calendar and Almanac for 18 years, beginning 1538, 4 pages. An Exhortation to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, 1 page ; having, in large flourished capitals at the bottom, the initials of the editor, I. R. The Summe and content of all the Holy Scripture, 2 pages. Dedication to Henry VIII., 3 pages, with flourished capitals at the beginning

and end. "To the Christen Readers," and a table of principal matters in the Bible, 26 pages. "The names of all the boke of the Bible, and a brief rehearsal of the years passed since the begynnyng of the worlde, unto this yere of our Lord, MDXXXVII.," 1 page. "Genesis to Salomon's Ballet," fol. i.—ccxlvii. "The Prophetes in English." On the reverse of this title is a large woodcut, between R. G. and E. W., in flourishing capitals. "Esay to Malachi," fol. i.—xciii. ; and, at the end of Malachi, W. T. for WILLIAM TYNDALE, in large flourished text capitals. The Apocripha, put in from Coverdale's Bible. "The Newe Testament, &c., printed in the yere of our Lorde God, MDXXXVII.," in red and black, as in the first title. "Matthew to Revelation," fol. ii.—cix. Tables, &c., fol. cx.—cxi. On the last leaf, is "The ende of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Byble."—"To the honoure and prayse of GOD was this Byble prynted and fynessed, in the yere of our Lorde God, a. MDXXXVII." A full page contains 60 lines.

No sooner had Cranmer received the volume and inspected it, than he sent it off to Crumwell with a letter, which indicates his approbation very strongly. He "liked it better than any other translation heretofore made," and prays him to show the book to the King, and "obtain of his grace, *if you can*, a licence that the same may be sold and *read of every person*, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that we, the Bishops, shall set forth a better translation, which *I think will not be till a day after doomsday!*" The letter is dated 4th August (1537).

So far then, from Cranmer having the slightest connexion with this undertaking, or "exerting himself" for this book, as Mr. Todd has imagined, this letter, in its proper connexion, clearly shows that it came upon the writer in the way of *delightful surprise*.⁵ No doubt he had wished for a Bible; but, after vainly toiling with his coadjutors as to the New Testament only, he now very candidly acknowledges that the present production was literally beyond their power, as a body of men.

Here then, and at last, is that one transaction in Cranmer's life, which those who must ever disapprove of many other things in his conduct, should therefore never forget. Considered in itself and in its consequences, every other good thing he ever did shrinks into comparative insignificance. For this, all who have prized the Word of God, or now do so, stand indebted to him as an instrument. It would have been gratifying could we

⁵ Crumwell's Corr., Chapter-House. *Original.* Gov. State Papers, vol. i., p. 561.

have fallen upon some distinct testimony from his pen, at an earlier season ; for it is passing strange, if he had never, till this late period, expressed his admiration of Tyndale's translation ; but such, alas ! may have been one effect of that timidity which annoyed him all his days. The conjunction of circumstances, already described, seems to have emboldened him, and better late than never. But be this as it may, and after allowing to this first agent at home all the good he did, the reader, as he goes on, will lose sight of man ; and, it is presumed, will not be slow to recognise, above all, that unseen hand, so conspicuously displayed throughout the whole affair, of which this is nothing more than the first movement.

Grafton, let it be observed, was not kept long in suspense ; the entire request of Cranmer was immediately granted ; for, though all who could avoid London were gone, Crumwell had remained at his post—went to the King, and succeeded. Cranmer had heard of this in less than eight days, and expresses his gratitude in the strongest manner, too strongly to admit of the belief that the *general use* of the English Scriptures was *already* allowed. There was, no doubt, something in the translation itself, that at once caught the eye and the approbation of Cranmer ; but it was this step in advance, this “general use,” over which he also exulted. His Majesty had, it is true, acceded, and at Crumwell's request, to Coverdale's Bible, of Nycolson's printing, having these words upon it—“Set forth by the King's gracious licence ;” and Coverdale had requested, that this printer might have the monopoly for “certain years,”—but there was *no reply* to that application. Whereas now, the tide has not only changed, but it has begun to flow in another direction : for this Bible is not only to be stamped—*Set forth, &c.*, but it is *to be sold and read of every person without danger of any Act, Proclamation, or Ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary!* All this Cranmer asked, and to all this Henry at once agreed ! Cranmer, in short, felt like a man when every hindrance has been removed : and escaped, for the present, out of the paw of his brethren on the Bench, in a way that seemed quite marvellous to himself ; so moved was he, that fifteen days after this, in his very next letter to Crumwell, he writes absolutely as if he had not yet written at all. Other subjects,

indeed, demanded his attention, but, in the fulness of his heart, this has the first place.

Grafton seems to have brought only *one* Bible with him, as a specimen, and had left his servant to follow him with other copies. The first he had presented to Cranmer, who sent him with it to Crumwell, and *he* requested six copies to be brought to him, on their arrival. The very day on which Cranmer was writing his last letter, the servant had arrived; and in the midst of the *plague*, still raging, Grafton sent the volumes to Crumwell, with a letter in which he begs his Lordship's acceptance of the Bibles as a gift, for his pains in getting them licensed, and proceeds in a strain of the grossest flattery, amounting to profanity, while his language shows that some great and unprecedented thing had taken place, so much so as to seem to many incredible: hence he goes on to ask that the licence might be under the Privy Seal, as a defence against all enemies and adversaries of the same.

Crumwell thought the Privy Seal unnecessary, but Grafton, having embarked his whole fortune in the undertaking, again pleads for it as a protection against the foreign printers, who might undersell him with an inferior article from the German press, and so ruin him, as well as introduce a corrupt text to save the expense of correction.

From this earnest appeal of Grafton, it is evident, that as the volume had come upon Cranmer by surprise, so he had no concern whatever with the cost incurred; nay, that *no man in England* shared in the expense. It was a gift from abroad, and the burden lay chiefly on the shoulders of this individual, as a man in business.

We have no written reply to this letter, which, however, does not signify, as it is well known that Grafton succeeded: but as to the present sudden and most memorable interposition in favour of Tyndale's exertions, it was an occurrence, the effects of which reach down to the present hour. The event itself is only more extraordinary than the fact, that it should never have been even marked as it ought to have been, and much less dwelt upon, by any previous writer. But though hitherto buried among other casual incidents, it would be unpardonable *now* to pass on without contemplating an occurrence, in which, without

either presumption or enthusiasm, the overruling hand of God may be so distinctly traced. There is here no interference with the *free agency* of man, but one of the most complete specimens of the mode in which an allwise Providence governs the world. Grafton, indeed, and his co-partner Whitchurch, may be easily disposed of, or regarded throughout the whole affair as resembling only the hewers of wood and drawers of water, in ancient time; but in looking back to the spring of 1526, when Tyndale's first efforts were so very keenly felt, as to awaken the wrath of all in power; and following the track, as we have done, down to the month of August 1537, what a varied scene has passed before us! The hand of the Most High has been visible all along; but it was most of all conspicuous *now*, for the day was won! In the course of the long conflict, not a few of the enemy have perished. Two Lords Chancellor, an Archbishop of Canterbury, besides, at least, four noted Bishops, have fallen; to say nothing of other two, sent adrift into Italy. Wolsey and Warham, West of Ely and Nix of Norwich, Standish of St. Asaph and Fisher of Rochester, as well as Dr. Robert Ridley and Sir Thomas More, are gone.

But what, it may still be said, does all this signify? There are, at least, eight or ten men yet alive; and, except it be the King himself transiently, when in some unwonted mood, not one of them has spoken a word in favour of Tyndale or his exertions, up to this month of August; nay, with two or three exceptions, all the rest have even raged against him. These men, too, occupy the Privy Council, the Senate, and the Bench; so that before such an event as the present could possibly have taken place, every one of them must have been overruled. And accordingly now, within the compass of ten days, each day for a year, and whether pacified or not, they *have all been overruled*.

Yes, the King himself, and his Prime Minister the Duke of Norfolk; Crumwell his Vicegerent, and Cranmer his Archbishop; Tunstal of Durham and Stokesly of London; Longland of Lincoln and Gardiner of Winchester; nay, Coverdale and his friend Nycolson, have all alike, or every one of them, been disposed of.

For where is the individual who can now look so low, as to

trace this change to Cranmer, and simply say, that *he* was the cause? He was the superintended agent, and let it only be the more observed, the willing instrument, for certainly he did all, at this moment, not by constraint, but of hearty good will; and yet it must be clear as day, that of all others, *he* was *most* under the influence of predominant power. The step he took was a bold and decided one, and had Crumwell been the man, it would have been in perfect character: but Cranmer, though withal an amiable character, was by constitution timid, and according to his *own* repeated confession, had lost beyond recovery, in his youth, every spice of audacity or daring. Yes, and he was therefore only the more fit to be employed as an instrument, to overrule or take by surprise, *all the rest*. After a long and tedious war, the bitter though fruitless opposition of eleven years, the opportunity for dealing with crafty opponents, with stiff-necked and rebellious enemies to the truth, had arrived; the time for showing "the weakness of God to be stronger than men." It was a select hour for choosing a cautious and a timid man to sway the mighty and the wayward. He himself, indeed, might be doubtful of success; for he said to Crumwell, "Obtain all I ask—if *you can*;" but what was the result? Take up the men individually, and see.

In so sanctioning this prototype, which contained the translations of Tyndale, the *King* himself was overruled. Witness his violent language for years, employed in public documents—his interdict of Tyndale's version, and all his other writings—his commissioning men to apprehend him, though in vain—and his cold indifference at the end, only last year, respecting his very life. On the same ground stands *Crumwell*; after having vilified our Translator, and warned the English Envoy, Vaughan, if he dared to speak favourably of him; after having long patronised Coverdale, contributed to his support, nay, and there can be no doubt, to the *cost* of his translation, as well as obtained the temporary assent of Henry to the reprint of that book. As for the others, who had been sworn enemies all along: *Tunstal*, notwithstanding his raving in 1526, about the "pestiferous poison" that had infected his diocese of London, he is now in alarm as to other *infection*. He is now absolutely terrified to approach the capital, for fear of the plague; and besides, he is

under marching orders for Newcastle, as President of the Council of the North. *Stokesly* of London, after all his bloody deeds, must now be quiet, although Grafton be proposing, for *his* diocese, such a plentiful supply of that very translation, for the reading of which, he was wont to doom the party to the flames. Old *Longland* of Lincoln, who so exulted over Wolsey's "secret search, and at one time" in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, for books to be burnt, must, for the present, also ponder over the change, but remain neutral! *Gardiner*, when at home, of all other men, wonderfully contrived to retain the King's ear; but that shrewd and far-seeing man, the ablest foe of all, had been removed to a distance. As Tunstal was out of the way, in *Spain*, when the New Testament first came, so was Gardiner in *France*, when the Bible arrived. After displeasing the King in 1535, it had been convenient to send him into honourable exile, as Ambassador to Paris, out of Crumwell's way, and he was not to be recalled for a year to come. The Duke of *Norfolk* too, Gardiner's dear friend, is down in the North; and though panting to return, and pestering Crumwell with letters for this end, he cannot wend his way to London till relieved by Tunstal, who, however, is slow to move. But, above all the rest, no one was more signally overruled than *Cranmer*, the agent first employed. No individual in England had striven so hard for some certain translation, to be sanctioned by his fellows. He had got them to petition his Majesty, in 1534, for such a one. In 1535, he had attempted the New Testament only, but failed; and last year, in Convocation again, he had not only petitioned once more for the same thing, but acquiesced, with all the rest, in the King's Sacrament of *penance*; which the Bible of this year, over which he now so rejoiced, will not sanction! And, finally, as for Myles Coverdale himself, he is shortly to be employed in correcting the press of a second edition of this very Bible, which Grafton had thus brought into England.

In short, as this year no Parliament was assembled—no Convocation held, so neither the one nor the other was, or could be, consulted on the subject! The Bishops, as a body, were now scattered by the plague, "every one to his own;" while Cranmer, who has just fled from it, and in total despair of all deliverance arising from that quarter, boldly affirms, that a

better translation of the Sacred Scriptures they either could not, or would not, "set forth, till a day after doomsday!" To this, no doubt, the best men in all England then fully responded; and, in concert, they might all have said or sung, in the language of their own Bible—

"O! sing unto the Lord a new song,
For He hath done marvellous things!
With *His own* right hand, and with His holy arm,
Hath He gotten the victory!
The Lord is King, be the people never so impatient:
He sitteth upon the Cherubims, be the earth never so unquiet."

At such a crisis, when the country was in danger of being deluged with corrupt versions of His own blessed Word, it was thus shown, in the most striking manner, to every devout and careful observer, that *the God of Providence is the God of the Sacred Scriptures*; and as He intended the version now given, to remain in this highly-favoured land for generations then unborn, it was fit that this interference should take place at the *beginning*. In the wide compass of English history, a more signal interposition of Divine Providence on behalf of His own Word never occurred since, and that simply for this reason, it was never demanded; the present sufficed for all time to come. This same Monarch, indeed, and some of his wilfully blind Prelates, may yet rage and strive, but the version shall *never* be banished from the land. It may be corrected and improved, nay, and be burnt again; and seventy years after this, upwards of fifty learned men may be engaged for three years, in order to make it, as they said, "more smooth and easy, and agreeable to the text;" but the translation now received, shall be the basis of all future editions. And well it might; for after all this labour, and after all due praise to our present version, to say nothing of particular words, there are still happy turns of expression which had better have been retained. "In point of perspicuity, and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style," it has been said, "no English version has yet surpassed it;" and if any one suspect that this is saying too much, let him first peruse Tyndale for himself, and then observe the innumerable passages which, after so many revisions, are verbally the same as in our present version.

In the detail thus presented to the reader, he cannot fail to have observed more reasons than one for the distinction drawn between the translation of Tyndale and that of Coverdale. He has seen that the powerful *effects* of the former had roused Crumwell, and led him to employ Coverdale "instantly," or in all haste, to sit down to his task; and the task performed, before it could have made any impression on England, he has heard Fox of Hereford, in Convocation last year, allow or rather describe the glorious result of Tyndale's primary version—"The lay people," said he, "do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us." In one word, *the times themselves were the effect of Tyndale's translation; Coverdale's translation was only one effect of the times.*

In conclusion of this present year, all other events sink into insignificance when compared with the introduction of Tyndale's Bible to his countrymen; so peacefully, easily, and effectually accomplished, after all the blood and turmoil of the past. The *plague* was raging furiously all the time; yet the prototype, the first edition of our English Bible, must be then and so introduced. Come it did, at a season so rousing, and fraught with solemn warning. Not to increase alarm, even Grafton, who brought it, was cautious of approach. Official men had fled for safety from the Metropolis. Not so Crumwell. He stood firm in the midst of the dying and the dead. It was chiefly to do what he did in this matter; while all other men of power and pretension have appeared before us, only as "clay in the hand of the potter." To exempt any individual, would be historically incorrect: they have been overruled to a man.

If, therefore, there be any importance in setting an example; in exhibiting a pattern after which others may work, or in laying the foundation-stone of a great enterprise; if it be easy to follow, where one has broken up the way, and smoothed it; and if the first individual who strikes out a new and untried path (in which his country, after having showed great resistance, at last follows), be allowed to discover a mind above the common order,—then, so far as human agency was concerned, all this must be traced to one man; and one whom now we need not name.

MDXXXVIII.

THE SECOND YEAR OF TRIUMPH—PERSECUTION RESUMED—THE ENGLISH BIBLE PRINTING IN PARIS—PRESS INTERRUPTED—INQUISITION OVERMATCHED—THE BIBLE FINISHED IN LONDON—FIRST INJUNCTIONS FOR TYNDALE'S BIBLE—NEW TESTAMENTS, FRESH EDITIONS—COVERDALE'S TESTAMENTS—THE DESTITUTE STATE OF ENGLAND—JOY OVER THE SCRIPTURES—RETROSPECT.

NOTWITHSTANDING what occurred last year, it would be a great mistake to imagine, because Henry the Eighth and all around him had been overruled, that any visible change of character had taken place, either in him, or in them. On the contrary, they will go on in such a manner, and to such an extent, as to render the interposition already described, only the more striking. It must ever stand out in bold *relief*, among the current events of the time. Men overruled, in any rank, occupy very humble ground; but the higher their station, or the greater their influence, the ground is lower still; and the King himself will immediately satisfy us that there was no change upon him. Nor will this be less apparent in the servants of the Crown.

The Sacred Scriptures, however, in the English tongue, had now been introduced, and in a manner so remarkable as to excite curiosity with regard to the sequel. The victory already recorded, great as it was, would not yet suffice. If there was any spot on the Continent, where opposition to Divine Truth had been most of all virulent, that will be the proper place in which to complete the triumph of the English Bible. Before the printing of the Sacred Oracles is to become by far the most conspicuous or distinguishing feature of our own country, another conquest had been determined. Tyndale had toiled and died on the Continent, and that must be the seat of this second achievement. It comes like a double testimony to the work of his hands; but the story will appear in its proper colours, after we have glanced over some subordinate affairs at home.

The present year, deriving all its importance from being that which immediately followed the public sanction of the Sacred Volume in England, the policy of Cromwell and Cranmer, met

and checked by that of Tunstal and Gardiner, first demands our notice.

At that Convocation in 1536, or the *first* of an unprecedented character, where Crumwell had presided as Vicegerent, and with a high hand over the Bishops, Cranmer had introduced certain articles, informing all present that the *Sacraments* must be *first* settled; and as the creed, whether framed by himself or the King, or by both in union, was guarded by sanguinary penalties, it formed a most convenient instrument for any persecutor. After this, it is true, by his zeal for the Bible of 1537, Cranmer would seem as though he had either questioned or undervalued the articles passed and subscribed: but be this as it may, he had been evidently eager to receive the Germans to a conference, and as much so to have retained them in discussion. Probably he thought, that as *they* could defend their own faith, under safe-conduct, and so boldly question or oppose some of the royal dogmas, thus some impression might be made on his obstinate and self-willed master. In this, however, he had now been deeply disappointed, when lo! Stephen Gardiner arrived in London.

Gardiner had been uniformly opposed to all this courting of the German Confederated States. Even when abroad, and two years ago, he had strongly advised the King against it; but he had now an opportunity of renewing his former arguments, and the crisis was particularly favourable to his adding "many like words." He had been living for three years on the Continent; and as his royal Master, in all his movements, was governed solely by political motives, no man was more able than Gardiner to turn his intimate acquaintance with foreign affairs to some positive account, in favour of his own views. These, of course, were diametrically opposed to the policy of Crumwell and Cranmer. Henry, he had insinuated formerly, was a Sovereign, but these Germans, very inferior princes, the mere subjects of the Emperor; and it was below the King's *dignity* to form any league with them, except as lord of them all. He was "Head of the Church" in his own kingdom; and in all matters of faith they, of course, ought to bow to him. Besides, he was an author of high renown; and having, by his book against Luther, gained the title of "Defender of the Faith," it was now of more im-

portance than ever, that he should appear the lord and master of all sentiments and opinions within his own dominions, and give distinct intimation to all what his own opinions were. Pole had charged his Majesty with the crime of *changing* his religion; whereas now, through Tunstal, not only private masses, involving auricular confession, had been maintained, but all the wonders of the mass. One of the points in discussion with the Envoys from Germany had related to the Lord's Supper, and the denial of the cup to the people at large; but in the final reply by Tunstal and Henry, the corporal presence and concomitance had been affirmed to the last degree of incomprehensibility. Should any man in England, therefore, at this moment, presume to question *that* point, a fine opportunity was presented to Gardiner and Tunstal for using all their address and sophistry. The King, it has been said, "valued Gardiner's abilities for business, saw his meanness, and was not aware that he himself was sometimes influenced by the fawning subtilty which he despised." In one word, no moment could be more favourable for bloody purposes. Henry was chafed by the policy of the European Sovereigns, enraged at Pole as well as at his pointed charges, if not also irritated by the obstinate adherence of the Germans to their Augsburg Confession.

The creed of 1536, therefore, (forming the first articles imposed upon England,) as if framed for the occasion, was now to be put in operation. The King had entitled it—"Articles devised to establish Christian *quietness* among us;" and Cranmer, in bringing it before the Convocation, had insisted that the sacraments must be *first* settled; but in doing this, he probably little dreamed that two of those very articles would prove the first occasion of his embruing his own hands in blood. The first article was baptism, and with it the King began. Henry had decreed that all *his* people "ought, *and must of necessity*, believe certainly, that baptism was instituted as a thing necessary *for the attaining of everlasting life*"—"that by *this* they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God"—"that this promise of grace and life, which is adjoined unto baptism, pertaineth not only to such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, who, by this sacrament, be made *thereby* the very sons and children of God—that infants must needs be christened,

because they be born in original sin, which sin *cannot* be remitted, but *by* the sacrament of baptism."

It has been affirmed that there were many in England who denied the gross errors here propounded; and the list of "dogmata" presented to the Convocation in 1536, as prevailing throughout the country, might be referred to as proving this; but the parties seized, at this moment, were *not* Henry's people—not his own subjects. They were foreigners, Germans, who had fled from their own country to avoid persecution there. They might therefore have at least been first warned to *leave* the kingdom. But no—the King must speak out, in no unequivocal terms, as to his orthodoxy; and both Cranmer and Crumwell, as well as others, now fall in with the stream of blood.

On the first of October, a commission, in the King's name, was given out to *Cranmer*, *Stokesly*, and *Samson*, as Bishops, including *Heath*, *Skip*, *Thirlby*, *Gwent*, *Robert Barnes*, and *Edward Crome*, to try these people "lately come into this realm, where they lurk secretly in divers corners and places." There is no evidence of any crime whatever, save the denial of this article, or the doctrine contained in it; and we have no record of their trial. Nor is this surprising; it was not to be expected; as by the commission itself, the commissioners had authority to *execute the premises, notwithstanding part of them might be contrary to the customary course and forms of law!* This most humiliating document for Cranmer, was subscribed by Crumwell. The result was, that three men and one woman bore fagots at Paul's Cross, and two others, a man and a woman, were consigned to the flames in Smithfield.

But another article of the creed imposed, furnished ground for a far more conspicuous triumph to the Bishop of Winchester; when a more miserable spectacle of a royal tyrant taunting and worrying his victim, Westminster Hall probably never witnessed, before nor since. *John Lambert*, a convert of *Bilney's*, who is said to have associated with *Tyndale* and *Fryth* when abroad, had, in the reign of *Sir Thomas More*, been brought to England; and before *Warham*, in 1532, had answered to not fewer than forty-five articles laid against him. *Warham*, however, died that year, and *Lambert* was discharged. To avoid the fury of persecution, he then changed his name to *Nicholson*;

and being a man of learning, he had, since that period, earned an honourable subsistence, by teaching Latin and Greek. This year, Dr. John Tailour, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, had been preaching at St. Peter's, Cornhill, on "transubstantiation." Lambert or Nicholson, after hearing him, had offered civilly to argue the point, but Tailour required him to commit his thoughts to writing; a very dangerous thing in those times, and that which had proved fatal to the immortal Fryth. On showing the paper to Robert Barnes, of whom we have just heard, as a member in commission with Cranmer, *he* advised Tailour to lay it before the Archbishop, now so rigidly observed by all his brethren of "the old learning." Lambert, once brought into Court, appealed from the Bishops to the *King*; when Gardiner suggested that a fine opportunity was now presented to his Majesty, for putting an end to all insinuations, foreign or domestic, and of vindicating himself before the world, from the charge of favouring *heretics*. The King, in perfect character, taking up the appeal with a high hand, convoked his Nobles and Prelates immediately to repair to London, and assist at the triumph. Upon the day fixed Henry arrived, with a numerous guard, all clothed in *white*, and a cushion of white cloth of tissue was laid before his Majesty. On his right sat the Bishops, and behind them the lawyers, in purple. On his left the Peers, in their order, with the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber behind. The King, once seated on his throne, Samson, Bishop of Chichester, by command, declared to the people the cause of this assembly:—

"The King," he said, "was resolved to keep constant to the Catholic faith and customs. That he was very desirous the prisoner would retract his errors, and return to the Catholic communion: That for this purpose, and to prevent the extremities which would otherwise follow, he had ordered the appearance of these grave and learned men, the Bishops; hoping that by the advantage of their character, and force of their reasoning, they would recover him to the Church, and wrest his unfortunate opinion from him. But in case he was not to be removed from his obstinacy, he (the King) was resolved to make him an example; and by a precedent, of *his own setting*, acquaint his judges and the Magistracy, how *they* ought to manage heresy, and behave themselves upon such occasions!"

Henry then commenced, and with "brows bent unto severity;" but Lambert at once denying the corporal presence, he commanded Cranmer to answer him. With his characteristic mild-

ness the Archbishop began; but very soon it appeared as if Lambert would triumph in argument. "The King," says Foxe, "seemed greatly moved—the Bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the people amazed;" when Gardiner, whose cause it truly was, before Cranmer had finished, and who, according to previous arrangement, ought not to have spoken one word, till four others had finished, kneeled down for permission to break silence. Henry assenting, he began—Tunstal, Stokesly, and two others, followed, occupying the solitary prisoner for five hours, or from twelve to five o'clock, when torches were lighted. Lambert maintained his opinions in answer to them all; but observing that there was no hope of being fairly heard, towards the close had become silent. At last, Henry inquired, whether he would *live* or *die*? Lambert threw himself upon the King's mercy—that King who, in his anger, never spared any man. He replied, that he would be no patron of heretics; and then commanded *Crumwell*, as Vicar-General, to read the sentence of death! Such was the pitiful display on Friday the 16th of November; and on Tuesday following, the 20th, Lambert was burnt to ashes, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. His last words were—"None but Christ—none but Christ!"

On Saturday following, the foreigners suffered; and by Wednesday the 28th we have melancholy proof of the basest sycophancy on the part of *Crumwell*, now striving in vain to retain his influence and power, in the face of Gardiner, the Duke of Norfolk, and others. Writing to Sir Thomas Wyatt, then ambassador in Spain, he describes the scenes in which he took the sad part of reading the burning sentence, justifies the execution, and in flattering words eulogizes the royal murderer; so that his having been said to have asked forgiveness of Lambert before death, if not a mere gratuitous assumption, or embellishment of Foxe, was adding insult to injury. And as for *Crumwell's motive* in so writing to the Continent, at this juncture, if it was the pitiful time-serving idea, that he might thus raise his cruel master in the estimation of the Spanish Court, and so, in some degree, retain his own popularity or power, he entirely failed. With regard to the mock trial itself; such an array, to browbeat and overawe a poor solitary school-

master, was sufficiently contemptible. The thing was evidently got up to serve some purpose at the moment, while, like many other bloody steps, it proved an entire failure; though, after all, in the page of history, the event is not without its value. Henry had assembled all his authorities round him, and thus fully displayed what was actually *their* existing spirit or character, as well as his *own*. The firm faith and fortitude of Lambert cleared the moral atmosphere, and served to show the entire assembly in its true colours. The right of private judgment, and the unfettered freedom of religious worship, were not understood, of course, by a single individual there present; but, on the other hand, if the Sacred Scriptures be actually now printing, and at the instance of Crumwell, one of these very courtiers, then their introduction into England, or diffusion there, is a cause just as distinct from these men, except as mere instruments, as it had ever been. And should another edition of the Sacred Volume, and that a larger impression, be thus advancing at press, it becomes doubly interesting to inquire, how such a thing could be accomplished. The Most High is ever ruling, not in the armies of heaven alone, but “in the midst of his enemies;” only at such a time as this, His overruling power becomes evident to demonstration, and demands special praise. We turn therefore to what, in one sense, is the only important view of the present year.

The two cities in the west of Europe, or indeed anywhere else, which, *as* cities, had discovered the fiercest opposition to Divine Truth, were London and Paris. The former, after a siege of eleven years' duration, had now been taken. A succession of sappers and miners, by means of the New Testament, had fully prepared the way. The same gracious Providence, which had been so conspicuous from the beginning, at last, and most unexpectedly, brought the Bible entire, when, through the straitness of the siege, and the force of overruling local circumstances, all at once, Henry, and the men around him, without one breath of hostility, struck their flag of defiance, and received the vilified and long-rejected version. The latter city, Paris, though assailed as long as London had been, was, alas! never so to yield. Francis, though the attached brother of a pious sister,

would never bow, as Henry had been obliged to do. Of the two cities it might be said—"one was taken, the other left."

By the favour of God, Britain was to become the land of Bibles; and yet the next edition, after the imported one, was not to be commenced in her metropolis. A tribute higher still must be paid to the disinterested patriotism and Christian pity of our first Translator. London did not then afford such excellent materials for printing as Paris. It would therefore be a higher display of Almighty power, amidst the burning hatred of the Parisians, of the King himself, and even in the face of that Inquisition, which had obtained no footing in England, if the next English folio Bible should be printed by Frenchmen, and in Paris itself! It will not only be so, but under the eye of the same man who had embarked his all in printing the first edition!

Such, in truth, turns out to be the peculiar feature of the year 1538. There the work must now proceed; and not only so, but this shall lead to consequences, very memorable, down to the close of 1541. The Bible commenced at Paris in 1538, and finished in London by April 1539, is a curiosity equally remarkable in its way with that of 1537, if not more so. It was like going forth "from conquering, to conquer."

Such an event indeed might seem impossible, look where we may, at home or abroad. Henry himself, in eager correspondence with both Spain and France, is observed to have been engrossed with Continental politics, and not only in keen pursuit after a fourth Queen, but busy in proposing matrimonial alliances for his children, or, as after this, in sanctioning bitter persecution. Cranmer, in communication with Germany, is employed in discussion for months with Envoys from that country; while Crumwell, between them both, though he might seem to have had enough to do, is also pursuing vigorously his own course, in the visitation of Monasteries and Abbeys, Images, Crosses and Shrines, with a view to their common overthrow. The harvest months are marked by cruel preparations, and those of winter, by the shedding of blood, both foreign and domestic.

Where then was any room left? Where any time for attention to subjects so widely different, or far apart, as that of the printing of the Scriptures, and their diffusion throughout

England? Still, both time and attention *must* be given to both. Last year Crumwell had been overruled, Gardiner's return was well fitted to quicken his pace, and this year he has become a determined and energetic agent. His eye had been directed to Paris, where for the last five years especially, the greatest hostility to the Scriptures had been most cruelly displayed; but this will only lend greater singularity to the next edition of the English Bible. The hand of Britain's God will once again be pressed upon our notice, as if to show, that all places, as well as persons, or that Francis I. and Henry VIII., the highest regal opponents, were alike before Him.

Grafton's edition, so singularly introduced last year, was soon found to be but a poor supply, and a second, of 2,500 copies, was now intended. Grafton may have suggested Paris as the best place for printing it, as well as for superior paper; and here now stood Coverdale, at Crumwell's command, ready to accompany him, as corrector of the press; but how was it possible for the work to be executed there? In the commencement of the year, owing to the feeling then existing between Henry and Francis, such a proposal was out of the question. The latter had given great offence, by refusing Mary of Guise to the English monarch, and by not bowing to his request as to her sisters. Both the Emperor and Francis, however, in order to gain time, were alike deceiving the King of England; and by the end of February, one of the French King's strokes of policy was, to *assent* to Henry becoming the mediator between the Emperor and himself; nay, before the end of April, he had offered his son, the Duke of Orleans, to Mary of England. Crumwell's policy, it has been affirmed, was to cultivate friendship with France, and, through that power, link Henry with the German States: but be that as it may, here was now an opening with *Paris*. At this moment, therefore, Crumwell must have succeeded in getting his royal Master to communicate with Francis; as it was expressly in consequence of this that a licence was then actually granted by the King of France to Richard Grafton and George Whitechurch, to print the Scriptures. Now, as Francis *left* his capital about the 1st of June, and considerable progress had been made by the 23rd of that month, it may be safely presumed that both Grafton and

Coverdale had arrived in Paris some time in May. It is worthy of remark, that the first step taken was by a direct communication between these two monarchs, Henry and Francis; for Crumwell would not stoop to any intercourse through *Gardiner*, though the English ambassador there, who was a noted opponent. Granting the request, too, might, and probably did, serve the purpose of Francis in prolonging delusion, who was just then setting off for Nice, where, at last, the mask of friendship was to be thrown off. The French King, therefore, after issuing the licence, *leaves* Paris, and *Gardiner* officially *follows* him; but it was three months before either the one or the other *returned*; and thus the printing of this Bible for England rapidly proceeded during their absence! When the English Scriptures were to be introduced into our native land, the Bishop of Winchester was taken out of the way; and so it happened when they were to be printed in Paris. He may return for a few days in September, but *not* as ambassador: his influence was gone; it was merely to make certain arrangements before taking his departure for England.

Less than two years ago, when the Doctors of Louvain were wrangling with Tyndale, and thirsting for his blood, certainly there was nothing within the range of possibility so improbable, as that *his* translation of the Scriptures should be re-printing at a *Parisian* press, by the request of his *own* Sovereign, and with the sanction of the persecuting French King himself; but so it was! For while the common enemies of such a measure were *all* assembled at Nice, only to make bad worse; Grafton and Coverdale were busily at work! In their letters to Crumwell they speak of the undertaking as "*your* work of the Bible," and send him specimens of it as they proceed, craving "help at this present," and some means of "defence from the Papists, by your Lordship's favourable letters." They report progress from time to time, informing him of the marks and marginal notes they were adding for the elucidation of the text. A person attached to Crumwell's household was with them and occasionally conveyed portions of the impression over to England with letters for his master. The Bishop elect of Hereford, the well-known Bonner of London, of the following reign, but now paying court to Crumwell, was also partially engaged in this business, and

was, say they, "so good unto us as to convey *this much of the Bible to your good Lordship*, to the intent that if these men proceed in their cruelty against us, and confiscate the *rest*, yet this at the least may be *safe*, by the means of your Lordship, whom God, the Almighty, evermore preserve to His good pleasure."¹

The Bible itself, however, was to be *its own* interpreter; and of *annotations* there were to be *none*; a circumstance far too remarkable to pass unnoticed, for they were never added. But there stand the pointing hands, both in the text and in the margin, by which the edition may be easily distinguished.

It was only four days after this letter, that the press was arrested in its progress. An order from the Inquisition, dated the 17th of December, 1538, and subscribed "Le Tellier," was the instrument; citing "Regnault, and all other that it might concern," to appear and answer—inhibiting at once the printing of the Bible, and concealment of the sheets already finished.² As this body acted under *royal* authority, as well as that of the Pontiff, some change must have taken place in the mind of Francis, before such a proceeding could have been winked at; and for this change it is not difficult to account. Bonner's appointment was far from an acceptable one to the French King. Coming as he did, it was impossible to regard him in any other light than that of a spy, and as a spy he had been acting most vigilantly. In October he was at St. Quentin, near Cambray, watching and reporting a suspicious interview of Francis with the reigning Princess of the Netherlands, the sister of Charles; and at Paris, so recently as the last day of November, he writes to Crumwell—"I shall, by God's grace, give vigilant eye to their doings here, and advertise you. Hitherto I have been strangely and very unkindly used in my lodging, having no kind of friendship showed me in manner that was worthy—how it will be hereafter I cannot tell."³ Among other points which Bonner had in charge, there was an annual pension by Francis to Henry, in terms of a treaty between them, which was now in arrear for four years; and the zealous Envoy had begun to

¹ Harleian MS., No. 604, p. 98; dated 1539 in the Catalogue, instead of 1538.

² Cleop., E. v., fol. 326.

³ Cotton MS., Calig. E. iv., fol. 8, 10.

press payment in a style which finally occasioned his recall, next year.

But happily, after all, the Inquisitor seems to have been more than a day too late. The entire impression of the Bible, amounting to 2,500 copies, could not have fallen into his hands. We have read Coverdale's information of the 13th of December, and as the present citation was the *second*, and is dated the 17th, there can be no doubt, that, impelled by the *first*, he was then conveying away "so much of the Bible" as had been ready for removal. Even with regard to the sheets seized, there was considerable recovery; for having been condemned to be burnt in Maubert Place, "four great dry-fats of them" were regained by purchase. This was owing to the cupidity of the Lieutenant Criminal of the Inquisition, who, instead of obeying orders, had sold them to a haberdasher.

Old John Foxe, therefore, though others have followed him, was mistaken in supposing that these books were lost, and so was Lewis. The evidence now presented looks quite the other way, and the copies even still remaining in existence confirm it. "I am inclined to think," says Todd, "that the proprietors lost *few* copies of the impression." And who were these proprietors? For the affair was by no means to end here. Henry VIII. himself, by Crumwell's request, and Crumwell much more deeply, were parties concerned. Whether, therefore, the alarm soon subsided or not, or any means were taken to appease the Inquisitors, it must have been dangerous and impolitic at the moment to thwart even the Vicegerent, still in possession of great power, to say nothing of his imperious master. Crumwell had been assisting the undertaking by pecuniary supplies; the King himself had written to Francis, and *he* had fully committed himself before leaving Paris for Nice. Since then the Inquisitors had chosen to interfere in his absence—the King of France, nay, and the Inquisition to boot, must now be overruled to *help*, instead of hindering the work. Persons commissioned by Crumwell soon returned to Paris, and they brought away with them the printing *presses*, the *types*, and even the *workmen*. In short, scarcely six weeks could have been lost, and scarcely a sheet could have been missing, as in two months more the Bible entire was completed in *London*. On

the last leaf they printed, "The ende of the New Testament, and of the whole Byble, fynished in Apryll anno 1539. A Dñō factū est istud"—emphatically acknowledging Him, whose cause it was; they did well to add, *A Domino factum est istud*.

It will certainly be very observable, if this interruption actually promoted the design, and to a *far greater extent* than if there had been none whatever. Had there been none, Coverdale and Grafton had finished their task in Paris, leaving the types and workmen on the spot. Meanwhile, a hint had thus been given that they had better let all *annotations* alone, for they were *never* printed; leaving the Sacred text to speak for itself. But above all, it will appear that the Parisian *types* had come in far larger quantity, and even the French *workmen* in greater number, than has ever been before observed. In the editions of the Bible from this time to the close of 1541, we wait to discover the proof of this. At this crisis, certainly no gift, or *God-send*, to old England, could have been of more value than these types and printers. Very different employment must have awaited both, had they remained in Paris. Tunstal had been jocularly advised to buy the press and types out of Tyndale's way, to *prevent* the New Testament from coming into England! Now, the authorities are importing both men and types, to *print* the version: and by and by, Henry himself will command Tunstal, to sanction the translation he had so denounced. This too will be after Crumwell is dead, and the influence of Cranmer was on the decline.

Grafton, as we have seen, had laid down at the press two copies of this Bible in *vellum*, one for the King and another for Crumwell. The sheets of both had been saved, as both are understood to be in preservation. The copy once belonging to Crumwell is in St. John's College, Cambridge, and has been described long ago, as "printed on vellum, and embellished with cuts, illuminated, the leaves gilt, and the cover embossed with brass, fynished in Apryll, anno 1539." The frontispiece has Crumwell's arms in colours.

The second vellum copy of 1539 is still understood to be in existence, in the possession of a private individual. Of the copies printed on paper, there are not fewer than twelve to be found in different collections.

Such is the edition, which, on the authority of Coverdale's and Grafton's own words, ought to have been all along associated with the name of CRUMWELL, and *never* with that of *Cranmer*, as it has too frequently been. It was Crumwell's undertaking from beginning to end; and without HIS *importation of types and men*, Cranmer afterwards had never been able to have proceeded as he did. Throughout 1538, Cranmer was otherwise engrossed with the German commissioners, besides other business; in the whole of his correspondence with Crumwell, throughout 1538, there is not one allusion to the Bible; and although Cranmer's future prologue or preface has been bound up with some copies of this Bible, it does *not* belong to the book. The first Bible in which Cranmer took an interest personally, was the next which will come before us; but still, the materials and men now imported, and the *impetus* now given by Crumwell, will be found to prevail throughout the Bibles of 1540, and extend to those of 1541, after his death. To the Vicegerent must be conceded his own place in history, whatever afterwards may become of his general character. But for Crumwell's exertions at this period, it is next to certain that no *such* Bibles could have appeared in 1540 and 1541.

We have now returned to England, and ever after this decisive triumph, shall have much less occasion to look abroad. Ever since Tyndale left London the undertaking has been a foreign one; but after a noble and uninterrupted struggle of fifteen years' duration, the English Bible may be considered as having now taken up its settled abode in our native land. The cause indeed will be thwarted still, even at home, and by Henry himself as well as his eldest daughter; though, ultimately, even she will be found to have advanced it. At subsequent periods too, thousands of Bibles will be printed on the Continent for English use, but all this will only serve to keep us in remembrance, that, as from the beginning, so ever afterwards, this undertaking had been conducted, not by human authority, but by the gracious hand of the Almighty.

Meanwhile, we have had one Bible, wholly imported in 1537, and a second, redeemed from destruction, finished in London; and notwithstanding the political frenzy, as well as all the cruelties perpetrating at home, the cause of Truth throughout

the year had been steadily advancing. Grafton, on proceeding to Paris, had left his first impression of 1537 to be disposed of, without any risk of loss or delay; and Crumwell in September put forth his first injunctions, in immediate reference to that Bible. This he did, as "Vicegerent unto the King's Highness,"—"for the discharge of the King's Majesty," and most providentially, he had issued his orders *before* the arrival of Gardiner from France. What a mighty advance had been made, since he left for Paris in October 1535! Or, more properly speaking, since he had been *sent out of the way*, as Tunstal had been before, and Bonner will be, after him. Gardiner might depart, rejoicing that Tyndale was at last in prison, and then, as perhaps he anticipated, to be put to death. But now, Gardiner had been removed once more out of the way, even from *Paris*; the Bible had been there printed before Bonner's own eye, and it was no other than Tyndale's long-traduced version of the Sacred Volume, which was held up to public view, by injunctions, to be "observed and kept, upon pain of deprivation."

"*Item*—That ye shall provide, on this side of the feast of N. (Natalis, Nativity of our Lord, 25th December,) next coming, one book of the whole Bible, of the *largest* volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church, that ye have cure of, where your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you, the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

"*Item*—That ye shall discourage *no man*, privily or apertly, from the reading or the hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort, *every person* to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian person is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved; admonishing them, nevertheless, to avoid all contention and altercation therein, but to use an honest sobriety in their inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture."⁴

These pointed injunctions to the country at large bore solely upon the Bible of the *largest volume*, the very first time this phrase was employed, and as yet there was but *one* such edition, so that there could be no mistake. They may have been rendered more imperative from the rumour of which Grafton had forewarned Crumwell, viz. that they would reprint Matthew's

⁴ Wilkins' Conc., Mag. Brit., p. 815.

Bible of 1537 in the Low Countries, so early as 1538. But this was only a rumour; they never did; as the Bible marked 1538 in our lists, from Lewis down to Cotton and Lowndes, is a mistake.

At home however, now, Tyndale was not forgotten. There were two editions of his New Testament in quarto; one printed in Southwark by Peter Treveres; the other, which seems to have been finished by the beginning of summer, was printed by Robert Redman, next door to St. Dunstan's, where Tyndale used to preach, "set forth under the King's most gracious licence,—cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." It is in parallel columns of Latin and English; the former, be it observed, *not* the Vulgate, but the Latin of *Erasmus*, and the latter that of Tyndale or of the English Bible, now enforced. These books appear to be a set off in contrast to the Testaments of Coverdale, and they explain the injunctions of Cranmer, preceding those of Crumwell, already mentioned.

This year an edition of Coverdale's New Testament appeared, printed at Antwerp, in small black letter, by Matthew Cromer, with numerous wood-cuts, marginal references and glosses. Tyndale's prologues were prefixed. Next year, another edition in larger type came out, but, like the former, abounding in typographical errors. This was unfortunate for Coverdale, who does not seem to have been aware of Cromer's intention till the volume appeared. But he *was* aware of his friend Nycolson's design to print his New Testament in parallel columns with the Vulgate. He was then in Paris. This work was executed so badly, that Coverdale had to disown it as his, and free himself from the responsibility of it, though it bore his name.

In his letters to Crumwell, Coverdale submits his translation so entirely to the "disposal" of his patron, that one cannot but observe the contrast his obsequiousness presents to the firmness and consistency of the first noble and independent Translator, who would not yield the conscientious rendering of a word to the highest earthly authority. Coverdale's reprobation of Nycolson's Testament did not prevent that publisher from putting forth another impression, to which he affixed the name of Johan Hollybushe. The copies which bore Coverdale's name were called in, which accounts for their rarity.

In conclusion of this year, as a striking illustration of the times, and as one proof that we have not been magnifying the importance of the labours of our first Translator of the Sacred Volume, the miserably destitute state of England, with regard to *oral* instruction by preaching, so far as men nominally called to it were concerned, now deserves to be specially observed.

The "ministry of the Word of God," so clearly enjoined in Scripture, was a subject not comprehended by men in official power; and though it had, the men who were in charge of what were termed benefices, or cures, glaringly did not understand it; nay, they were the determined adherents of a system, diametrically at variance with that imperative commission which the Saviour at His ascension left to be obeyed. Instead of taking up Christianity, therefore, as a system of belief, to be drawn fresh from the Oracles of God alone, and received into the heart of man—instead of recognising the absolute necessity of heartfelt repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, in the first instance, and in all cases, but above all, in men denominated Ministers of Christ: to enforce the reading of what was not *beloved*, and the preaching (if they could preach) what was not *believed*, the Vicegerent of Henry had conceived to be the only expedient. It was not the public sanction of the Scriptures last year, that would ever have induced these official underlings throughout the Counties of England, even to have looked into the Sacred Volume. To pray with the spirit and with the understanding also, was beyond their power; and to preach that Gospel which they did not themselves believe or comprehend, might have seemed a hopeless task to enjoin. Such, however, was the actual condition of the country, with regard to the governors and the governed, generally speaking; and had there not been now, as we have traced all along, a sacred cause independent altogether of both parties, nay, in spite of them, there would have been no reason whatever, in the year 1538, for any exultation over the progress of events.

Meanwhile, the injunctions of Crumwell, already quoted, as to the Bible itself, (p. 320,) had been thought necessary, on account of the indifference of these official men to the sanction of the Sacred Volume; but how many there were who were qualified to obey them, it is impossible to say. Few they must have been,

and far between. But supposing that the orders had been literally fulfilled, how far did the injunction itself reach? Only to the *minimum* of having “for every cure, *one sermon every quarter* of the year, at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ!”

Such was the deplorable state of the people at large, and such the miserable provision proposed for their instruction, when addressing those Bishops; among whom we have seen the deadliest enemies of a cause, which they could not destroy, nor even retard in its progress.

Happily, however, there had long been certain other men in the country, and *readers* not a few, besides these slumberers whom Crumwell was now striving to rouse; nay, and other *listeners* too, who, far from looking to official men, who could not teach, and would not learn, had tarried not for Henry the Eighth, nor waited for his Vicegerent. No sooner do we turn to *them*, though long despised, than a very different prospect rises to view; the vivid contrast to *four* sermons in the course of a year! The free permission of the Scriptures now rendered this scene more visible and striking. It is from a contemporary document that Strype has drawn it.

“It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learned sort, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God’s Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was! Every body that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves. Divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose; and even little boys flocked, among the rest, to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read.”

The modern reader may now once more very naturally exclaim—“Oh, could these men in power then have only been persuaded to have let such people alone! Could they have only understood the doctrine of non-interference!” Yes, and instead of encumbering a willing people with help, or tormenting them by interposition, have stood aloof in silence, and permitted these groups or gatherings to have heard the unambiguous voice of their God, and to have gazed upon the majesty and the meaning of Divine Truth!

The Sacred Scriptures, however, were now to be printed in England; nor was there to be another *foreign* edition of the volume entire for more than twenty years, or till the year 1560. We have come, therefore, to a memorable epoch or point of time. The time when the line of distinction is to be drawn between foreign books and those printed at home; between the Scriptures printed beyond seas for importation, and those to be prepared within our own shores; and in that metropolis, which, fifteen years ago, Tyndale had left in a state of general and burning hostility to any thing of the kind.

But in glancing over all that we have witnessed, and before entering upon a new era, with regard to the Bible itself, who can forbear looking back, for a moment, to the dining-hall in the mansion-house of Little Sodbury, in Gloucestershire? To the eager conversation or discussions there held, below a roof still standing? And to the deep-seated feeling of one man at the table, when the mitred Abbots of Winchcombe and Tewksbury were near at hand? And the Chancellor of Worcester "reviled him, as though he had been a dog?" And the hierarchy reigned triumphant, and Wolsey was in all his glory? And not one such printed page of inspiration was to be found in all England over? The unbending resolution, however, had been formed, and the memorable words in which, on one occasion, it was expressed, will bear to be repeated at such a time as this—"If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that drives the plough to know more of the Scriptures than you do."

Thus, before ever this Sacred Volume entire came to be printed upon *English* ground, Tyndale's energetic efforts had been signally crowned with success. His "labour in the Lord" had not been in vain. That labour, indeed, once involved nothing more than the solitary purpose of a single Christian; and viewed only in its bud, or budding, it has had little else than a bitter taste; but whether the flower has been sweet, millions can testify.

It becomes, therefore, not unworthy of remark, that without straining, this cause actually admits of a survey on the widest scale. The three great monarchs of the day were Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles V.; never forgetting the Pontiff at Rome; but certainly they have not played their several parts,

beyond the verge of God's providence, in His determined purpose towards this favoured Island. The licentious and indomitable monarch, for whom Tyndale prayed with his dying breath, though still wilfully blind, has been overruled. His Vicegerent or Vicar-General, guided only by expediency, and clothed with more power than Wolsey ever possessed, must lend all his *constitutional* energy, and go along with the stream of the Divine purpose. Cranmer, however timid and cautious, though too long silent, must speak out at last. On the other hand, we have Cuthbert Tunstal, after denouncing the translation at Paul's Cross, and tormenting all who possessed it, as far as he could reach them, who being constitutionally silent, must be silent now. As for Stokesly, the Bishop of London, the lion was bearded in his own den; for they have finished one Bible, and are preparing to print many more in London itself, nay, in London *alone*. And last, though not least, we have Stephen Gardiner, perhaps the ablest politician of the age, completely outwitted, but now come home, and just in time to see the final triumph; though, as Foxe says, he "*mightily did stomach and malign the printing of this Bible.*" But then Scotland, as well as England, had been invaded, and from the beginning; nor was the triumph confined to the shores of Britain. Even Charles V., by the way, had met with his greatest personal humiliation; and as for the King of France, that inveterate enemy, and ally of Rome, he has been overruled in his own capital, and the Inquisition itself is thwarted; for now, when the Bible is about to be printed in the English metropolis, we have printing presses from Paris, besides types in store from the same city, nay, and Frenchmen, who "*became printers in London, which before,*" says John Foxe truly, "*they never intended.*"

In England, indeed, they may tamper injuriously, to a limited degree, with the first translation imported; and there are battles still, which remain to be fought upon English ground; though after Henry VIII. has left the stage, the version will be reprinted again and again, many times, and precisely as Tyndale gave it to his country.

But at present, that is to say, in 1538, if the Emperor Charles, and the French King, and the Pontiff himself, with Cardinal

Pole in his train, were all grouped together at Nice, intending, among other business, to alarm or overreach the King of England; then it was fit, that all the while, certain men from London should be busy in printing the English Bible in the capital of France; and after bringing over the materials and Parisian workmen to England, proceed on their way, and in far better style, than they could otherwise have done. Such was the crowning achievement, in a series of conquests, in favour of all that Tyndale had accomplished! A man, in regard to whose character and exertions, the British Christian especially may now well exclaim—

Thine is a fragrance which can never waste,
Though left for ages to the charter'd wind.

MDXXXIX.

EVENTFUL YEAR—STATE OF PARTIES—PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION—ROYAL MESSAGE—NEW ARTICLES—BILLS OF ATTAINDER—THE SIX ARTICLES APPLIED—FRUSTRATED—CRANMER SAFE—LATIMER IMPRISONED—ALES ESCAPES—CONSTANTYNE IN DANGER—THE SCRIPTURES PRINTING IN VARIOUS EDITIONS—CRUMWELL'S REMARKABLE ENERGY IN THIS DEPARTMENT—THE KING SWAYED ONCE MORE—THE CAUSE IN PROGRESS—CRANMER BUSY IN PROSPECT OF HIS FIRST EDITION, NEXT SPRING—DISTINCTLY SANCTIONED BY HENRY—SINGULAR PROCLAMATION—HENRY NOW COMMANDING ALL HIS SUBJECTS TO USE THE SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH.



As if it had been to render the triumph of last year still more conspicuous, the present stands distinguished in Henry's reign, for the number of editions of the Sacred Volume entire. Not fewer than four editions of the Bible issued from the press, and a fifth was almost ready; besides three editions of the New Testament separately. The compositors and printers in London had never before been so engaged, nor so hard at work in *any* department, since the invention of printing had been introduced into England.

All this too is the more worthy of notice, as Cranmer, however busy with his first edition, did not make his appearance

before the public till next spring, or April 1540. Before proceeding, however, to any detail, the state of England, and in its connexion with foreign parts, must first be understood, as the account will then be read with that interest which belongs to it.

Of this eventful year, we can scarcely fail to have one luminous view, however painful; if we now place Crumwell, Cranmer, and Latimer, on the one side; the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal, on the other; with Henry standing between them, to hold the balance. Troubled about many things, the wayward monarch was but ill at ease, and we shall see him make either scale preponderate, just as his fear or his fancy suggested at the moment. Crumwell, it has been affirmed, had some presentiment of his downfall, for nearly two years before his death, and made provision for his dependants, which Wolsey had not. If this be correct, the time harmonises with the return of Gardiner from France. But, at all events, the last and deadly struggle for pre-eminence and power, on the part of CRUMWELL, has now commenced, though he had still a year and a half to live. We shall see him trembling for the ground on which he stood, as well as for all his honours. At his outset, he had said to Cavendish, his neighbour servant in Wolsey's household, that, in going to Henry, he would either *make* or *mar* all; and the truth is, that, in one sense, he did both; first the one, and then the other. In many points, Wolsey and Crumwell were extremely different characters, but in both may be seen, as a warning to posterity, the rise and fall of political expediency. With regard to Hugh Latimer, the *only* man who ever dared to speak out before the King and his courtiers, he is about to retire from the tempestuous scene; and to say nothing of cruelty, Henry, acting in the meanest style imaginable, to the very end of his reign, will accommodate him—with a prison! Like Festus of old, willing to show his courtiers a pleasure, he will leave Latimer bound. Cranmer will this year, in one instance, discover more fortitude than perhaps he ever did in the course of his whole life. And as for the able triumvirate in opposition, dexterously they wrought to each other's hands against their three opponents.

After not less than three years of prorogation, Henry had

now resolved to hold a meeting of Parliament and Convocation. The subserviency of both to his will was notorious, and in this it appears that Crumwell cordially sympathised with him. "Amongst other for your Grace's Parliament," says he on the 17th of March, "*I have appointed your Majesty's servant, Mr. Morisson, to be one of them. No doubt he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack, or face with literature of learning, or by undirected ways, if any such shall be, as I think there will be few or none; forasmuch as I, and other your dedicate counsellors, be about to bring all things so to pass, that your Majesty had never more tractable Parliament!*" As for the Convocation, since it had been summoned on the 12th of March, it is evident that whatever *articles* shall be issued, by that time they had been contemplated; and Crumwell, at least, is either preparing to swallow them, or, what is very improbable, must have been profoundly ignorant of what was before him. At all events, for these three years past, as there had been no such assemblies under our despotic monarch, they were always ominous of some strong measures.

On the 30th of March, Tunstal, usually calm and still, preached his flaming sermon before the King; Gardiner was preparing for Parliament and the Convocation; Norfolk was returning from the north; and to announce his approach, by way of firing the first gun, only about one fortnight after his strange letter of the 29th of March, he had quarrelled with Crumwell on a subject of inferior moment. But by this time Crumwell had been taken unwell, and had become so seriously. It was an attack of the ague. On the 23rd of April, or the Wednesday before Parliament was to sit, he had made himself ready to wait on the King, when a fit came on, "and held him in great heat about ten hours." "The pain of the disease," said he, "grieveth me nothing so much as that doth, that I cannot be as I should there present, and employ my power to your Grace's affairs and service, as my heart desireth to do."¹ On the eve of such a battle, it was a great and bitter disappointment, and, no doubt, his enemies were improving every hour of his absence. Next day, however,

¹ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 613.

he strove to do all he could, by addressing a long letter to his Majesty; and still lamenting over his state of health. In this communication it is observable, that while he goes over all the points respecting *foreign* policy, he says not one word now of what is projected to be done in Parliament.² Poor man! It is true that he will rally again as to health; the King, to serve his own selfish ends, will assume a kindly aspect, and he has yet fourteen months to live; but his frequent and direct, or familiar correspondence with Henry is now near a close.

Meanwhile, and at the moment when Crumwell was writing, Mount and Paynell arrived from Germany, accompanied by Burghart, who had been dismissed in September last. The Emperor, it was said, had now deprecated, above all things, the German Confederates receiving any others into their league; when Crumwell did not fail to suggest, that "if his Majesty would only join them, the other party, in his judgment, would be half in despair." But what was Henry to do? He was now falling in with the counsels of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal; Parliament must sit in five days hence, and Crumwell, in poor health, is but ill able to attend!

Accordingly, on Monday, the 28th of April, Parliament sat down, and the Convocation opened on the 2nd of May. The Duke of Norfolk, as Prime Minister, had been commissioned to conduct the business in the House of Peers; and Crumwell's precedency as Vicar-General was recognised, but he could no longer brandish his rod of authority over the Bishops, as he had done at their last sitting, three years ago; and much less send a deputy to claim his seat, above them all. Not only were the majority his opponents, but the Head of their Church had changed his mind. For three years had Crumwell and Cranmer enjoyed ample sway; but Gardiner and Tunstal's day had now come. They must aim at retaliation for all the past, and no time was lost before the strength of parties was ascertained.

On Monday the 5th of May, a royal message to the House was announced by Audley as Lord Chancellor. His Majesty, being greatly desirous of putting an end to all controversies in *religion*, ordered a committee to examine the diversities of

² Cleop. E. v., fol. 172, or Strype, Records, civ.

opinion—to draw up articles for an agreement, and report! Nine individuals were appointed, viz. Crumwell as Vicar-General, and Archbishop Cranmer, with Latimer of Worcester, and Goodrich of Ely, on the one side; and Archbishop Lee, with Tunstal of Durham, Aldrich of Carlisle, Clerk of Bath, and Salcot of Bangor on the other. But however bent his Majesty now was, upon what he chose to style unanimity of opinion, it was soon manifest that this committee of Bishops could never agree. In a similar perplexity, just three years ago, his Majesty and Cranmer in union had, for the first time, framed certain *articles* for the people of England to *believe*, enforcing them on all men by the Sovereign's authority; so that consistently, the Archbishop cannot now object, should a similar course be followed. In 1536 it was no doubt deemed a fortunate circumstance, that Gardiner was *out of the way*; but he has now returned, and if he and his party can follow the *precedent* set them, and Henry should condescend to be on that side, then he will still be equally flattered, as the Lord of all opinions upon English ground. His Majesty's subjects were not to think for themselves before, and the right to do so was not to be conceded now. At this moment, he imagined that his personal circumstances demanded a very different class of opinions, and they were now to be enforced on pain of death. The former, that is, the FIRST articles, were to insure *peace and contentation*; but those about to be proposed, though directly in the teeth of the former, were, according to the precious royal announcement, to "*establish unanimity and terminate all religious controversies among his people!*" This, it must be conceded, was giving to *both* parties a fair opportunity of testing the effect of "articles" as bearing upon public opinion; and as Cranmer had first led the way, he must now abide the consequences, whether they should first lead to the destruction of his own domestic happiness, or, seventeen years afterwards, to his death. In other words, the artillery which had been first framed by Cranmer, was about to be seized, and planted against himself.

It was, as we have stated, on the 5th of May that this Committee of nine had been appointed. On every point, they divided regularly, as five to four, Cranmer and Crumwell being in the minority. Henry's patience was very soon exhausted,

and by Friday the 16th, Norfolk was ready with the intended *remedy* for diversity of opinions. The King, and Winchester no doubt, had been preparing it, for the mouth of that Premier; who, on the 30th of March last, had told Crumwell that he had been "praying to God, that He would give the King of Scotland grace to do, *as* Henry had already done!" The Duke having therefore informed the House that no progress had been made, or could be, by the Committee, proposed *sic* questions for their consideration. They referred to 1. The Mass. 2. Communion under one kind, or the bread without the cup. 3. Private masses. 4. The celibacy of the Clergy. 5. Auricular confession, and, 6. Vows of chastity. Neither Audley nor *Crumwell* now took any part in the debate, nor indeed any layman; but Cranmer did, and with all his powers: for it is certainly going much too far, for any historian, upon a single loose anonymous authority, to deny him the credit of as much heroism as he then displayed.³ For three days the discussion continued, and though Henry himself had the effrontery to come down unconstitutionally, and join in the debate, and afterwards requested Cranmer not to appear and vote, he appears to have resisted to the utmost limits of his personal safety, and never gave his formal consent. True, he did not *act*, as Latimer did afterwards, for that was not in the man; but the only wonder has been that, going as far as he did, the King was not mightily offended. This, however, will be accounted for presently.

It has been remarked that six questions were tabled, and they ended in one act: frequently denominated afterwards "the bloody statute," and at other times, "the whip with six cords." Such was the remedy of Henry VIII. for diversity of opinions; for now, as he allowed his subjects no title to any opinion of their own, they must all believe, or profess to believe in—1. *Transubstantiation*. 2. That communion under both kinds is *not* necessary to salvation. 3. That Priests may *not* marry by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity are *binding*. 5. That private masses ought to be *retained*; and 6. That the use of auricular confession is *expedient and necessary*: while the penalties annexed illustrated the growing brutality of the Sovereign.

³ Cleop. E. v., p. 128, as quoted by Lingard.

Denial of the first profane absurdity subjected the individual to death by the flames, for an authoritative stop was now put to *abjuration*. That could now save no man's life; and as for the other five points, for the denial of any one of them, the party was to die as a felon, or be imprisoned during his Majesty's pleasure. After the Parliament resumed on the 30th of May, this bill was introduced, though it was not read for the first time till the 7th of June, the second time on Monday the 9th, and passed next day. On the following Saturday it passed the Lower House, and receiving the royal assent on the 28th, its pains and penalties were to be inflicted from and after the 12th of July.

This, however, is not the full amount of the baseness of this Parliament. At its opening, instructions had been given to pass bills of attainder against Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole, now 70 years of age; Gertrude, widow of the Marquis of Exeter; and a young *boy*, son of Lord Montacute; Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. Exeter and Montacute had already suffered; but great difficulty was felt in proceeding with these two ladies, and especially the old Countess. After others had tried, Crumwell, who evidently thought himself skilful at cross-examination, "assayed the uttermost of his power." But he was still baffled by the Countess, who is said to have been "more like a strong and constant man, than a woman;" after which, so eager was the sinking courtier to please his Master, that he actually called up the judges and inquired—"Whether Parliament might condemn persons accused of treason, *without any previous trial or confession!*" These servile and unprincipled men replied, "that it was a *nice* question, and one that no inferior tribunal *could* entertain, but there was *no doubt* that the Court of Parliament was supreme; and that any attainder by Parliament, (and of course by the present,) would be *good in law!*" Such a bill, therefore, they immediately passed, condemning to death all the parties, without any trial whatever! What became of the child no one knows. Fortescue and Dingley were executed on the 10th of July; the Marchioness was pardoned about six months hence, but the aged Countess was retained in prison nearly two years, till another frenzy

having seized the monarch, she was dragged from her dungeon ; but pleading innocence, and boldly resisting her very executioner to the last, till her grey hairs were covered with blood, the head was severed from the body on the 27th of May, 1541.

Crumwell, in ambitious pursuit of his own standing, had now, with a witness, entered into the field of temptation, and it becomes difficult to hold the pen ; but impartiality forbids that he should, at such a moment, be the only man in view. Among those significant "*Remembrances*," so strangely left behind for the verdict of posterity, and to which we have before referred, there is one *item* of awful import, suggesting the idea that Henry, far from unconnected with this tragedy, had been the director behind the scenes. "*Item*," says Crumwell, in his own handwriting, "to remember specially *the Lady of Sarum*"—Salisbury : but then a little afterwards, "*Item—what THE KING WILL HAVE DONE with the Lady of Sarum.*" This, it may be presumed, must have been written before the judges were called ; and such a Minister ! such a Monarch ! it may well be exclaimed. But we forbear all comment, and more especially as, before the year concludes, the reader has to witness other, if not greater, abominations. It should, however, be observed that the step thus taken by Crumwell very strongly reminds one of the gallows prepared by Haman for Mordecai ; as *next* year, and therefore *before* his victim, the aged Countess, *he himself* was the *first* who fell under the axe, in strict accordance with *the precedent* he had now introduced !

In conclusion of these miserable proceedings, the Lower as well as the Upper House seem to have been willing to comply with *any* thing which might occur to the caprice or passion of the reigning King. His Majesty had taken offence at the manner in which some of his proceedings, and particularly his proclamations, had been treated, since the last Parliament in 1536. An Act was, therefore, now passed, which sets forth in the preamble, "the contempt and disobedience of the King's proclamations by some, who did not consider *what* a King by *his royal power might do* ; which if it continued would lead to the disobedience of the laws of God ! and the dishonour of the King's Majesty, who may full ill bear it. Considering also that many occasions might require speedy remedies, and that

delaying these might occasion great prejudices to the realm—therefore it is enacted, that the King for the time being, with advice of his Council, might set forth proclamations with pains and penalties in them, which were to be obeyed, *as if* they were made by an Act of Parliament!” If any now so offended, and in further contempt went out of the kingdom, they were to be adjudged as *traitors*. To this bill, indeed, some opposition was evinced, but it passed as well as all the others.

After doings so notable as these, and affecting so many parties, Parliament rose on the 28th of June, amidst feelings of exultation on one side, and indignation on the other; but, as far as “the six articles” were concerned, the *pet* measure of the Premier and his friends, backed as they were by the bloody statute, they were not slow in proceeding to action. This statute was not to remain a dead letter. Commissioners were instantly appointed to act upon it; that is, to seek out victims; and in the various jurisdictions, a *Bishop* was invariably to be one of the commissioners. To witness the commencement of operations, we require to proceed no farther than the metropolis. The inquisitors, selected with satanic discrimination, ignorant, headlong, and bloodthirsty, were “such as had read *no* part of Scripture in English, or in anywise favoured *such as had*, or loved the preachers of it.” The commissioners sat in Mercer’s Chapel, close by the Old Jewry, Cheapside; and in fourteen days, there was not a preacher or noted individual in London, known or suspected to have spoken in any way derogatory to one of the six articles, who had not been harassed; nay, overstepping their commission, they inquired not only *who* came seldom to the church, but who *read the Bible* in it; so that more than five hundred persons had been indicted, and it became evident that the prisons of the city could not contain all those whom they thought must be brought to trial.

Thus, if the character of Henry, of his Bishops, and his nobility had been evolved in Westminster Hall, last November, at the trial of Lambert; so we have now at least five hundred witnesses to the tenets for which Lambert died. But, besides these, it must be remembered that many a man who could do so, had found it convenient at least to leave the city; though as the facts stand, we have here one of the clearest testimonies to the

strength of that cause, to which the reigning authorities had been at heart opposed from the beginning. The Bishop of the diocese, Stokesly, was here setting an example to the country at large, worthy of his character in past years. He was now indeed actually descending to his grave, for he died on the 8th of September; but the busy scene, and the prospect of the moment, must have proved like a reviving cordial to his drooping spirits. Beside the Bishops, we know that the Premier, Norfolk, who had introduced the questions, was in the highest spirits, because the Act had passed. In short, the preparations were finished, and could have left not the shadow of a doubt that England was about to become a field of woe, if not of blood. The whole scene is worthy of record and particular notice, were it for no other purpose than to show how remarkably a gracious Providence interposed, and, overruling as before, "made the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof were stilled."

Blind zeal has been compared to the haste of a man in the dark, who knows not when or where to stop; and shrewd as were the leaders of the old learning, they had gone at least one step too far. Both Tunstal and Gardiner had distinctly over-shot themselves; for pride of understanding, and abundance of caprice, had rendered the monarch one of the most ticklish of all leaders. In the course of the discussions in Parliament, it so happened that on *one* single point the King *agreed* with Cranmer. It was in reference to "auricular confession,"—that notable device, for not only enslaving the human mind, but preventing all sense of direct responsibility to God alone. Cranmer had maintained that it was unnecessary, by any Divine precept, and in this Henry chose to support him. Nettled at only one point out of six being controverted, Tunstal, Gardiner, and Lee, urged, that the resolution of the House should declare auricular confession to be "a command of Christ, and part of the Sacrament of penance;" but the monarch would not allow one jot more than the simple declaration, that such confession was expedient, and necessary to be retained. With this, they might well have rested satisfied; but no. Tunstal had the temerity to write to the King afterwards, when he received a thorough set down for his presumption. In reply, Henry expressed no little astonishment at his writing *now*, after having been overthrown

in the House by Cranmer and himself, and here simply sending to him a few texts, which "make smally or nothing to your intended purpose." His Majesty closed with the following sentence—"I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your authors and allegations make so little to your purpose—And thus fare you well."

The same parties must have been guilty of still greater precipitation in proposing their "Book of Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England." They had pressed this strange and superstitious farrago to be received and passed as the act of Convocation; but the project completely failed, and the book was afterwards replied to by Cranmer.

But even though neither Tunstal or Gardiner had ruffled his Majesty's temper in the slightest degree, perhaps neither of them foresaw that there was one point still, where their whole procedure might be arrested, and prove a failure. Nor let it pass unobserved that if relief be obtained, it must, in part at least, be traced to the noble stand made by the immortal *Fryth*. Hence the benefits which may ensue, *long after*, from only one faithful martyr "resisting unto blood, striving against sin." As he was the *first* man certainly known to have died upon English ground, *without abjuration*, (which was not now to be admitted,) so he was the *last* that had fallen under the sovereign power of the Bishops; and it may be remembered that in the very next session of Parliament after his death, that bill was passed, which took all reputed heretics, ever after, out of the hands of these merciless men. That Act had passed in Gardiner's *absence*, and was now in force. All the parties *now* apprehended, therefore, must be proceeded against forthwith, by two witnesses, and in open court. A Bishop, indeed, must be one of the Commissioners; but then every man accused is entitled to a trial by jury, and even if found guilty, the King's writ must be obtained, before any sentence can be executed. The case, in short, was so far a civil one; and since these London Commissioners have run after the prey, as if the Act passed had been positively a *retrospective* one, in the midst of their dilemma application must be made to the Lord Chancellor. Audley, in the House of Lords, and before the royal disputant, had been silent; but now that it came to his turn to speak, perhaps view-

ing any selection as difficult, if not unjust, and the punishment of all to be inhuman if not hazardous, so it was that he advised the reputed criminals should be pardoned. Cranmer and Cromwell and the Duke of Suffolk (Norfolk's opponent) concurred, and not one man was brought up to trial! Though, therefore, these six articles remained as a source of great misery, and were employed afterwards, by stretch of law, as the occasion of much bloodshed, at this momentous crisis "the wise were taken in their own craftiness, and the counsel of the froward was carried headlong." The five hundred indictments fell to the ground, and there was nothing more left for Stokesly, just before going to render his account, than to reflect on his past cruelties. He was to be far exceeded by Bonner, his successor; and yet, if Foxe be correct, "at the point of death, he rejoiced, boasting that in the course of his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics."

Hugh Latimer in his day had the honour to stand alone. Though not a faultless character, at this period there was none like him in all England, more especially on the bench of Bishops; and he seems to have been literally the only man who ever had the courage to face Henry VIII. Cranmer had found it very convenient to employ him in 1536, to speak out before that Convocation, as he had boldly done; but he could not, or dared not, follow him in 1539. Latimer, it is to be observed, had not by any argumentation opposed the King, as Cranmer had; but after the bloody Act was passed, he resigned his bishopric, on the first of July. Laying aside his robes, he leaped for joy, and said—"I am now rid of a great burden, and never felt my shoulders so light before." Soon after, a bishop, supposed to be Gardiner, sent for him, and expressed his surprise that Latimer should object to the traditions then enjoined by the Council, as matters of belief; when he nobly answered—"I will be guided by God's book; and rather than dissent one jot from it, I would be torn by wild horses." He then retired to the country, intending to lead a quiet life; but soon after, by the falling of a tree, he was bruised so severely, that he was under the necessity of returning to London for surgical assistance. It was not difficult to vamp up a case against Latimer; for certainly he had said many things, which to all that party must

have been like gall and wormwood. There is no record of his examination extant, but there is reason to think that it took place in the royal presence. However, whether it did or not, the King well knew, and ultimately sanctioned, nay, directed all that followed : for Latimer was committed to the Tower thus unceremoniously, and there he lay till the accession of Edward VI. The conscience of Henry had constrained him, on different occasions, to mark, if not revere the fidelity of this man, whom he now unwittingly *promoted* to be a prisoner of Jesus Christ ; but he could manage to get on well enough without a Bishop Latimer, though not without his own Archbishop of Canterbury.

It was now the month of August, when a lurid gloom rested on the minds of many. In London itself, there was a pause : the commissions under the persecuting act had not been issued for the country at large, and they never were ; but at present their issue was eagerly anticipated by some, and dreaded by others ; but still the needle of the beam, in Henry's hands, oscillated in suspense, and no man could tell which scale would rise. Various individuals had been escaping, some to the *Continent*, and others out into the *country*. We notice two of such already known to the reader, — Alexander Ales and George Constantyne.

ALES, it will be remembered, had excited the wrath of Stokesly to the highest degree, three years ago ; when no man foresaw, or perhaps imagined, that the very next Convocation would be of an opposite character. Since 1536, having studied physic under an eminent physician well known, Dr. Nicholas, Ales had begun to practise in London for himself, and not without success ; but for him, above all men, it was no longer safe to remain within Stokesly's jurisdiction. Anticipating what followed, he embarked for Germany once more. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to Crumwell a letter of thanks for all his kindness, and from which we learn, that the recent doings in England were well known to all abroad.

Of *George Constantyne*, we know that he was in London at the time of Queen Anne's execution. Shortly after this he had entered the Church of England, having obtained the vicarage of Lawhaden, or Llanhuadaine, three miles north-west of

Narberth, in Pembrokeshire, under William Barlow, Bishop of St. David's. His character, to the end, was at best ambiguous. He returned and held his preferments till 1555, when Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, being burnt at Carmarthen, he escaped to the Continent, where he is supposed to have died soon after. His son-in-law Thomas Young was afterwards Archbishop of York, and President of the Council of the North, under Elizabeth. He died in 1568.

With regard to the express history of the English Bible, the year 1539 is now to be added to all the past. But let the movements of the time; the tyrannical procedure of the reigning Monarch; the obsequious deeds of both Houses of Parliament, lying prostrate at his feet; the notorious complexion of his Council, in hostile array against the progress of Divine Truth; the tottering influence of Crumwell, once so resolute, with his sad and bloody footsteps as a Privy Councillor,—let all these be surveyed in succession, and then the general aspect of the year, with regard to the printing and circulation of the Sacred Volume, must appear so extraordinary, as to be almost unaccountable. The months seem to have been so crowded with agitating occurrences, that one might have imagined there had been not a day left for another, and much less for a separate *design*—a design, too, however unnoticed by some, or hated by others, which had been proceeding, step by step, to successive triumphs. Still, amidst all other national affairs, time *must* be found for this.

But at such a season, who shall, or who can, nay dare to press forward, the printing of the Scriptures? Above all other men, Crumwell is the last, on which any one would fix, as the urgent mover in such a course. He seems to have had not one moment in reserve; and had he not been truly denominated “an iron man,” in regard to business transactions, certainly he had not found one. Instead of this, however, the sequel will show, that though he had been but in poor health, and though he had winked hard, bowing assent to the six articles, and stood ready to execute the King's pleasure even unto death, nay and could order men to be “tried and executed” in the same breath; yes, even amidst all this, it comes out, that he had been resolutely

bent on multiplying copies of the Bible ! Strange conjunction of pursuits, as probably *ever* met in the person of the same human being ! For however many were the subordinate agents, not one of them dared to have so proceeded, at least in London, without *his* fullest sanction.

It must now then be first observed, that in 1539 both Crumwell and Cranmer stand before us, in the character of thwarted and disappointed men ; severely disappointed, for above *six* months of the year. Three years before, in conjunction with the momentary humour of the King, Gardiner being abroad, they had introduced what were denominated “ Articles of Religion ” to the notice of the English people ; but now they found, to their bitter mortification, that this was assuredly not the road to either “ peace or contentation,” or “ unity of opinion.” On the contrary, the mode which *they* had introduced in 1536, furnished the *precedent* which their opponents now followed ; or the ground on which they stood, and tried to overawe the human mind. In the first Convocation, with Crumwell as Vicar-General, so far as the King and Cranmer had professedly meddled with Christianity at all, they had made it *technical and disputative*. It was not the voice of God, as contained in His Word, with which they began, for neither Cranmer nor Crumwell could get those Bishops to assent to *any* translation of the Scriptures. Thus before the authority of Divine Truth in the language of the people was recognised, by these first articles a certain vocabulary had been introduced ; and in the prospect of the present Convocation, Gardiner and his party were by far too shrewd, not to take advantage of the precedent set. They fought and baffled the Archbishop with his own weapons, while my Lord Privy Seal, Crumwell, like a perfect politician, had bowed to the storm. So now when the tug of battle came, and Crumwell found that, as an expedient in his hands, “ articles of religion ” must be given to the winds ; *then* it was that the Bible, and *the Bible alone*, afforded him the only prospect of turning the tide upon his political opponents. Thus singularly *shut up* to this one object, he was not slow to improve his powers ; for though he could no longer shake his rod over the Bench of Bishops, his authority and precedence or rank as Vicar-General had been distinctly recognised ; and this he could

exercise still, very powerfully, without the doors of the Convocation, though not within them; while the dissolution and consequent dispersion of that body, was analogous to the breaking up of a combination against him.

The operation of the bloody statute being now also stayed, and no commissions issued for the country at large; Henry too having been fully apprised of how odious that statute was to his intended *matrimonial* connexions, here was a favourable crisis. To the printing of the Bible, therefore, amidst his multifarious engagements, Crumwell lent all his energy, so that not fewer than four editions of the entire Scriptures, with which his personal influence was connected, now issued from the press.

There is no concealing it now; for by a comparison of dates, it will be manifest, that the character of Crumwell, when sinking, and so near his end, presents to the reflective mind one of the most painful contemplation, and, in truth, one of a far more melancholy hue than even that of Wolsey himself. Wolsey, the "man of pleasure," not to say boundless ambition, sinking under disgrace into his grave, yet breathing out persecution against the Lutherans, and leaving this as his dying advice to the King, was a spectacle sad enough: yet is it scarcely to be compared to that of Crumwell, the energetic "man of business," himself stepping into blood, to please his Master, or retain his favour; and at the same moment pushing forward editions of the Scriptures, nay enforcing on his countrymen the perusal of the sacred page! Who can deny after this, that the heart is "deceitful above all things," and reckless beyond expression?

To proceed, however, with the proof. The Bible, described last year as commenced in Paris, and snatched from the flames of the Inquisition, was finished in London by the month of April, and ready for circulation under the following title, *before* the meetings of Parliament and Convocation:—

"*The Byble in Englyshe*, that is to saye, the content of all the Holy Scripture, bothe of the olde and *Newe Testament*, truly translated after the veryte of the *Hebrue and Greke* textes, by the dylygent studye of diuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. ¶ *Printed by* Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum solum." The Colophon is—"The ende of the new Testamēt and of the whole Byble, Fynished in Apryll, Anno MCCCCXXXIX. A dñō factum est istud."

This title, as well as the representation round it, ascribed to

the pencil of Hans Holbein, it is now abundantly evident, were alike in the teeth of history ; to say nothing of the profanity involved, in which the Almighty is represented as saying of the King—"I have found a man according to my own heart, which shall fulfil all my will !" But this served to answer the purpose of Crumwell at the moment, in his gross flattery of the reigning monarch. Crumwell himself, as well as the King and Cranmer, at full length, are here distinguished also by their respective shields, or coats of arms ; and this same engraving, finely cut in wood, will be employed in subsequent editions, though the arms of Crumwell, after his fall, will then be found *erased*.

This Bible, it is true, exhibits all the marks of a signal triumph, as already described ; but let the men in Parliament or the Convocation be busy with what they might, this one edition or reprint will not suffice to meet the zeal of the Vicar-General. In chronological order, the next Bibles that were ready for circulation, were two, if not three editions of the entire Bible, by *other* printers, as well as a *new* superintendent of the press.

And here it is not a little remarkable, that immediately before entering upon those editions of the Scriptures, afterwards set forth by Cranmer, we are summoned to look back ; and back to the very commencement of this long and tedious warfare. Just as though it had been intended to lend *unity* to the entire procedure since the year 1526, we are to be reminded forcibly, of the deep and noisome dungeon under Cardinal College, Oxford, and of the interesting young men there immured, at the first burst of opposition, after the arrival of Tyndale's Testaments in England. One of those youths, it may be remembered, was named *Richard Taverner*. The son of an ancient family, born at North Elmham, in the parish of Brisley, Norfolk ; he was one of those canons chosen by Wolsey, whom he had intended to employ in opposing the "new learning." He had been selected from Benet College, Cambridge, and brought to Oxford. Though deeply implicated in 1526, as already mentioned, he was more gently dealt with by the Cardinal on account of his voice, or skill in music. He was then a *layman*, studying law, and abode by his profession through life ; which renders his superintendence of the Scriptures, and his subsequently being licensed by Edward the Sixth to preach throughout England, the more

remarkable. Having taken his degree of A.B. at Oxford in 1527, and that of A.M. at Cambridge in 1530, he removed to the metropolis; and after passing through an Inn of Chancery, then said to be *near* London, (or on the site of the present Somerset House in the Strand,) he entered the Inner Temple. To the Greek language he had paid great attention, it being "his humour to quote the law in Greek, when he read anything thereof." He had become known to Crumwell, and in 1534, after he was chosen principal Secretary of State, and Chancellor of Cambridge University, Taverner came into attendance upon him. In 1537, Crumwell had recommended him to the King, when he was advanced to be one of the clerks of the signet in ordinary; and the clerk had now, in 1539, turned his learning to the best of all accounts. For a considerable time past, he must have been working under orders, and very busily engaged, as the proof sheets of two, if not three editions, had been passing through his hands. Taverner prefixed a dedication to the King, telling him, that "he never did anything more acceptable to God, more profitable to the advancement of true Christianity, more displeasing to the enemies of the same, and also to his Grace's enemies, than when his Majesty licensed and willed the most sacred Bible, containing the unspotted and lively Word of God, to be in the English tongue set forth to his Highness' subjects." But to all this he had been encouraged by his master, Lord Crumwell, as it will appear presently, that no man could publish the Bible at this period, without his approving sanction.

His first edition, in folio, and entitled—"The most Sacred Bible," &c., was "printed at London in Fleet Street, at the sign of the Sun, by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlett," or Berthelet, the King's printer; "Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." The next edition, in quarto, was executed by the same printer; but there seems to have been a third, printed by Nycolson, also in quarto. These Bibles were a correction of Matthew's, in which Taverner adopted a large proportion of the marginal notes, and inserted others of his own; yet so eager was Crumwell, that they were "allowed to be publicly read in churches."

In addition to these, that the effort now made was a bold and determined one, appears from another printer still having his hands filled, by two editions of the New Testament by Taverner.

This was Thomas Petit, who also printed for Berthelet, one in quarto, the other in octavo.

Now in the earlier part of this year, though the political atmosphere seemed to portend nothing whatever save tempestuous opposition to measures such as these; preparatory work, it is evident, had been proceeding with great vigour within doors; and by the autumn, that same Monarch, who had hurried the "bloody Statute" through Parliament, professed to be all zeal for the printing of the Scriptures, and even their perusal! The prospect of connexion with *Germany* had wrought wondrously, and a change had come over the spirit of the man. And as for Crumwell, though he still stood upon slippery ground, he could scarcely now think so, when, so far from frowning upon him, the King, on the 20th of September, had expressed himself as so solicitous about the state of his health. At all events, while he was in the act of carrying through the negociation respecting Lady Anne of Cleves, almost anything he might request would then be granted. Apply to his Majesty therefore he did, and successfully; although still it is no hypothesis to say that both the one and the other, as it regarded the Scriptures, were nothing more than *overruled* men. The King, by his conduct in Parliament, had appeared in his real character; while Crumwell, by his conduct elsewhere, has positively forced us to place him on the very lowest ground of political expediency. The following document, however, will show that there was no hazard, at present, of any of these Bibles not getting into circulation:—

"Henry the Eighth, &c.—To all and singular, Printers and sellers of books, within this our realm, and all other Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our letters, hearing or seeing, greeting: We let you to wit, that being desirous to have our people at times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God's Word, whereby they will the better honour Him, and observe and keep His commandments; and also do their duty better to us, being their Prince and Sovereign Lord: And considering, that as this our zeal and desire cannot, by *any* mean, take so good effect, as by the granting to them the *free and liberal use of the Bible* in our own *maternal English tongue*: so unless it be foreseen, that the same pass at the beginning by *one* translation to be perused and considered; the frailty of man is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold inconveniences; as when wilful and heady folks shall confer upon the diversity of the said translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord Crumwell, Keeper of our Privy Seal, to take for us, and in our name, special care and

charge, that no manner of person, or persons, within this our realm, shall enterprize, attempt, or set in hand, to print any Bible in the English tongue, of any manner of volume, during the space of *five years* next ensuing after the date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said Lord Crumwell. Willing and commanding all *Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables*, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to be aiding to our said Counsellor, in the execution of this our pleasure, and to be conformable in the accomplishment of the same, as shall appertain. In witness whereof—Witness *ourselves* at Westminster, the fourteenth day of November, 1539.—*Per ipsum Regem.*"⁴

The style of this public document, and at such a time, is pointed and very observable. The reader cannot fail to be struck with the absence of all reference to Henry's Church or Convocation. The Sacred Volume, first printed abroad, it will be remembered, had been sanctioned without any consultation of that body; and even now, after a flaming Convocation, they are to be passed over once more. Above two years ago, the King had been overruled to bow to the translation, and last year, Crumwell as Vicegerent had enjoined the Bishops, on pain of deprivation, to see to its circulation; but after the miserable display they had recently given of their characters, they are to be addressed by him no more. No notice whatever is therefore now taken of *Bishop or Archbishop, Priest or Parson*; unless the ambiguous term "minister" at the very end, be allowed, by courtesy, to include them all. But it was the *civil* authorities on whom Crumwell now called; it was the Mayors, the Sheriffs, the Bailiffs, the Constables, who were so pointedly enjoined, and by the KING himself, to aid him! After having been so treated by the Bench, of which he was the Vicar-General; as long as he remains Lord Privy Seal, he was not to be insulted with impunity: the hour for retaliation had come; and as he had given up "Articles of Religion" in despair, so it is now evident, that he had also, as a body, given up the Bishops.

Nor was such a document, "*per ipsum Regem*," now to be treated with impunity. Little had they dreamt in Parliament, *which* would be the very *first* statute brought to bear upon his Majesty's subjects; for "the bloody statute" had been stayed in its operation; but they had gone so far as to pass a bill, showing "*what a King by his royal power might do*;" and "con-

⁴ Rymer's Fœd., vol. xiv., p. 649. Herbert's Ames, iii., p. 1550.

sidering that many occasions might require *speedy* remedies," they enacted that the King's proclamation, writ, or letters-patent, were to be obeyed "as if they were made by an *Act of Parliament*;" nay, and if any after that offended, they were to be judged as *traitors*. If, therefore, the men of the *new* learning had been terror-struck in April, the men of the *old* might now well stare with amazement, but there was no remedy; they must all stand aghast for the time being, and make way for the Lord Privy Seal.

It is curious also to observe the efforts now made to place Henry, if it had been possible, in a fair way, once more, or to face him out, as the same man—notwithstanding his recent aberration, or natural leaning to his beloved associates of the old school. At this period, a long and strange justification of his proceedings was written out. It is to be found in the State Paper Office, and has been printed entire by Collier. There it is asserted perhaps too strongly that "Englishmen have now in every church and place, almost every man, the Holy Bible and Testament, in their mother tongue;" that they stick fast to the doctrine of God in the New Testament, and esteem it as "*Fons aquæ salientis in vitam eternam.*"

In short, the same ardour which had been displayed in printing, seems to have been followed by a kindred zeal for distribution and perusal; and after such doings in Parliament, the opposite party, and all who loved the truth, had notable reasons for improving their time. Crumwell had yet eight months to live before his arrestment, so that here was a fine opportunity presented for vigorous exertion, to every man who estimated the value of the Scriptures. How very unlikely was such a season to have arrived, only a few months ago!

Here, then, terminated that class of sacred volumes, which, with considerable propriety, may be denominated *the first series*: reaching from Wolsey's "secret search at one time," in London, Oxford, and Cambridge; or from the dungeon of Cardinal College, down to one of its inmates publishing three editions of the Bible, and two of the New Testament, in one year; when the long hostile Monarch had been made to declare, that *the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own maternal English tongue was the only mean by which his subjects could comprehend their duty to*

God or man; and when his counsellor, the successor of Wolsey, to save his popularity and retain his place, was so evidently urging the printers to speed! The series referred to now included above thirty editions of the New Testament, and five of the entire Bible, which for fourteen years had formed the spiritual nourishment of all those in this kingdom who had been convinced by their own experience, that "man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

What a contrast, therefore, is now presented between William Tyndale and all his contemporaries, who have generally figured in the page of history, and so filled it, as to prevent posterity from duly estimating, nay, almost seeing, by far the most eminent benefactor of his country!

It is not here, however, that the year 1539 terminates. Tyndale's translation, or the Bible of 1537, had now been taken up, personally, by another individual, who has perhaps been expected to appear before this time; and certainly for some months before Henry's letters-patent (of the 14th of November) this year, he had been engaged in his sphere, behind the curtain, perhaps as busily as any of Crumwell's printers had been. This, it may be anticipated, was Thomas Cranmer; but, although it has been often done, with no previous edition can his name, with historical propriety, be associated.

The joy expressed by him, at the reception of the Bible in 1537, may have prepared the reader; but when he first met with Cranmer on the Continent, seven years ago, in company with Sir Thomas Elyot, then charged by his Sovereign to seize Tyndale, and next year beheld him with pain, when sitting in judgment on the Translator's bosom friend, Fryth; he certainly could not have imagined that, six years afterwards, the Primate himself would have been so busily employed, in superintending an edition of Tyndale's translation. But so it was. Cranmer, as well as Crumwell, had now given up the Bishops in despair, though his chief opponent, Gardiner, will not fail to cross his path presently, and try to sway the King.

It is singular enough that it should have been on this same

Thursday, the 14th of November, to which we have repeatedly alluded, that Cranmer first certainly appears to have been thus engaged. The edition he had been bringing forward was a very fine one, and now nearly, if not entirely finished; but he had resolved, at this peculiar crisis, after being foiled by the Bench, to prefix a preface to the reader, of his own composition. This he had submitted for his Majesty's approbation, and was now anxiously waiting its return: and no wonder. Preferring the words of Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen to his own, he not only pled, in this preface, through these Fathers, for the most unrestrained liberty to all to read the Scriptures, but also asserted the sufficiency of the Word to instruct every class of men.

"Here may all manner of persons: *men, women; young, old; learned, unlearned; rich, poor; priests, laymen; lords, ladies; officers, tenants, and mean men; virgins, wives, widows; lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons*, of what estate or condition soever they be; may in THIS Book learn all things, what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning Almighty God, as also concerning themselves, and all others." "This one place of John Chrysostom," said Cranmer, "is enough, and sufficient to persuade all them that be not frowardly, and perversely, set in their own wilful opinion."

These were sentiments certainly by far too strong to pass in high places, in those days, without murmuring and disputation; nor in all probability would they have been allowed to pass, but for the conjunction of circumstances, already so far explained. Henry, as we have seen, had softened even towards Crumwell, and he was more likely to have done so towards Cranmer. He had thwarted him in the Convocation, but then his official situation, as Primate, was not to be trampled on; and the King had therefore set him up again, by commanding his highest counsellors afterwards to go and dine with him. The wind, in short, had changed in the fall of the year. Henry is now on the tip-toe of expectation as to his intended Queen, and the Archbishop, of course, must perform the intended marriage ceremony. No moment could be more favourable for Cranmer asking any favour.

But then it so happened, that not only this preface, but the Bible itself, had been brought before his Majesty, and hence still farther delay; for though Cranmer be almost ready, and is

now, in *November*, pressing the return of the preface for the press, the volume did not appear till *April* following. The fact was, that Henry had consulted certain Bishops, not forgetting Mr. Stephen Gardiner; but as they confessed they could find no heresies maintained in the volume, "Then if there be no heresies," said the King in his own profane and impatient manner, "in God's name, let it go abroad among our people."

Only six months ago the gentlemen of "the old learning," with the Duke of Norfolk at their head, had been in high glee; but of late it had come to their turn, to feel no small disappointment, if not alarm: and Gardiner is understood to have exerted all his powers to influence the King, by persuading him that it must be his duty not to allow the people to read the Bible by their own firesides, or, as Cranmer expressed it, *at home*. One day these two men met in the presence of his Majesty, when he engaged them in discussion. After descanting on the danger of allowing the people at large to read the Scriptures, Gardiner chose to affirm that what were called the Apostolic Canons were of equal authority with the Sacred Scriptures, and challenged Cranmer to disprove this. Cranmer did so, and to Henry's satisfaction. The disputation is said to have lasted for some time, when the King abruptly addressed Gardiner,—“Such a novice as you had better not meddle with an old experienced Captain, like my Lord of Canterbury;” and then remarked, that “Cranmer was too experienced a leader, to be defeated by a novice.”

The translation had been sanctioned, as we have seen, above two years ago, in Gardiner's absence, but it was a double mortification, and one which he richly deserved, to hear it thus defended and approved, while he was standing by, and rated for a novice.

As for Cranmer's first edition therefore, since it did not appear till April next year, it will come before us in due time. But in the meanwhile, and independently of all such skirmishing before the King, the *other* editions which had been sanctioned by Crumwell, without any formal reference to his Majesty, must not be forgotten, nor the New Testaments which had been printed at home, nor the numerous foreign editions. This is a period noted by Strype, as one in which “the people

greedily bought up and read the Holy Scriptures." The truth is that, however other matters might proceed, whether in Court or Parliament, the people had been all along reading, without asking his Majesty's leave. He little thought that he was led on by a current far too strong for his resistance. Yet in the course of such a year as the present, in which the King was so surrounded by hostile parties ever whispering in his ear; who would have imagined that he should have so sanctioned the reading of the Scriptures? This, however, he had actually done, and done more emphatically than ever before! Some complaints having reached him through the enemy, that the reading of the Bible or New Testament in public, was often in a voice so loud that it threatened to drown if not expel the mass; Henry by proclamation ordered a lower tone, and that, while mass was going on, reading should be suspended; as well as that no man should "teach or preach the Bible," except such as were admitted by himself, or Crumwell, or a Bishop. But then he added, what was of far greater moment, though it must have been like an additional dose of wormwood to the gentlemen of "the old learning"—

"Notwithstanding his Highness is pleased and contented, that such as can and will in the English tongue, shall and may quietly and reverently read the Bible and New Testament by themselves secretly *at all times and places convenient*, for their own instruction and edification, to increase thereby godliness and virtuous learning."⁵

The hand of Crumwell is very visible in all this; and if the proclamation "came out about May, being *now* equal with the law," as Strype has told us, it shows what confusion had been shed into the Council of his Majesty; but followed as it was, in the close of the year, by the decided approval of Cranmer's preface, we have only one proof more of the truth of Solomon's proverb—"The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water; He turneth it whithersoever He will."

In conclusion, therefore, as already stated, we come to the end of what may be styled the FIRST SERIES of *Bibles and Testaments*. Last year, indeed, we looked at them as divided into books printed *abroad*, and then begun to be printed at

⁵ Cotton MS., Cleop. E. v., fol. 303.

home. But at present we allude to all that had issued from the press before the first edition by Cranmer was put forth. Of the whole array the reader may form a distinct idea, on consulting our list of Bibles and Testaments at the end of this volume.

Now, if it be observed that even by this early period, such a number of editions of the New Testament, of all descriptions, as well as of the Sacred Volume entire, had passed through the press; and that Divine Truth had obtained a footing in our land, from the moment of its entrance in 1526; he will allow that in these fourteen years, a great work had been accomplished; and greater still, when he comes to see all that had been going on in Scotland, as well as in England. The full effects, though no historian can ever detail them, must have been far greater than has hitherto been supposed. Yet is it but little more than two years since the adversary lowered his colours, and gave in. Up to August 1537 in England, we have witnessed only one uninterrupted battle, without a solitary truce; and since then, as far as Crumwell was concerned, we have seen him, in his ardour, officially pushing on the work. When once on a time, writing so bitterly against Tyndale, he little thought that, in the very height of his career, though loaded with the affairs of the nation, he would tax himself, and strain every nerve, in the very direction which the Translator had so long pointed out; no object appearing to himself, even as a politician, of greater importance. He is now, however, soon to be called away from the field of action, leaving the cause to that unseen hand which had guided it from the beginning, and which will employ or overrule others, as it had done himself. Crumwell's energetic influence is not, however, yet paralysed. He has six months to live, and the Bible, printed still more magnificently, will be in circulation before then. In common justice, therefore, to the only Vicegerent that Henry ever had, and with regard to any of those volumes already published on English ground, including the Bible which was nearly finished in Paris, it should be observed, that when Cranmer's name has been associated with them, in any degree, whether as to preparation or printing, this appears to have been historically incorrect. We have seen him, for the first time,

engrossed with one book, but the publication of it belongs to next year.

MDXL.

CRUMWELL—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—RETROSPECT—COMMON MISTAKE AS TO THE CROWN—THE LARGE FOLIO BIBLES, IN SIX EDITIONS—THE FIRST OF CRANMER'S—A DIFFERENT EDITION—THE SECOND OF CRANMER'S—THE THIRD PREPARING, TO BE ISSUED NEXT YEAR, BUT WITH A DIFFERENT TITLE—ONE IN FIVE VOLUMES, SMALL SIZE—QUARTO NEW TESTAMENT.

THE second series of Bibles and Testaments, commencing with the first of Cranmer's editions, will reach to the end of the reign of Edward the Sixth, embracing the next twelve years and a half, to July 1553. At the best, it will be a strange and varied scene; but at present our attention must be confined to the first of those eventful years. It was the year of the downfall and death of Crumwell, who fell a victim to the hatred of the *old learning* party, to the insatiable avarice of his Royal Master, and, in a measure, to his own ambition. He was beheaded in the Tower, and buried within its walls in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, where so many victims had preceded him, and to which so many followed.

Upon a survey of his extraordinary course, it must be evident that he was a man possessed of very superior natural parts, and that they were employed with extraordinary diligence and industry. As to worldly affairs, his judgment is said to have been methodical and solid, his memory strong and retentive; and that no one was more dexterous in finding out the designs of men and courts, nor any man more reserved in keeping a secret. He has been represented as mindful of favours bestowed upon him in earlier life, as considerate of the poor in their suits, and bountiful to those who were in greater need; but if all this be granted, it only lends additional regret to the positive transactions which have been here recorded.

With regard to his state of mind, or whether he had any

fixed sentiments at the moment of death, we are shut up to the necessity of simply saying—to his own just and unerring Judge, he then stood or fell. To draw any rash or positive conclusion respecting the dead, in such a case as the present, from what was uttered in the last moments of existence, is not merely presumptuous; it may injure the living, and damage the improvement to be drawn by survivors, from the contemplation of the entire character. Historians have differed in opinion, it is true, respecting Crumwell's exit, but they had not sufficiently investigated his previous character, which can be understood only by the leading transactions of his administration, and his own letters. In tracing the one, and perusing the other, though predisposed in his favour on the whole, we have been compelled at an early period of his public career, to rank him as a man but very low: and since he has been so frequently held up as favourable to the cause of Truth, we have anxiously watched, and waited for a change to the better, but have waited for this in vain. His progress, even unto death, must ever be painful to every reflecting mind, and his fall, as before observed, when duly considered, is far more affecting than even that of Wolsey. A man's ambition, indeed, is generally in proportion to his capacity, and that of both men was confessedly very great; but then Crumwell knew much more of the theory of Christianity than his predecessor, and had enjoyed far better opportunities of witnessing its influence. Unhappy man! at the close of his transient career, and because ambitious, at last infatuated, it almost seems as though he had determined to wade through contempt, into posthumous disgrace, and confound the judgment of posterity as to his real character. Hence the different views which have been given of the same individual; yet the course pursued by him admits of explanation, though it be one awfully illustrative of poor human nature.

For the first five months of this year, the most powerful subject in the kingdom had been rising to the top of his ambition. It was Crumwell, with all his honours thick upon him, and crowned with an Earldom—an Earldom of a hundred days, or by far the most miserable period of his existence. He is now dead, and buried in that Tower, to which he had

often sent others. But as he had finally shown himself ardent in favour of the Scriptures being printed, we are now furnished with one of the strongest proofs as to whether the progress of this cause depended on the life of any such man, or was at all affected by the death of the Vicegerent and last Vicar-General.

The cause of Divine Truth, properly so called, it has been our imperative duty to preserve from being injured or mistaken, by identifying it with any doubtful or disputable human character, however conspicuous on the page of English history. Let every man occupy the place belonging to him, but that cause, correctly speaking, can be associated only with the consistent and sincere. In no other in this country has the Almighty so reigned, and so conspicuously, as an Overruler. Even historically, therefore, to drag in any man, as though it depended at all upon him, simply because he, at some moment, happened to be in office or in power as a political agent, is only betraying the cause to the common enemy of Divine Revelation. This is an error which has been committed too long, and by too many historians.

In reference to Crumwell, the noble warfare which has been already detailed, had not only commenced long before he was even heard of, but it had proceeded in spite of him, after he was known and in power. Indeed, after the year 1537, he, or any such man, be he who he may, cannot appear in any higher character, than that of "one who had tarried at home, and now divided the spoil." Crumwell's warmth in sanctioning, at the decline of his career, or even pressing forward the printing of the Scriptures, has been sufficiently accounted for, as resulting from political expediency. Acting, as he has been proved to have done in other respects, it could proceed from no higher motive; and when John Foxe, in his *first* edition, compares his zeal to that of *Jehu*, in the days of old, he is far more accurate than in many expressions which he substituted afterwards, in his long and confused eulogy or defence. He lived too near the time indeed, to know as much as we do; but it would have been wiser had he, and others after him, said little more than he did at first. This zeal, too, does not appear to have involved Crumwell in any personal expense, except in the case of Coverdale's Bible, which, as we have seen, did not succeed.

If there was any in the affair at Paris, which is not likely, as he was acting under Henry's application to the French King, it could be but trifling; since the books were afterwards sold, the parson paying one-half, and the people the other.

The truth is, that the events of the day, if fairly reported, disentangle this glorious cause, and place it altogether out of the way of being confounded, either with the state of England in other respects, or the men who governed the country. On the part of man, assuredly, it was neither by might or power that Divine Revelation, in the language of the people, found its way into our native land, or afterwards spread; for his might and power were leagued against it. Of this, from year to year, we have already had proof all-sufficient. Yet so egregiously inaccurate have been the representations of subsequent historians, that mere official characters have been brought forward, so as to overshadow those of humbler name. The *latter* sustained the brunt of the battle; they bore all the burden and heat of the day; they sustained the entire expense; they ran all the risk, and they must no longer stand concealed behind any man. The *former*, and not until they could no longer resist the tide, tardily lent official sanction at one time, and then capriciously, or rather wickedly, withdrew it at another, although that sanction, when offered, literally cost them nothing, or nothing worthy of any notice.

But not only have historians erred egregiously, and led their readers astray: men who ought to have searched more deeply, and been fully informed, have, very boldly, founded arguments, in our highest courts of law, upon assertions which were grossly incorrect in point of fact; and this, too, when pleading on behalf of the Crown. Let one instance suffice for the present, as the subject must afterwards be more fully explained. Two hundred years certainly had afforded time sufficient to have known and established the truth; yet more than two hundred years after this period, in 1758, when the Solicitor-General of England was pleading before Lord Mansfield and other judges, and talking wildly of the King having by *prerogative* several copyrights, he actually stated in open Court, as his third ground for so pleading, that "*the translation of the Great English Bible under Grafton was performed at the KING's expense!*"

Although this was too bad, there was no person present who was able *historically* to confront him.

Henry's character, no doubt, involved the most singular contradictions. He was avaricious and prodigal, at different moments, in nearly equal extremes. He has been said to have *diced* away the bells of suppressed houses, and to have lost thousands of the spoil at play, but he certainly never spent his money in printing *Bibles*. From all we have seen already, of course it was impossible that the King could possess any heart-felt interest in the Word of God. As far as he was concerned, upon every hand sin abounded, and thus the high favour of God to this country became the more conspicuous ; but so distant was Mr. Solicitor-General Yorke from the truth, that no evidence whatever has yet been adduced of Henry the Eighth having ever been at any expense whatever, in printing one solitary copy of the Sacred Volume. Hitherto, we may aver, we have made this sufficiently plain ; and as for the future, we shall see presently *who* was at the expense, when even the editions with Cranmer's or Tunstal's name on the title-page came to be issued. But with regard to poor Grafton, so unceremoniously robbed of all due credit and honour, after having, at the very beginning, personally embarked so large a sum in the undertaking, it may here be observed, that he had received as yet no more than a fair remuneration for his outlay of capital ; and that, ere long, he found himself safely lodged in the Fleet prison ; from whence the zealous Bishops, ever true to their character, and under this self-same Henry VIII., would by no means relieve him till he had given his bond for £100 (equal to £1500 now), that *he* would print *no more Bibles*, nor *sell* any more, until a certain period—and when was that ? Not until the King and the clergy should *agree* upon a translation, which, as we have seen, and shall see, they never did. Here, however, we have at least one proof that as far as Grafton and Whitchurch had been concerned in printing, these were undertakings in which *no* part of the royal money, or that of the Exchequer, had ever been involved. Had this been the case, had one farthing of Henry's property been embarked, it would have been at the peril of these Bishops to have so proceeded, and they never would.

We turn, therefore, to the real state of things, and take up the second series of Bibles, or the result of Tyndale's exertions, as still more visible in his native land, and in the Scriptures which were printed and published before the face of the notorious Bonner. It should not be forgotten that we now, in fact, see the Bible of 1537, as already described, with nothing more than certain verbal alterations here and there; some of which were not improvements, and others, though now attempted, in the end did *not* prevail; while, at the same time, the first introduced Bible, and verbally, as first imported, is to be reprinted again and again.

But, first, and with regard to those large Bibles of different dates, to which the name of Cranmer was affixed in the title-page, or *four* in number, and other *two* editions, with the names of Tunstal and Heath, and not Cranmer's, or six distinct editions in all; such has been the confusion, that they have hitherto baffled the research of all our bibliographers. Preceding authors having failed, Dibdin happens to be the last who attempted an explanation, and he fairly gives up the subject in despair. "After all," says he in conclusion, "there seems to be some puzzle, or *unaccountable* variety, in the editions of the Bible in 1540 and 1541. The confusion itself, indeed, may be accounted for. All those largest black-letter Bibles are most interesting relics, for such was the ordeal through which they passed, first in Henry's reign, and then under his daughter Mary: such the havoc to which they were exposed from the enemy, or, in other words, such the enmity evinced by official men, that the only wonder is, that *any* of them remain. Yet, upon the whole, the number left, or surviving, is by no means the least remarkable feature in their history. The consequence, however, has been, that, before an experienced eye, many of them are found to be copies *made up*."

This remark applies generally to all collections, whether in our universities, our public libraries, or in the hands of private gentlemen. Such, therefore, is the value of a *perfect* copy throughout, of these Bibles, or so highly have they been estimated by posterity, above those who first read them, that they have been sold for above forty, if not fifty pounds sterling. The original price was *ten shillings* in sheets, or twelve, when

bound with *bullions*, clasps, or ornaments; that is, about seven pounds ten shillings, or nine pounds, of the present day.

In this state of things, the first step which required to be taken, was to obtain *perfect* copies of all these six large black-letter Bibles, with their genuine titles and last leaves; as all the editions to which we now refer happen to be very distinctly dated, first on the title-page, and then more fully in the colophon. Even after this, at first sight, it might be presumed, and it has been, when the books were viewed separately, that there were here probably not more than two or three editions, with different titles, and another date in conclusion. Such a thing, however dishonest, though it has often been done with certain books since, seems to have been then unknown; for upon farther examination, all the editions are distinct. On observing, however, that the catchword at the bottom of the page, and at the top of the next, are in so many instances the *same*, the next supposition may be, that as there might not be *types* in sufficient quantity, after the first impression was thrown off, the forms, in succession, may have been transferred to another press; and thus, like the ploughman overtaking the reaper, copies might follow each other at the distance of only three or four months. But even this supposition will not solve the phenomena; for upon examining the body of the page, so numerous, or rather innumerable, are the differences in point of spelling, contractions, and even pointing, that no alternative is left but that of comparing the six volumes page by page. The reason for our being thus particular will appear presently; but who, it may be asked, will ever be at the pains to do all this? He must possess the perfect copies, or have the genuine leaves of all the six Bibles before him, and these were not to be found in *any* public collection in the kingdom; nor was this sufficient, for the very pages of each and all must be patiently examined to mark their curious and minute distinctions. But the fact is that, at last, all this has been accomplished, through the indefatigable perseverance of one gentleman, though we must not say at what expense. Yet he himself, thus carefully collating them, the result is, that of these large Bibles, specially intended for public worship or public reading, there were six distinct editions, three dated in 1540 and three in 1541; two of which were issued

this year, and four in the next. In all such labour, however, there is profit, though it may not appear at first; for, even at this stage, there was still some degree of mystery in every one of these Bibles being dated from *London*.

One day, in the metropolis, a gentleman, no inferior judge, remarked to the present writer—"I cannot believe that these Bibles were actually printed in *London*." "Where then," it was asked, "do you suppose?" He replied, "I think most probably in *Paris*." "But why so?" "Because of the *type*; for at that time the *London* types, as used in all other books, were inferior to that fine bold letter." Certainly they were, it may now be added, and these, there can be little or no doubt, were *Parisian* types. But as for their being *so* employed in *that* city, after the violent interruption in the end of 1538; when once the wrath of the Sorbonne against Robert Estienne, that is Stephens the printer, is observed, and still more, the state of feeling between the French and English Kings, throughout 1540 and 1541; such employment of these types, and to such extent in *Paris*, must appear to have been altogether impossible. Thus then, in the end, are we brought back to admire the *energy* of poor CRUMWELL's character, in a step hitherto but very slightly noticed in history. In bringing over the very presses, the *Parisian* types and even French workmen, he had done his business thoroughly, after his own manner. Types to a greater extent certainly, if not workmen more numerous, had arrived, than has ever been before imagined. He had seen that the Bible being speedily multiplied, and generally read, was his best, his only mainstay, against the insidious and powerful opposition of "the old learning" party. So that but for what *he* had done, we are now led to infer, that *Cranmer* would never have had it in his power, to have put forth at least *such* and so many Bibles as these. It was something for Crumwell to have drawn such spoil, if not from the "*Fonderie du Roy*," yet from its immediate vicinity, for it certainly appears now to be far more than probable, that an English folio Bible printing in *Paris*, once interrupted, had ended in *six* others being printed in *London*! The history of the books themselves will afford some farther curious information, and the more so when taken in the order of their dates.

The first of these Bibles, which was finished in April with Cranmer's name, we have referred to under 1539, as preparing. We have seen that it had been subjected by Henry to the inspection of certain Bishops, though merely as individuals, but belonging to that body, which had all along shown such hostility to any translation whatever. The determined aspect and imperative tones of the Monarch had very soon made these enemies yield their feigned obedience; and his heart, however capricious, being in the hand of God, here is the book entire, and with Cranmer's preface attached, enforcing "high and low, male and female, rich and poor, māster and servant," to read it, at *home* in their own houses, and ponder over it! This, the first Bible, is entitled—

"*The Byble in Englishe, that is to saye the contēt of al the holy Scripture, both of the Olde and New Testamēt, with a prologe therinto made by the reverende father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Cantorbury. ¶ This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the Churches. ¶ Printed by Edward whytchurche. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum MDXL.*" The Colophon is—"The ende of the new Testamēt: and of the whole Bible fynished in Apryll, Anno MCCCCXL. A dño factū est istud."

Of this first edition printed on English ground, there is a splendid copy on *Vellum*, with the cuts and blooming letters, curiously illuminated, in the British Museum. It has, for some reason, recently been rebound, in three volumes; but splendidly in morocco. This fine book, once actually possessed by Henry VIII., is valuable as one key to the party concerned in the *expense* of the impression; for so far from this being the King himself, this copy was given to him as a *present*. The first leaf bears the following inscription in legible characters:—"This book is presented unto your most excellent *Highness*, by your loving faithful and obedient subject and dayly oratour, *Anthony Marler of London, haberdasher*." "Who this haberdasher was," said Baker, "I wish to know. He must have been a considerable man that could make such a present to a prince, and seems to have been a sharer in the charge of the impression." Respecting this London gentleman, nothing more has been ascertained except that he was a member of this Livery Company, whose records were almost wholly destroyed in the great fire of 1666; but that he was more than a *sharer* in the expense of this, and other impressions, will appear presently, and before the Privy Council.

No sooner were copies of this large volume ready, than the King's brief for setting up the Bible of the greater volume was issued, ordering now that the decree should not only be "solemnly published and read," but "set up upon every church door—that it may more largely appear unto our subjects. Witness myself, at Westminster, the seventh day of May, in the thirty-second year of our reign," *i. e.* Friday, 7th of May, 1540.

It is curious enough, however, that there was another Bible in folio, also dated in *April* of this year. It has been frequently mis-stated as being Cranmer's, as if it were the same as the last. There are various distinctions. It is not only without Cranmer's prologue, and differs from his translation in the psalms and elsewhere, but the New Testament is said to be after the last recognition of Erasmus: that is, it is the same version as that which accompanied the Latin and English Testament printed by Redman in 1538. The book, therefore, is to be classed with Matthew's or Tyndale's translation. It is on a smaller type and paper than the last, and seems to have been intended for the use of families,—Entitled,

"*The Byble in Englishe, that is to saye the content of all the holye scripture, both of the old and Newe Testament, truely translated after the veryte of the Hebrew and Greke textes. Printed at London by Thomas Petyt and Robert Redman for Thomas Berthelet, printer unto the Kynge's grace, 1540.*" The Colophon is—"The end of the New Testament, and of the whole Byble, finished in Apryll, Anno MCCCCXL."

This book had been submitted neither to the *King*, nor any *Bishop*, even though it was executed for his Majesty's printer. It was warranted by Crumwell, according to the privilege given to him on the 14th of November last. By the month of July, however, another of the great Bibles was ready.

¶ "*The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the contēt of ol the holy Scripture, both of the olde and newe Testamēt, with a prologe therein made by the reverende father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Cantorbury.* ¶ *This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the churches.* ¶ Printed by Richard Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, MDXL." The Colophon is—"The ende of the newe Testament and of the whole Byble, fynished in July, Anno MCCCCXL."

Trembling for his life, and imploring mercy from his inhuman

master for a month past, this Bible is remarkable for its being finished at the very time of Crumwell's execution, and the more so from its having *still* on the engraved frontispiece, his shield or coat of arms! This had first appeared last year, or 1539, and now a third time in this book; but Crumwell is dead, nay, was put to death on the 28th of this very month, and any *other* undertaking must have suffered, in which he, or any other disgraced minister, had taken such a prominent interest. It has been asserted, indeed, that after his fall, the Bible was complained of, as being heretical and erroneous; nay, that means were taken to persuade the King that the *free* use of the Scriptures, which Cranmer had so strongly urged in his preface, was injurious to the peace of the country. But a crisis had come, for here, by the month of November, a *third* folio Bible is ready for publication. Two editions with Cranmer's name on the title, and marked as appointed for public worship, were already out, and what was now to be done? Crumwell is gone, and Cranmer had not power sufficient to command the Bishops; but there is one alive who in a moment can command them all, or any one whom he is pleased to select. This book, then, must not be lost, nor even suppressed, though the Vicar-General be no more. Nay, an expedient must be adopted not only to silence all calumny, but *push the sale* of the work, to which, it will appear in due time, neither the King nor the Bishops had contributed any pecuniary aid. Here, then, was *Tunstal* standing by, who of all the rest had been so conspicuous as an opponent since 1526, and it was fit that the unbending heterodoxy of this original enemy should now be put to the test; and here was Heath, who had recently gone over to Tunstal's party. Henry, therefore, did what seemed to him the best thing that could have been thought of in these circumstances. He *commanded* these two men to sit down, and say what they thought of the Bible now ready. The book was printed by November: meanwhile Gardiner is sent out of the way to the Emperor's court, and Tunstal and Heath must apply to their task. As Gardiner and others had delayed Cranmer's first edition, and then declared in the end that there were "no heresies in it," why examine the translation again? We may reply, because of Crumwell's execution, and because it was much better, by way of con-

founding the enemy, to make these opponents speak out. They took time, till the year to which the book belongs was ended, or the 25th of March, and then out it came with a title still more pompous, declaring the fact as now stated.

“*The Byble in Englishe of the largest and greatest volume, auctoryed and apoynted by the commandemente of our moost redoubted Prynce and soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henry the VIII., supreme heade of this his churche and realme of Englande : to be frequented and used in every churche in this his sayd realme, accordynge to the tenour of his former Injunctions giuen in that behalfe.* ¶ *Oversene and perused at the commaundmēt of the Kynge’s Hyghnes, by the ryghte reverende fathers in God Cuthbert Bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas Bisshop of Rochester. Printed by Edward Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1541.*” The Colophon—“The end of the New Testament and of the whole Byble Fynished in November 1540,” though not published till 1541.

This was in truth another triumph over the enemy, one of most grievous annoyance to Master Gardiner; and this he will not fail to discover on the first occasion in which he can find his brethren assembled, after his return from abroad. Some poor petty spite was indeed already discoverable. The reader will recollect of the homage falsely imputed to Henry, by an engraved frontispiece to the three last Bibles; in which Crumwell and Cranmer are represented at full length, above, as receiving the Bible from the King, and below, as giving it to the people. At the feet of each figure, it will be remembered, was his shield or coat of arms. The frontispiece, esteemed a treasure of its kind, must not be thrown away. But the *arms* of Crumwell were now erased! Still there stands the figure intended for him, and so it continued to do, throughout seven editions! That is, three of them with his shield and four without. But if this was the first with the shield erased, it was the first also with Tunstal’s name, and the figure of Crumwell, now so well known, standing by. And *is Saul also among the Prophets?* might not the people have exclaimed, and perhaps did; though we have yet to hear again of Tunstal and Heath’s feigned obedience. There had been no time left for them to *alter* the translation. The book was laid before them, no doubt, as it had come from the press. A title was wanting to suit the moment, and Henry now, his own Vicar-General, commanded the present one. It will make way for two other editions from Cranmer.

In addition to these four Bibles, it is said that there was a fifth, and in five volumes as small as sexto-decimo, printed by Redman; but, at all events, there was a New Testament in quarto, with Erasmus and Tyndale in parallel columns. Thus amidst all the turmoil, and in spite of foes, the cause went forward, and still from conquering to conquer.

MDXLI.

THE THIRD LARGE BIBLE, WITH TUNSTAL'S NAME, BY COMMAND—THE FOURTH, IN MAY, WITH CRANMER'S NAME—EXPENSE OF THESE LARGE UNDERTAKINGS—THE MEMORABLE PROPRIETOR, ANTHONY MARLER—BONNER'S FEIGNED ZEAL—EARNEST READING AND LISTENING—THE FIFTH GREAT BIBLE, WITH TUNSTAL'S NAME—THE SIXTH, WITH CRANMER'S NAME—GARDINER RETURNED, TO WITNESS THE PROGRESS NOW MADE DURING HIS ABSENCE.



FTER the fall of Crumwell, after the royal marriage of last year, and some degree of amicable intercourse commenced between the Emperor and Henry, the Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal party may be considered as at the height of their power; so that whatever shall take place with regard to the printing or publication of the Sacred Volume, becomes the more remarkable. This year is the last in which Bibles were printed under the present reign, even though Henry had still five years to live. By his "commandment" we have seen both Tunstal and Heath giving in their adherence to the translation, and in an edition certainly finished in November last. It may therefore be presumed that the order to look over it, had come after the book was finished at press, since it did not appear before the 25th of March this year. But this would not suffice for 1541.

By the end of May another edition was ready by Cranmer, thus proving that, for all practical purposes, the version was precisely the same throughout, whether his name, or that of its ancient foe, Tunstal, was affixed. This edition, as if marked out for observation, is particularly dated in red on the *title* page, as well as in black at the end.

“*The Byble in Englysh*, that is to saye the content of all the holy *Scripture*, both of the olde and newe Testament, with a *prologe* therinto, made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas archebyshop of Cantorbury. ¶ This is the *Byble* appoynted to the use of the Churches. Printed by Edwarde Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. Finished the xxviii daye of Maye, Anno domini MDXLI.” The Colophon is—“The ende of the newe Testament : and of the whole Byble, Fynysshed in May MCCCCXLI. a dño factū est istud.”

Here then was not less than the fifth folio Bible completed, in the short space of less than two years. Nay, four have been completed in thirteen months ! We have before us, therefore, unquestionably, a magnificent undertaking. Means must be taken for the disposal of these volumes, and provision for this end may well be made by those who had been at *no* expense, should they possess *any* influence. We dismiss, at present, the expense of all other editions, and taking up those only in which we find the names of Grafton or Whitchurch, partners in business as the printers ; from that first edition which was imported by them in 1537 down to only the present moment, we have six editions. The impressions thrown off have been rated at from 1500 to 2,500 copies ; so that if we take the medium, here were twelve thousand volumes. We now know, from Grafton himself, that £500 had been embarked by him in the *first* edition, given to Britain ; but those that followed after were still finer books. Granting therefore that there had been here a sum of no more than £3000 incurred, though there must have been more, this, according to the value of money in our day, was equal to forty, if not forty-five thousand pounds ! “History, though warm on meaner themes,” has hitherto “been cold on this ;” and the reader of the present hour, except the transactions be explained, may pass without notice, the most memorable feature of the times. In the midst of the preceding still nobler struggle, respecting the New Testament only, Sir Thomas More had expressed his astonishment, on account of the *expense* incurred, and so much the more that he could never fathom from *whence* the money came. But what would he have said to this cause now, not seven years after his death ? Ah, and what would he have said to his friend Tunstal, who so led him on the ice, by granting him licence to “play the Demosthenes,” in opposition to Tyndale ; and who now, by the command of their common Sovereign, is openly

mixed up in the whole concern, though not in one farthing of the expense ?

The memorable edition of 1537, and that chiefly printed in Paris and finished in London in 1539, are not to be forgotten ; but we now only look to those volumes to which the brief of the *King* on the 7th of May last year, and the names of *Cranmer* and *Tunstal* on the title-page, direct us, or four editions. These, according to our very moderate calculation, involved £2000 in advance, or equal to thirty thousand pounds now.

Here, then, was a work of magnitude, to which it would have been quite worthy of any king, or of any government, to have contributed. But if neither the one, nor the other, bore the burden ; if neither had even advanced any funds in the meanwhile ; then from this time forth, and ever after, “let honour be given to whom honour is due,”—and posterity venerate the memory of the man, or the men, who so befriended their countrymen and our forefathers.

The *sale*, therefore, of these large volumes, so long loosely styled “Cranmer’s Bibles,” must now no longer be neglected, lest the noble proprietor, though to us hitherto little more than an unknown private gentleman, should be, as he said himself, *undone for ever*. It was a crisis, in the finest keeping with our entire history. There was no application about to be made by him to Government, for any *pecuniary* aid, and far less to Henry VIII. personally ; but it was at least proper that his Privy Council should be reminded of their royal Master’s imperative injunctions of May 1540 ; and so they were in prospect of Cranmer’s last impression.

After the death of Crumwell, Henry’s Council was divided into two separate sections ; of which one sat in London, the other was with the King ; and, what is curious enough, then, for the first time, we have regular minutes of his Privy Council. It is from this source, the most authentic of all others, that we hear more particularly of that worthy citizen, *Anthony Marler*. Strange ! that for three hundred years he should have been overshadowed, by the King on the one hand, and the Primate on the other ; but they are now *both* certainly here present, to witness for themselves, and to be overshadowed in their turn. Thus it is that “time unveils truth.”

Minutes of the Privy Council: at Greenwich 25 April, 33 of Henry VIII., that is 1541, "It was agreed that Anthony Marler of London, merchant, might sell the bibles of the Great Bible unbound for x s. sterling (equal to £7 10s.), and bound, being trimmed with bullyons, for xii. s. sterling" (or equal to £9).

And on a complaint of the same Anthony Marler to the fore-said Council, that the parish churches throughout the kingdom had not generally complied with the royal injunction, that each should be provided with a copy of the Bible of the largest volume, in dependence on which the last edition had been printed, the King in Council issued another injunction to the same effect as the former, but affixing a definite penalty to the neglect of the order, beyond a certain time, viz. 1st Nov., the date of the proclamation being 6th May, 1541. The King presided, and Cranmer was present at both of these meetings of Council.¹

This must have so far brightened the prospect of our patriotic proprietor, as we shall find another edition of the Great Bible soon ready for publication, proceeding from the same quarter, nay, and another still, before the year is done! But in the meanwhile it is now evident, that so far from Henry VIII. being at any *expense* for the Bibles already printed by Grafton and Whitchurch, as our Solicitor-General told Lord Mansfield, and as others, both before and after him, have unwarrantably affirmed, the King was now rather in the way of *making* a little money, by publications in which he had no pecuniary concern! At least every *fine* would bring him £1, for a book which would have cost no more than 10s.; or in other words, the value of £15, for an article at £7 10s. But if the purchase had been neglected *two* months, then his Majesty would have £30; if *three*, £45! While, on the other hand, for every overcharge he was to receive two shillings, or equal to thirty.

But besides this proclamation, in five days more, or Wednesday, 11th May, came a letter from no other than *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of London, (still obsequiously so far playing the hypocrite,) for the execution of the King's orders, addressed to his Archdeacon; and so eager must he appear to secure the royal favour, that in September he also put forth an "Admonition to all readers of this Bible in the English tongue"

¹ Cotton MS., Cleop., E. v., fol. 337.

—“Evermore forseeing that no exposition be made thereupon, otherwise than it is declared in the book itself—that no reading be used in the time of Divine service—or, finally, that no man justly may reckon himself to be offended thereby, or take occasion to grudge or malign thereat.”

The reading of the Sacred Scriptures, however, it must ever be borne in mind, had now been a practice, not in London merely, but throughout England, and for *fifteen* years; to what extent, indeed, it is impossible to say. But as we have long seen, many of Henry's subjects had truly not waited for his poor permission, whether to read or to hear: and in many a corner, far and near, there were those who knew far more of Christianity, and to better purpose, than did any of the members of Government. Even five years ago, the late Edward Fox of Hereford, a *rara avis* among the Bishops, had boldly told his brethren as much, and it was certainly no more than the truth. On the return of Bonner from Paris, where he had pretended great zeal for the Scriptures, to please Crumwell; and immediately after the King's brief in 1540, to please both, this consummate hypocrite had set up six Bibles in St. Paul's for public reading. The result at once proved, how far the people were a-head of these official men. *They came instantly and generally to hear the Scriptures read. Such as could read with a clear voice often had great numbers round them. Many sent their children to school, and carried them to St. Paul's to hear.* It was, however, not long before the language of our Saviour himself—“Drink ye *all* of it,” struck them, and very naturally led to discussion. The complaints of some, in lack of argument, of which the adverse party took care to avail themselves, were dexterously conveyed to the King. In *their* eyes, this reading of the Scriptures by the people, and hearing them read in public, was a sore evil; and an opportunity must be sought and seized for putting it down. Crumwell, the terror of the Bishops, was gone; and Gardiner is out of the country; but Bonner, though always false at heart, must still dissemble; nay, moreover, here actually come Tunstal and Heath once more, and with another edition of the great Bible, in November!

“*The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorysed and apoynted by the commandemente of our moost redoubted Prynce and soweraygne*

Lorde, Kynge Henrye the VIII., supreme heade of this his Church and realme^e of Englande: to be frequented and used in every Churche wīn this his sayd realme, accordyng to the tenour of his former Injunctions giuen in that behalfe. ¶ Oversene and perused at the commaundmēt of the Kynges Highnes, by the ryghte reverende futhers in God, Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas bysshop of Rochester. Printed by Rycharde Grafton, 1541. The Colophon is—"The ende of the newe Testament and of the whole Byble. Fynyshed in November, Anno MCCCCXLJ."

Nor would even this suffice. Anthony Marler, the only paymaster as yet named, or to be named, is still ready to proceed; and a final edition was completed before this year was done. It had been going on at press *with* other editions; and, it is curious enough, *from* last year, but it was not finished till the close of the present; at the same time, it may have been only *nine* months in the press, as their year extended to the 25th of March. Cranmer was not to be outdone by these two Bishops, and, therefore, as in May last, so he now follows them up immediately with his usual title, and an emphatic *colophon*, as if he had been in wonder at the compliance of Tunstal and Heath.

"*The Byble in Englishe, that is to saye, the content of all the holy scrypture both of the olde and newe testament, with a prologe therinto, made by the reverende father in God, Thomas archebisshop of Cantorbury. ¶ This is the Byble appoynted to the use of the Churches. ¶ Printed by Rycharde Grafton. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. An. do. MDXL.*" The Colophon is—"The ende of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Bible, Fynysshed in December MCCCCXLI. † *A Domino factum est istud. This is the Lordes doynge.*"

And thus ended the year: so that we have four of these large folios dated in 1541. It was certainly a strange movement on the part of Henry VIII., and one which must have taken many by surprise, for him first to send Gardiner off to Germany, and then, as soon as he was gone, command his friends, Tunstal and Heath, to give in their adhesion to the Bible, to which Cranmer had bowed; and then also to place their names in the title-page, in token of their full approbation—a translation almost verbally the same in the New Testament, which the King himself and Wolsey had first denounced, and Tunstal after them, consigned again and again to the flames! Such, however, was the fact. The undertaking was *not* to be denounced, even though Crumwell, now rated as a heretic and a


traitor, had imported the types, and pushed forward the printing, not only of these, but of other editions.

But lo! here is Stephen Gardiner, returned in October, and gone direct to the King from Charles V. With what surprise must he have beheld the progress made! On going abroad, his party reigned triumphant; it was now in disgrace, and the Queen, whose marriage he had fostered, is about to ascend the scaffold! But, especially, if he had not been informed, with what feelings must he have gazed on the names of Tunstal and Heath in the very title-page of these Bibles!

Tunstal was now in his sixty-eighth year, and appears to have been in some degree softened with his years; Gardiner never was; and now, though of these volumes there were eight editions in regular series, to say nothing of others, which had received Henry's approval, and two of these carried the obsequious, but well-known attestation of Tunstal and Heath; still this Bishop of Winchester stood resolved to put forth all his strength, in the way of cunning sophistry, against the translation thus acknowledged, and now reading in public, in so many places. Certainly he had owned to the King before, that there were "no heresies in it." But another Parliament is summoned, and another *Convocation*, where Gardiner anticipated that he might even yet work wondrously. Let him try; that he himself and his brethren may come to their greatest humiliation, and to their final discomfiture as a Convocation.

MDXLII.

CONVOCATION MET—THE BIBLE INTRODUCED THERE FOR DISCUSSION AT LAST—
SINGULAR DISPLAY—GARDINER'S GRAND EFFORT IN OPPOSITION—CRANMER
INFORMS THE KING—THEY ARE ALL DISCOMFITED, THOUGH YET SITTING—
PROGRESS OF THE TRUTH IN ENGLAND.

y this year, such had been the progress made in the cause of Divine Truth, that the imaginations of its enemies were literally put to the rack. Oppose they must; but how to proceed, was a problem not of easy solution. Upon his second return from the Continent, in October last, Gardiner had found far greater occasion for regret, than he had done even before, in September 1538. Then, he could step into his fiery chariot, and bring Lambert to the stake; he and Norfolk had been worming themselves into royal favour ever after; and upon setting off for the imperial Court, in November 1540, whether he should there fully succeed or not, everything at home seemed to promise other, and, as he thought, better days; now that Crumwell was gone, and his Majesty so delighted with the Queen which had been furnished to him by the old learning party. She was their first and *only* choice, on whose sway depended anticipations not a few. But now, that mainstay had fallen; Gardiner's friend, the Duke of Norfolk, had been trembling for his personal honours, if not his life; while, to crown all, that pillar of strength, Cuthbert Tunstal, had not merely given way, but his name had been employed, by royal authority, as though he had personally gone over to the other side. Still, the party must rally once more. By this time, it might have been supposed that their arrows would have been expended and their quiver empty; but, subtle and ingenious in the extreme, their sophistry prevailed once more. If the peculiar situation of the King be taken into account, it must appear surprising that they should have been successful in swaying his mind now; though, in the end, we shall leave it to the judgment of the reader, whether the whole proceeding, on the part of Henry, does not carry very much of the appearance of a *snare*, in which, when caught, the Bishop of Winchester, from being the most conspicuous cha-

racter, became the most ridiculous. Be this as it may, these men will not stop till they have exposed themselves to the derision of posterity.

A new Parliament having assembled, on the following Friday, or the 20th, the Convocation also met; and as it sat till the 29th of March, of course it proved, as usual, though only *apparently*, a critical period for the Sacred Scriptures. After so many storms, as all along there had been no *real* danger, so there will not be any now. At the opening, Richard Cox, Archdeacon of Ely, had preached to the House, of course in Latin; and if he had intended his text to be satirical, he could not have been more severe. It was "*Vos estis sal terræ*,"—"ye are the salt of the earth!!"—and no doubt a very different sermon from that of Latimer six years ago.

After being detained for some time by the King's personal unhappy affairs in Parliament, these men proceeded to business in the Convocation; and at their third session, on Friday the 17th of February, the Translation of the Scriptures, so often discussed there without any result, must once more come before them. The reader cannot have forgotten their former abortive attempts, and may be the more curious to observe what happened now. They appear ever to have been afraid to look any farther than the *New Testament*, and it was of this they felt most apprehension. Upon this day, therefore, Cranmer required the bishops and clergy to revise the translation of the New Testament; and so successful had been the votaries of the "old learning," that this was done in the *King's* name. It must have been no welcome proposal to the Archbishop, after he had so fully committed himself. However, as usual, he must obey; and therefore, having divided the volume into fourteen parts, he allotted them to fifteen Bishops, as follow:—

Matthew . . .	to himself, Cranmer of Canterbury.
Mark . . .	to Longland of Lincoln.
Luke . . .	to Gardiner of Winchester.
John . . .	to Goodrich of Ely.
The Acts . . .	to Heath of Rochester.
Romans . . .	to Sampson of Chichester.
Corinthians, 1 and 2	to Capon of Salisbury.
Galatians to Ephesians	to Barlow of St. David's.
Thessalonians, 1 and 2	to Bell of Worcester.

Timothy to Philemon	to	<i>Parfew</i> of St. Asaph.
Peter, 1 and 2 . . .	to	<i>Holgate</i> of Llandaff.
Hebrews	to	<i>Skip</i> of Hereford.
James to Jude . . .	to	<i>Thirlby</i> of Westminster.
Revelation	to	<i>Wakeman</i> of Gloster and <i>Chamber</i> of Peterboro'.

Here, let it be observed, were two notable and curious omissions. What had become of *Tunstal* and *Bonner*—the former once so outrageously zealous *against* the Scriptures in London; the latter as much so *for* them while in Paris? *Tunstal* having but recently committed himself to *two* editions of the Bible, by express *commandment* from the King, must have either declined; or with his characteristic “stillness,” perhaps expected to “oversee” once more the wished-for revisal. *Bonner*, though a canonist and wily politician, was very probably no scholar; or, like his predecessor, John Stokesly, would have no connexion with the affair.

At their sixth meeting *Gardiner* came forward, therefore, with the fruit of his own counsel, and made a proposal perfectly characteristic, which he was sure to carry triumphantly within the Convocation. It was at best a puerile design, and to us now, a most contemptible one, with a view to keep the people of England in their ancient ignorance. He then read a list of not fewer than one hundred and two *Latin* words, that “for their genuine and native meaning, and for the *majesty* of the matter in them contained,” might be retained in the English translation, or be fitly *Englished* with the least alteration. For the sake of illustration, only a slight specimen will be sufficient.

Ecclesia, pœnitentia, pontifex, olacausta (so in the record), *idiota, baptizare, sacramentum, simulacrum, confiteor tibi Pater, panis, præpositionis, benedictio, satisfactio, peccator, episcopus, cisera, zizania, confessio, pascha, hostia.*

The bearing of the entire list is very apparent. *Gardiner*, indeed, had talked of “majesty” in the words, but there was something else than *majesty* in view. “Witness,” says old Fuller, “the word ‘penance,’ which, according to the vulgar sound, contrary to the original sense thereof, was a magazine of will worship, and brought in much gain to the priests, who were desirous to keep *that* word, because *that* word kept them.”

Cranmer, however, being now at his post, and retaining influence with his Majesty, although he had once more dealt out the books of the New Testament among his fellows, soon observed

from their discussions, what would be the result; and therefore determined to wait upon Henry, and inform him how matters went. The Bishops, therefore, were now relieved from their several tasks, and they were, moreover, *no more* to be consulted on the subject! They must be overruled, to a man, though in Convocation assembled. After entering the House, on Friday the 10th of March, Cranmer informed his brethren "that it was the King's will and pleasure, that the translation both of the Old and the New Testament should be examined by both *Universities*!" In vain did the House oppose, and in vain protest; for *all* the Bishops present did so, with only two exceptions, viz. Goodrich of Ely, and Barlow of St. David's. Cranmer, who saw that his brethren only desired to get rid of the translation altogether, then finally told them that he "would stick close to the will and pleasure of the King his Master, and that the Universities should examine the translation." This, however, after all turned out as though it had been simply an expedient adopted for putting an end to the foolish proposal of submitting the Word of God to the revision of any such men; for even the Universities never were consulted!!

To have ruined *Marler*, the worthy member of the Haberdashers' Company, in the eyes of the Convocation, would have been quite an achievement; but Anthony's precious property was now safe, and it seems that something more must instantly be said respecting it. It is singular that *forty-eight hours* were not allowed to pass away! Cranmer must have immediately informed the King of his final reply; and now, so far from looking to any University, out came the following authoritative communication, dated on (*Sunday*) the 12th of March, 1542; thus verifying the old proverb—"the better day, the better deed."

"Henry the Eighth, &c.—To all Printers of books within this realm, to all our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our Letters, hearing or seeing, greeting. We let you wit, that we, for certain causes convenient, of our Grace special, have given and granted to our well-beloved subject, *Anthony Marler*, citizen and Haberdasher of our city of London, only to print *the Bible in our English tongue*, authorized by us, himself or his assigns. And we command that no manner of persons within these our dominions shall print the said Bible, or any part thereof, within the space of *four years* next ensuing *the printing of the said book*, by our said subject or his assigns. And further, we will and command our true subjects, and all strangers, that none presume to print the said

work, or break this our commandment and privilege as they intend eschewe our punishment and high displeasure. Witness ourself at Westminster the xii day of March. *Per breve de privato sigillo.* 1542."

But why could not his Majesty have shown a little more delicacy? Why could he not wait, but a little while, till the Convocation was dissolved, and the Bishops had left the capital?

They were still sitting, and continued to do so for more than a fortnight, or till the 29th of the month! Did his Majesty intend to pour contempt upon them, and hold them up to derision even while thus assembled? Whatever was his motive, certainly no mortification could be greater—no humiliation more complete. Their indignation, however, they must suppress for the present; though it will not be surprising should it burst out with great violence, as soon as they meet again. But let them do what they please, the sacred text will never again be submitted to *their* consideration. They may rave about Tyndale, execrate his name, wreak their vengeance upon his writings, and thus unwittingly, once more hold up to posterity the man to whom the nation stood most of all indebted; but his work will abide and prosper, and long after they have gone down to the grave.

As there were no more folio Bibles printed in Henry's reign, it has often been supposed that this was owing to the strength of the opposing party; but the fact has now been accounted for in a manner more satisfactory. Let it only be observed that by the end of last year, or only four years and four months from August 1537, of Tyndale's translation, and based on Tyndale's, there had issued from the press, not fewer than *twelve* editions of the entire Bible, ten in folio, and two in quarto. And it was well they had; they were laid up in store, like Joseph's *corn* in Egypt, for the next four years. The impression of each of those Bibles has been calculated as ranging from 1,500 to 2,500 copies: but say that there were 2000 copies on an average, here were more than *twenty thousand* Bibles, a most memorable fact, under all the circumstances. Many of the copies which had been printed since 1539 may have been yet for sale; and Marler, it is evident, was so overstocked, that he was afraid of ruin by his outlay. The King's letters in his favour now extended his privilege to December 1545, immediately after which we shall find

that Grafton was at work again, with an edition of the New Testament.

But independently of this ample supply in folio and quarto, it must ever be remembered that there were many thousands of the New Testament long circulated, and reading far and wide throughout the country. We shall take the proof from one of the best of witnesses, and as it came from the press in London, this very year. An admirer of Latimer, who, in 1526, when only sixteen years of age, used to hear him preach, and George Stafford read lectures, at Cambridge, had then received certain impressions which were never to be erased from his mind. After mentioning Latimer's discourses, both in English and Latin, he then adds—"at all of which, for the most part, I was present; and although at the time I was but a child of sixteen years old, (anno 1526,) yet I noted his doctrine as well as I could, partly reposing it in my memory, and partly committing it to writing. I was present, when with manifest authorities of God's Word, and invincible arguments, he proved in his sermons that *the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue by all Christian people*, whether priests or laymen, as they are called." "Neither was I absent when he inveighed against empty works." "He so laboured earnestly, both in word and deed, to win and allure others into the love of Christ's doctrine, and His holy religion, that there is a common saying, which remains unto this day: when Master Stafford read and Master Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed." Stafford, of whom we heard before in 1526, had died soon after; but Latimer was still in the Tower, where he will remain till after the death of his ungrateful Monarch.

This youth was Thomas Becon. Born about 1510, he was now thirty-two, and proved, throughout life, one of the most laborious and useful men of his time. Last year, as well as this, he had been busy at the press, even in London, and had published three small pieces, two of which had, next year, already reached a second edition. In one of these he says,—


"I think there is no realm throughout Christendom, that hath so many urgent and necessary causes to give thanks to God, as we Englishmen have at this present. What ignorance and blindness was in this realm concerning the true and Christian knowledge! But now—Christ's death is believed to be a sufficient sacrifice for them that are sanctified. THE MOST SACRED BIBLE IS

FREELY PERMITTED TO BE READ OF EVERY MAN IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE. Many savour Christ aright, and *daily the number increaseth*, thanks be to God. Christ is believed to be the alone Saviour. Christ is believed to be our sufficient Mediator and Advocate. The true and Christian faith, which worketh by charity, and is plenteous in good works, is now received to justify."

Notwithstanding this attestation, however, let there be no surprise, though the clouds should still be gathering, and another storm await us soon.

MDXLIII.

PARLIAMENT OPENED—THE CONVOCATION BAFFLED, ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR INABILITY TO STAY THE PROGRESS OF DIVINE TRUTH BY APPLYING NOW TO PARLIAMENT—PARLIAMENT DISGRACES ITSELF BY VAIN OPPOSITION—BONNER SENT ABROAD.

ARLIAMENT was assembled this year on the 22nd of January, and sat till the 12th of May. The long-suffering of Heaven with such a Government, was, by this time, eminently conspicuous; but as the King on the throne had been overruled, and the cause of Divine Truth had hitherto not only baffled the Convocation, but laid it prostrate; so if there were any remaining branch of authority about to prove so infatuated as to interfere, it was fit that it should be left to expose both its folly and weakness to posterity, by so doing. Its interference, however, may be traced to the infatuation and enmity of the Convocation; for these being once infused into Parliament, there was nothing so foolish and contemptible which they might not entertain and even enact. The Convocation as such could not, of course, cross the threshold of the Senate; but its *leading* members the Bishops might, being members also of the Upper House, or Lords of Parliament. Hence the consequences.

In opposing the Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, the Convocation having so repeatedly discovered itself to be a powerless body, and more especially since the scene, or unceremonious treatment of last year; it had now seemed to the Bishops that only one mode of attack remained. It was their

forlorn hope. They must admit, and now in effect acknowledged, their own inefficiency, as a body, by introducing the subject into Parliament; but they will try what could be accomplished there. Providentially, however, by this time *Tyndale's* translation had been printed under *other* names, such as Matthew, Taverner, Cranmer, *Tunstal* and *Heath*; for this translation having been retained in *all* the English Bibles, with very little variation, it was now *impossible to reach it*. It so happened, too, that there were, by this time, various editions of the Bible, printed *without note or comment*. Marler's editions, as well as others, were of this character, and, backed by the stern authority of the King, there was no possibility of touching any of them. To show, however, to what a low pitch the miserable spite of the enemy was now reduced, as well as to display the servility of Parliament, now become proverbial, an Act was introduced which was actually entitled—"An Act for the *advancement of true Religion!*"—and what were its provisions, nearly ten years after Henry had declared himself Head of the Church of England, and seventeen years after the New Testament had been introduced into our native land?

The name of *Tyndale* was the rallying-point, and, in effect, the English Parliament must now furnish their tribute to his memory and talents. Upon setting off, by this Act *his* translation was branded and condemned as "*crafty, false, and untrue*;" although the translation actually reading in the churches! though the translation which *Tunstal* had been constrained to sanction! though the translation which had been read with avidity since 1526, and that to which the people had discovered such attachment as to perish at the stake sooner than abandon it! Parliament durst not condemn the Bibles to which the names of Taverner or Cranmer or *Tunstal* had been affixed, nor even that of *Matthew* by name: because this last had been so pointedly sanctioned by his Majesty, and *it* had prepared the way for all that followed! But, once more roused by the name of *Tyndale*, it was then enacted,—

"That all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, of *this* translation, should, by authority of this Act, clearly and utterly be abolished and extinguished, and forbidden to be kept and used in this realm, or elsewhere, in any of the King's dominions." But it was provided, "that the

Bibles and New Testaments in English, *not* being of Tyndale's translations, should stand in force, and not be comprised in this abolition or act."

It was farther enacted,—“That the Chancellor of England! Captains of the Wars! the King's Justices! the Recorders of any city, borough, or town! and the Speaker of Parliament! *may use* any part of the holy Scripture as they have been wont!" And “every nobleman or gentlewoman, being a householder, *may* read or cause to be read, by *any* of his *family servants* in his house, orchard, or garden, to his own family, any text of the Bible; and also every merchantman, being a householder, and any other persons, *other than* women, apprentices, &c., *might* read to themselves *privately* the Bible. But *no* women, except *noblewomen* and *gentlewomen*, might read to themselves alone; and *no artificers, apprentices, journeymen*, serving-men of the degrees of *yeomen* (officers in the King's family, between sergeants and grooms), *husbandmen* or *labourers*, were to read the Bible or New Testament *to themselves or to any other, privately or openly*, on pain of one month's imprisonment."

The burning of the Alexandrian Library, and heating its baths with the books, has been often reprobated as barbarous, but the aim of Parliament was impious in the extreme. As far as they durst venture, they intended to take the bread of life out of the mouths of the common people. The Act has been described as “a net *contrived*, to catch or let go, whomsoever they pleased;” but still it may well be inquired, where was “the wisdom of their wise men, or the understanding of the prudent,” when they *contrived* it; as the folly displayed was in equal proportion to the malignity. It might have been compared to an act framed to bind the wind, or intercept the light of day; and whatever may have been its vexatious consequences, it was by far too late in being framed.

Observe its contents. It denounced the translation of Tyndale, and enforced it almost in the same breath; for not only was it his translation, under another name, which was to stand in force, but many of his New Testaments had no such name attached to them. But the folly of the statute is still more glaring, when both the *manner* and the *degree* of reading comes to be regulated by an Act of Parliament. While reading in the parish *church* seems to be in part abridged, the reading at *home*, in thousands of instances, is legalised if not enforced; and reading in the house, as being more deliberate and more retired, was better than reading in the church. Every one knows with what avidity men read, and will read, an interdicted book; but this was only half interdicted!—*half* in numerous families, and *half* as it regarded the community at large. This was better

still. Thus, in the former case, as *any family servant* was authorized to read the Scriptures to Master or Mistress, of course he might not only repeat what he read, but could the other servants be effectually prevented from snatching a perusal in the morning or evening, or at midnight? And if every nobleman and gentlewoman, every merchant, or any other, being a householder, were fully authorized to possess, and read the Bible, how were the *women* of the household, how were the *apprentices*, and journeymen, or other domestics, to be guarded and prevented from looking between the sacred leaves?

But besides these absurdities, there were certain clauses introduced, in mitigation of severity, not unworthy of notice. Offenders, if ecclesiastics, were not to suffer death till the *third* offence; and the punishment of any others was never to extend beyond the forfeiture of goods, and imprisonment for life. The party accused also might bring witnesses, and the accused must be tried within a year after the indictment, while the Parliament, as usual, had to leave the Act in the King's power, to annul or alter it at his pleasure! The bloody statute of six articles was in fact thus invaded and softened.


Such a mixture of folly and contradiction demands some explanation. Had Gardiner and his party obtained *all* their wishes, the Scriptures had been suppressed, and wholly interdicted: but it is curious enough that it was *Cranmer* who had introduced *this* Act, with the view no doubt of legalising what he had enforced in his prologue to the Bible—the perusal of the Sacred Volume *at home*, and hence the mystery of its *title* is explained. But once introduced into Parliament, and thwarted in his endeavours, it had, in passing through the House, assumed such a grotesque appearance, as to carry in its various clauses, the evidence of two hostile parties fighting with each other. To Cranmer, therefore, may be ascribed the credit of obtaining as much as might be, and of then stultifying the Act, to disappoint the devices of the crafty, or carry the counsel of the froward headlong. In short, the passing of this Act has been represented by Rapin, as a “mortification” to the adverse party, which “checked their hopes.” That its vexatious operation was at least impeded, there can be but little doubt, from what

was taking place at the very moment, as well as what soon followed.

With regard to the time when Parliament was thus acting ; it cannot have escaped recollection that we have been called again and again to observe, at certain critical periods, either formerly, when the Scriptures were to be imported from abroad, or since then, when those who prized them were in danger of being molested, that one or more of the bitterest persecutors were either put in check, or sent *out* of the kingdom, in the character of ambassadors to foreign parts. So it had happened with Tunstal and Gardiner, and so it happened now. The focus of persecution had ever been in London, just as it was in Jerusalem of old ; and of all men living, Bonner at this moment was most bloodthirsty. He had been very busy for more than a year in his favourite employment of persecution, and would have been so now. But no sooner had they begun to wrangle in Parliament, than he was sent off the ground by the Supreme Ruler. Henry having been induced by the Emperor Charles to form a league with him against Francis, Bonner was sent as Ambassador to bear it to Charles, who swore to it in Bonner's presence at Barcelona on the 8th of April. Thus the absence of one who would have offered serious opposition was secured.

MDXLIV.

GARDINER—CRANMER—HENRY'S CONFESSION OF IMPOTENCE IN ALL HIS INJUNCTIONS TO HIS BISHOPS—HIS INCONSISTENCY—NEW TESTAMENT OF TYNDALE, A FOREIGN PRINT.

HAT cause to which these pages have been specially devoted, had, as we have seen, been dragged into Parliament last year, but we shall have the evidence before us presently, that it continued to stand, as it had always stood, independently of frown or favour. Parliament had disgraced itself, it is true, as well as earned the contempt of posterity, by its interference ; but as for any fury involved in its proceedings, it could not this

year be of much force, in either burning, or blotting, or cutting the Sacred Volume. A variety of circumstances, involved in the state of the country, renders this apparent, and prepares us for whatever may have occurred in the cause itself; while a remarkable *confession of impotence*, on the part of his *Majesty*, as far as his *proclamations respecting religion* were concerned, will also come before us. So little had *Royal authority* to do with the progress of Truth, and that by its own *recorded confession*.

Several of the movements of Government this year naturally lead to the conclusion that there could not be much, if any time left, to attend to the business of persecution for the Truth's sake; although in the spring, while Parliament was sitting, the House discovered, as usual, the discordant materials of which it was composed.

Their very first bill, involving as it did the prospect of Princess Mary's possible succession to the throne, seems to have inspirited the gentlemen of "the old learning;" for although Cranmer had triumphed over his accusers last year, it was during this Parliament that the minion of Norfolk and Gardiner, Sir John Gostwyck, ventured to accuse the Archbishop of *heresy*, openly in the House of Commons; but the knight, whom his Majesty instantly denounced as a *varlet*, had to repair forthwith to Lambeth, to humble himself there, and crave forgiveness. On the other hand, Gardiner was about this time placed in very awkward, if not critical circumstances, by his kinsman, some have said nephew, and secretary, Germain Gardiner. Once the feeble opponent of John Fryth, having been apprehended for denying the King's supremacy, he suffered the penalty of death as a traitor on the 7th of March. However, the Bishop contrived, as usual, to make his peace with the King, and happily he was soon to be despatched upon foreign affairs; though still, if Gardiner failed in any way, he sunk; while Cranmer remained or rather advanced in royal favour.

To the latter, therefore, the present moment appeared to be a favourable one for the farther mitigation of the bloody statute, which had been already somewhat softened last year; and Cranmer succeeded in carrying a new Act this session. By this, in future, no individual was to be brought to trial under

that statute, till after he had been legally presented, on the oaths of *twelve* men, before such commissioners as are mentioned in this Act, and referred to in another; nor was he, *till then*, to be imprisoned. No reputed offence of an older date than *one* year was to be actionable; nor was any preacher to be indicted, if *forty days* had elapsed after any sentiment he had uttered in the pulpit. The accused might also challenge any juryman. These provisions formed so many very important alleviations in the fury of persecution; though two years hence, as in the cases of Anne Askew and others, they were most scandalously disregarded.

By the time that Henry departed for France, not only were Norfolk and Gardiner withdrawn from the country, but the new Queen, Catherine Parr, was Regent; and with Cranmer at the head of her Council, the chief man bent upon cruelty and mischief, or Bonner of London, must have been under certain restraint. Nor was this all. Just before his Majesty left, it deserves notice that prayers in the *English* tongue were directed to be generally used. This fact in itself was important; but in reference to past times, and royal influence, not so much so as another, which now comes out incidentally—

“We have sent unto you,” says the King to all the Bishops of his realm, “We have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be *for a month or two* observed, and after *slenderly* considered, as *other our injunctions*, to our no little marvel, have been used, but to the intent that as well the same, as other our injunctions, may be earnestly set forth,” &c.


Thus it was officially acknowledged that the King's former injunctions had carried no powerful or prolonged influence. Before this we have frequently had occasion to observe, that the cause of God and His truth had been so peculiarly conducted, as to have no leaning or dependence on him whatever. We have seen, by many striking proofs, that it went on in its course, first in defiance, and then independently of royal interference. But now, towards the close of his reign, lest posterity should mistake, or not observe it; as far as his own name and authority had been employed, here is an artless and very frank confession of *impotence*, on the part of his Majesty, if not also of Cranmer, who is supposed to have drawn up the injunction.

So far, indeed, from being a consistent friend to the progress of Divine Truth amongst his subjects, only last year Henry had lent his authority to the reprobation of the original translator, at whose death he had winked so hard ; and frowned upon the *poor* for *reading the Sacred Volume*. His injunctions, like himself, staggering from side to side, must have confounded the public mind ; and considering what had passed in Parliament last year, in reprobating the name and writings of Tyndale, it was not wonderful that the indignity should be resented. Tyndale's very name had become precious to many, and his translations of Scripture were now carefully preserved or hoarded in many a corner throughout England, far beyond the ken of Bishop, or King, or any underling.

Meanwhile, there seems to be no account whatever upon record of the seizure or burning of the New Testament, though there might have been, had foreign politics and preparations for war not engrossed attention ; but Lewis and some others have gone too far when they have stated that Day and Seres printed the Pentateuch this year. Day had not yet begun to print at all, and the volume must belong to a subsequent impression, or that of 1549. It is, however, curious, and more to the purpose, that a foreign press was at work even this year, and with an edition of Tyndale's New Testament. This must have been in the face of the recent anathema. A copy, once in the possession of the Earl of Oxford, is mentioned in the Harleian Catalogue, with this remark—"It seems to be a foreign print." Indeed it must have been so ; and it may be put down in these troublous days, as a serenade from Antwerp or elsewhere, in answer to the contemptible brawl in Parliament last year.

MDXLV.

UNDERMINING CRANMER—HIS ENEMIES COVERED WITH SHAME—HENRY ADDRESS-
ING HIS PRIVY COUNCIL—HIS OPINION OF IT—ADDRESSING HIS PARLIAMENT
FOR THE LAST TIME.

 E are now within two years of the King's death, and the entire period was fraught with great misery to his subjects, though, generally speaking, not after the fashion in which they had been tormented in past times. His Majesty and the government, with all the strength of the kingdom, were at present fully occupied in preparing for self-defence against a French invasion. It was a year pregnant with misery and confusion to the country; and it might appear difficult to imagine where a moment was left for the gentlemen of the "old learning" to display their hostility; but in the autumn, after the King's return from Portsmouth, such a moment was found.

Cranmer had not failed to improve the absence of Gardiner and Norfolk. Last year, as we have seen, the former had been in Germany or Flanders, the latter in France; and up to this period the Duke had been very busy at home, surveying the sea-coast, and harassed by the war of defence. But now in September or October, a select number of the Privy Council had found a little space to breathe and look round, when an opportunity seemed to present itself, for trying their skill once more. It was to be concentrated on the Archbishop, and for the last time. The incidents are important, not in reference to the accusers only, but as giving farther insight to the character of the King himself, in connexion with his precious Council.

In the afternoon of the 22nd of August, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, died; perhaps the most powerful friend that Cranmer now had. The companion of the King from his earliest youth, and possessing throughout life considerable influence over him; Henry was sitting in Council when first informed of his decease, and could not suppress his feelings. He then declared that, during the whole course of their friendship, the Duke had never made *one* attempt to injure an adversary, nor had ever whispered a word to the disadvantage of *any* person. "Is there

any of *you*, my Lords, who can say as much?" When his Majesty had uttered these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw them confused with the consciousness of secret guilt.

Thus so emphatically checked, one might have supposed that they would have been careful not to verify the character which their Sovereign had seemed to insinuate: but no; it was but shortly after the Duke's remains were interred with splendour at Windsor, that certain Privy Councillors had resolved to move. When the King gave his significant look round the Council, there can be little or no doubt that his Grace of Norfolk, Wriothesly the Lord Chancellor, and even Stephen Gardiner, were present; for the latter had returned in spring, and been ever since actively engaged. The fears of the party must have led them to exaggerate; but from the expressions employed, the reader will at least learn what was *their* estimate of the progress now made, in a cause which they denounced as heretical, and so detested. Another mistake they made, not unwillingly, was their ascribing so much to *one* man, and that one man the Archbishop; but he was near to them, and a perpetual eye-sore; they hated him from the heart fervently, and must play their last game, under Henry, with a view to his ruin.

Being, as they imagined, now fully prepared to carry their purpose into effect, the Privy Councillors waited on his Majesty, when they grievously accused Cranmer; saying, "that he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with their *unsavoury doctrines*, that THREE PARTS of the land were become abominable *heretics*; and that this might prove dangerous to the King, as likely to produce such commotions and uproars as had sprung up in Germany." They, therefore, "requested that the Archbishop might be committed to the Tower, till he might be examined." To their mode of procedure the King at once objected, when they told him, "that the Archbishop being one of the Privy Council, no man dared to object matter against him, unless he were first committed to durance; but that if this were done, men would be bold to tell the truth, and deliver their consciences!" Yet Henry still would proceed no farther than this—that Cranmer should appear next day before the Council, to be examined by themselves, and should they *then* judge it to be advisable, so commit him to the Tower.

His Majesty, however, knowing the men well, and reflecting on what he had done, about midnight ordered Sir Anthony Denny to cross the river to Lambeth, and command Cranmer's immediate attendance at Whitehall. The Archbishop was in bed, but, of course, instantly rose, and presented himself before his royal Master, whom he found in the gallery of the palace. Henry very frankly told him the whole, and what he had done in granting their request ; but concluded by saying—"Whether I have done well or no, what say you, my Lord?" Cranmer, having first thanked his Majesty for the information, went on to say, that he was well content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, if he might be *fairly* heard, not doubting but that his Majesty would see that he was so treated. Upon hearing these words Henry, with a profane exclamation, in his own characteristic manner, rallied him on his simplicity ; for once in prison, every secret enemy, now silent, would open upon him, and false witness be easily obtained to condemn him. Determined that things should not go this length, he advised him to attend the Council on the morrow, if summoned ; but if there his enemies should insist on his going to the Tower, *before* trial, with his accusers face to face, he was to appeal from them to the King. "Take this ring," said Henry, "by the which they shall well understand that I have taken your cause from them into mine own hand. This ring they *well* know I use for no other purpose but to call matters from the Council into mine own hands, to be ordered and determined." Cranmer having received the ring, humbly thanked his Majesty, and withdrew for the night.

Next morning, and by eight o'clock, a message arrived from the Privy Council requiring Cranmer's attendance. It was immediately obeyed, but when the Primate made his appearance in the ante-room, he was not permitted to proceed any farther. There he was kept waiting, among servants and ushers, nearly an hour, while other members of the Council were, in the meantime, passing both in and out. Fortunately, Ralph Morrice, the Archbishop's secretary, was with him ; and indignant at this treatment, he slipped off, and informed a warm friend of his master, Dr. William Butts, the King's physician. He first came, and, once witness to the fact, proceeded to the royal presence.

Having informed his Majesty what a strange thing he had seen, "What is that?" said Henry. "My Lord of Canterbury," replied the physician, "if it please your Grace, is well promoted; for now he has become a lackey or a serving man; for yonder he hath stood this half hour at the Council Chamber door among them."—"It is not so," said Henry; "the Council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of the realm after that sort! But let them alone; it is well enough—I shall talk with them by and by."

At length Cranmer was called in. Their Lordships then informed him that great complaints were made of him, both to the King and to them; that he, and others by his permission, had filled the land with heresy; and, therefore, it was the royal pleasure that he should stand committed to the Tower, there to await his trial and examination. As a Privy Councillor, the Primate first demanded that his accusers should be immediately called before him, using many arguments against their proceeding to such extremity; but all was in vain—he *must* go to the Tower. "Then," said Cranmer, "I am sorry, my Lords, that you drive me to this exigent, to appeal from you to the King's Majesty, who by this token (holding up the ring) hath resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you thereof." The royal signet once delivered, produced more than its usual effect; the Council were amazed, and the first man who broke silence was Lord John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford:—"When you first began this matter, my Lords, I told you what would become of it. Do you think that the King will suffer this man's finger to ache? Much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against brabbling varlets! You do but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him. I know, right well, that the King would never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish, as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason."

This, however, was no time for confabulation. The Councillors, to a man, must rise instantly, and carry both the ring and the cause into the royal presence. Henry, of course, was now fully ready for them. He rated them severely for their malice and discourtesy to the Archbishop, whom he considered most faithful to him, and to whom he was "many ways be-

holden," and as such would have him regarded. Some poor apology must be made, but Henry was not to be befooled, but dismissing them gave them to understand that he knew their designs, and advised them to desist from such.

His Majesty immediately departed, when all the accusing gentlemen, so stern of late, are said to have shaken hands, hypocritically enough, with Cranmer, who was to be troubled no more, after this fashion, for above seven years to come.

It has been thought difficult to say whether Henry, overpersuaded by this junto, was at first in earnest, and afterwards changed his resolution; or whether he took this method to check the forwardness of the Archbishop's enemies; but let this have been as it may, who does not see, and in the King's own language, a hideous picture of the past? Here was the base manner in which many precious lives had been sacrificed. The Council, stripped of its disguise by its own Sovereign, exhibits a shocking spectacle; but above all, what can be said, as to the character of the Monarch himself, who, in amazement at Cranmer's simplicity, was perfectly familiar with the unprincipled cruelty of his own Ministers? "Do you not know," said Henry, "that *when THEY have you once in prison*, three or four false knaves will *soon be procured* to witness against you?" Such, no doubt, on many a melancholy occasion, had been the tender mercies of both King and Council.

Having thus schooled his *Privy Council*, by the close of the year his Majesty felt no less disposed to lecture his *Parliament*. The Lord Chancellor himself had informed the House of the miserable state of Henry's finances; Parliament had strained every nerve, and even exceeded its powers, in trying to improve them; and as there was no subject which made its way so directly to the royal heart, as that of pecuniary supplies, the King professed to be uncommonly pleased with his most compliant House. He had, indeed, no idea of blotting out from his style, the monosyllable "France;" but by this time, there is not only no more lofty pretensions to that crown, but he very frankly characterises the adverse turn which the war had taken—"not for our pleasure, but your *defence*; not for our gain, but to our great *cost*." Still the whole House had done its utmost, and since they had laid at his feet all the Universities,

as Henry had no intention of levelling to the dust either Cambridge or Oxford; after taking full credit to himself for being a "trusty friend," a "charitable man," a "lover of the public wealth," and "one that feared God," he proceeds with assurances of love and favour, and promises of the "expenditure of his treasure, and adventure of his person," in their defence, if necessity should require.

The way being thus smoothed, his Majesty proceeds to reprimand the whole House, and nothing will satisfy him short of exposing to the public eye what he thought of them all, as a body. If any benefit was to accrue to posterity, from Henry's own opinion before quitting the stage, he now gives it; and the pith of his address must not be withheld.

He commences with quoting Scripture, and his *text* is "Charity is *gentle*, charity is *not envious*, charity is *not proud*, and so forth in that chapter." But he had seen malice in his Privy Council, and now saw it in Parliament, whether Lords or Commons, Clergy or Laity.

"Behold, then, what love and charity there is amongst you—I see and hear daily that you of the CLERGY preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion—Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord when you preachers sow among them, in your sermons, strife and discord? They look for light, and you bring them into darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's Word, both by true preaching and good example giving; or else I, *whom God hath appointed his Vicar* and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty!

"Yet you of the TEMPORALITY be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy—And although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the Word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own consciences, and to instruct your children and family. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled, in every ale-house and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same."

Parliament, of course, durst not reply—"Physician, heal thyself;" but such language from *such* lips has seldom if ever been equalled. Some may conjecture that Cranmer must have helped his Majesty to several of his expressions; but if this was indeed Henry's own unaided production, as he himself distinctly intimates, could we obliterate from our minds all the cruelty and wrong, all the reckless and unprincipled despotism of the past, then might we suppose that this was merely the last

exchange of civilities on the part of a benignant monarch, concluding the whole with his final and faithful counsel. But as the past cannot be forgotten, and the speaker has yet another year to live, then does the language afford a display of the superlative deceitfulness of the human heart, equal to any in English history. There was evidently as much need as ever for the dying prayer of Tyndale—"Lord! open the eyes of the King of England;" for this exhorter of other men to "gentle charity," was himself not yet done with the shedding of blood! not yet done with breathing after the blood of the living, nor with expressing his enmity towards the original translator of what he now had styled "that most precious jewel, the Word of God!" Such blindness in any man as to himself is deeply instructive, and forcibly reminds one of the language of another King—"His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins. He shall die without instruction, and in the greatness of his folly he shall go astray." To all this, the last year of Henry's life will lend but too ample illustration.

MDXLVI.

PERSECUTION REVIVED—ANNE ASKEW—HER MARTYRDOM, ALONG WITH THREE OTHER INDIVIDUALS—LATIMER STILL IN PRISON—ENMITY TO ENGLISH BOOKS—THE SUPPLICATION OF THE POOR COMMONS—WRIOTHESLY, GARDINER, AND NORFOLK IN TROUBLE—DEATH OF THE KING—RETROSPECT.



Y this, the evening of his life, it might seem that nothing was now wanting to complete the character of Henry the Eighth; a character which, notwithstanding all the past, it was customary to eulogise at the moment, and strange to say, by far too common, to soften down, or even eulogise, since. Some excuse may be pled for such writers as Becon, and Udal, and Foxe, who stood, as it were, *too near* the object, to be able to distinguish and define it: but the confounding of vice and virtue in human character, which is not a venial offence against histo-

rical narrative, should certainly be corrected as the truth comes out, so that some fixed opinion may be at last obtained. Accordingly, the character of this Monarch is far more correctly estimated now, than it has been at any former period; for, notwithstanding all the verbiage, not to say unconscious errors, which have been printed by some historians respecting him, the stubborn facts of his reign preserve a uniform and awful consistency to his dying hour. It is idle to listen to what men may have *said*, now that we have gained access to the Monarch's own language, and almost all that he *did* or sanctioned, until he breathed his last in blood.

Before that Henry was gratified by the death of Beaton, the assassination of whom he was secretly compassing, there had been misery contemplated, of a darker hue; and after it, blood was shed of far greater value, in which the Crown and certain courtiers were immediately concerned. Wriothesly and Gardiner had sat at the Council table, advising as to the murder of the Scottish Cardinal; but they, with Bonner and Richard Rich, had since then been busy with several victims nearer hand, and under their own eye.

One of these suggests the idea that there must be a climax in human depravity. The first female martyr of rank or family, tormented and burnt to ashes, for no alleged crime save stedfast adherence to the truth of Scripture, is here referred to; and if justice be done to the entire narrative, she occupies a place all her own. Among recorded martyrs in London, she had but one predecessor, and this was John Fryth. As in his case there was to be no abjuration, no recantation of the faith, nor any fear of the enemy; so it was with the devout and determined Anne Askew.

In noticing this unprecedented instance of female faith and fortitude, it must be remembered that for about twelve years past, the reputed heretic had been, by Parliament, taken out of the hands of the Bishops *as such*, or the Archbishop's Court, so that the case could not now resemble the course pursued with Fryth. The accused party, by this time, if any regard were to be paid to legal enactments, must be presented on the oaths of twelve men, before any imprisonment could ensue. There was indeed an Inquest in London, probably a standing one, for the

examination of the accused ; but the last year of Henry's reign was to carry with it the highest possible degree of illegality, and of Satanic rage against the Truth.

Anne Askew, a young lady of high family in Lincolushire, and of superior natural abilities, improved by education, having perused with avidity the English Scriptures, embraced the truth contained in them. Having come to London to seek redress from the brutal treatment of her husband, who adhered to the "old learning," and to whom she had been married only in obedience to her father, one so ardent in the faith was soon exposed to the snares of the Bloody Statute, or Act of Six Articles. Her examinations began in March, and continued at intervals till her martyrdom in July. By Bonner, Bishop of London, and his Chancellor and Archdeacon,—by the Privy Council at Greenwich, composed of Lord Chancellor Wriothesly, the Lord Master of the King's household ; Rich, Paget, Sadler, Bishops Gardiner and Tunstal, and six others,—were these harassing examinations carried on, often for several hours together, but her quick replies and sound reasoning from the Scriptures silenced them all. She was, nevertheless, condemned on the 28th of June, without a trial by jury, to which, by law, she was entitled. This was bad enough, but the brutality of these servants of the Crown reached its climax when, fifteen days after her sentence to the flames, they resumed their examinations *by torture*, in order to discover and ensnare some noble ladies whom they suspected of sympathising with her doctrine and ministering to her necessities in prison. That men sustaining the offices of Lord Chancellor of England and Privy Councillor could personally examine by torture, *after sentence*, a high-born female of twenty-four years of age, seems incredible ; *but with their own hands*, Wriothesly and Rich worked the rack, till the Lieutenant of the Tower interposed. But all in vain ; stedfast in the faith, and resolute in naming no one who might be brought into trouble by her disclosures, she endured as seeing Him who is invisible. Three days afterwards, unable to walk, from the torturing rack, she was carried to the stake. There, on an elevated bench, sat her ignoble tormentors, with the Duke of Norfolk, to feast their eyes on her agonies again ; while she, with three others, led out to die for their faith, had first to hear

from the lips of the wretched apostate Shaxton, a lecture on their heresy. Then followed Wriothesly's last act, that of presenting the King's pardon if she would recant. "I came not hither," said Anne, "to deny my Lord and Master." Her fellow-sufferers, encouraged by her fortitude, would not look on the paper. "*Fiat justitia*," cried the ignorant and brutal Mayor, Bowes, and the flames were kindled.

A scene more disgraceful to the persecutors of the human mind had never before occurred, nor one in which the power of Divine Truth was more conspicuous. A weak and unprotected female, abandoned to all the fury of the enemy, stood, like a pillar of brass, while other men were proving traitors to the cause, and falling around her. On the day before her trial, Crome was reading his recantation in public, and White, tried on the same day with herself, had also failed and followed his example. As for Shaxton, so refuted by her, only a few moments before she went to the immediate presence of God, he lived for ten years longer, but proved a miserable character ever after. Lascelles, who suffered with her, having before that night expressed some anxiety respecting her constancy—"O friend," she replied in writing, "most dearly beloved in God—I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord, I desire you not to believe in me such wickedness." The fact was, that Anne Askew was in such perfect self-possession, as even to become poetical in the prison, amidst all the rage of her persecutors. It has been said that she actually sang her stanzas at her death; but be this as it might, to say nothing of the simple beauty and sublimity of the sentiment, when compared with the rhyme of more than a century later, even in point of euphony, they appear extraordinary. The following specimen, in which Henry and his Council occupy no enviable place, will speak for itself:—

On Thee my care I cast,
For all their cruel spite;
I set not by their haste,
For Thou art my delight.

I am not she that list
My anchor to let fall
For every drizzling mist;
My ship's substantial,

*I saw a Royal throne,
Where justice should have sit,
But in her stead was one
Of moody cruel wit:*

Absorpt was righteousness,
As by the raging flood;
Satan, in his excess,
Suck'd up the guiltless blood.

Then thought I, Jesus Lord !
 When Thou shalt judge us all,
 Hard is it to record,
 On these men what will fall—

*Yet Lord I thee desire,
 For that they do to me,
 Let them not taste the hire
 Of their iniquity.*

Before the flames of persecution for the Truth's sake were kindled for the last time, under this reign, the only thing now to be desired was the testimony of some noble martyr to *the all-sufficiency of the Sacred Volume*. And here it is from the pen of Anne Askew, before she suffered.

“Finally, I believe all those SCRIPTURES to be true, which He hath confirmed with His most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are *sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us* ; so that I believe we need NO UNWRITTEN VERITIES to rule His Church with. Therefore, look, what He hath said unto me with His own mouth in His Holy Gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart ; and my full trust is, as David saith, that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps.”

As far as fire and fagot were employed, so ended that war of opinion under Henry the Eighth, which, from the arrival of Tyndale's New Testament in England, had now lasted for twenty years.

The hardened cruelties of the monarch are, it is true, not even yet at an end ; but these were the last *martyrs* under his reign. The termination is very observable. To these men it had seemed a most grievous offence, that even *women*, and those of good families, had begun to have any fixed opinions gathered out of Scripture ; and it was therefore worthy of the majesty of Divine Truth, that, before the tempest ceased, the savage fury of this final storm should be braved by a female mind and frame. It was an eminent instance of the Almighty choosing the feeble things of the world to confound the things that were mighty ; and that also, just before His blessed Word was on the eve of being more generally circulated and read, than it had ever yet been.

Although these four were the principal individuals now put to death for opinions held, those gentlemen of the Privy Council had been extremely busy with various other examinations. Besides Crome, who recanted openly, on the 13th of May, say they, “we look for *Latimer* ; for the Vicar of St. Bride's, (*i. e.* John Taylor, who, eight years after, suffered at the stake,) and some others of those that have specially comforted Crome in his

folly.”¹ When the first, or by far the most illustrious of these, appeared, they put him on his oath, as to his intercourse with Crome, and presented a string of questions, which he was to answer in writing. Latimer retired, and began to reply; but he had not proceeded beyond two or three queries, when the Council were informed, that, without an interview, he could not go on. Tunstal of Durham, and Sir John Gage, the Comptroller, were then deputed to converse with him. In his own frank manner, he told them it was dangerous to answer to such questions, and that the course pursued was more extreme than it would have been, *if he had lived under the Turk*. Besides, “he doubted whether it were his Majesty’s pleasure, that he should be thus called and examined.” He wished to speak with the King *himself*, before he made farther answer, as he had been once deceived in that way, when he left his bishopric. It had been intimated to him, by *Crumwell*, “that it was his Majesty’s pleasure he should resign it, which his Majesty after *denied*, and pitied his condition.” In fine, “he thought there were some who had procured this against him for malice;” and then he named Master *Gardiner*, the Bishop of Winchester; specifying two instances of his ill-will in former days: the first occurred in a conversation they had held, in Henry’s presence; and the second was evident, in that he had *written to Crumwell* against his (memorable) sermon in the Convocation! On the *latter* he dwelt, as a grievous proof of malice. By this time Latimer had been again introduced before the Council, when Gardiner immediately replied, and in a style worthy of his deep hypocrisy. “I declared plainly,” says he, “how much I had loved, favoured, and done for his person, and that he had no cause to be offended with me! though I were not content with his doctrine.” They then repeated Latimer’s allusion to *Turkey*—said that the interrogatories were not captious; and told him that he spoke “as though no credit or estimation should, now-a-days, be given to his Highness’s *Council* or his Highness’s *Ministers*.” But all was to no effect. Latimer, indeed, finished the writing he had commenced; but they were then obliged to report—“for *the* purpose, we be as wise almost, as we were before!” In the afternoon of the day, they remitted him to

¹ Gov. State Papers, i. p. 846.

Henry Holbeach, then Bishop of Worcester, (originally recommended to the King by Latimer himself,) who, with the rest of the doctors, and in the elegant language of the Privy Council, were "to fish out the bottom of his stomach." But as far as all the official records go, they had fished in vain. No more mention is made of Latimer; and although Lingard has chosen to say that he now recanted, it is but a groundless assumption. Once indeed, it is to be regretted, he did subscribe certain articles, and crave forgiveness; but this was fourteen years ago, and the days of recantation were with him long since past. Crome had fallen a second time, but Latimer never again; on the contrary, he was left in prison nine months longer. Like one of old, who, "to do the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound;" so perhaps to please others, Henry left this, the most faithful subject of his realm, in the Tower. At least this much is certain, that to the man whom he had so courageously warned in 1530, Latimer was not to be indebted for deliverance from durance vile; so that everything conspired to tinge with a darker shade the evening of that monarch's life. On Sunday the 20th of February, 1547, or the day on which Edward was crowned, a general pardon was granted to all prisoners, except Norfolk, Pole, and Courtney, the eldest son of the Marquis of Exeter, at home; and Throgmorton and Pate abroad. It was then that Latimer, released from his honourable imprisonment of more than six years, went to Lambeth, to live for some time privately, under Cranmer's roof.

In the very midst of all this fixed enmity to moral worth, there was still time found for Henry to vent his final malice to the dead, as well as the living; and among them all, special reference must be made to by far the greatest benefactor of his reign—William Tyndale. It seems to have been for the express purpose of lending additional terror to the night in which Anne Askew and her companions were to illuminate Smithfield, by being consumed in the flames, that a proclamation had been devised and issued against *books*. Authorised by the King's name, it was dated the 8th of July, just eight days before the martyrs were burnt.

By this proclamation, persons of every estate and condition were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to receive, or have,

or keep in possession, after the 31st August next, "the text of the New Testament of Tyndale's or Coverdale's, nor any other than is permitted by the Act of Parliament, passed in the 34th and 35th year of his Majesty's reign." The books "printed or written in the English tongue set forth in the names of Fryth, Tyndale, Wicliffe, Joye, Roye, Basil (*i. e.* Becon), Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them," are put under the same ban, and ordered to be delivered up to the authorities, "that they may be openly burnt." This proclamation is, in itself, a proof of the impotence of all former denunciations, while its closing sentence is a confession of weakness. It pardons those who have read or retained these books hitherto, and enjoins the Bishops, Chancellors, Mayors, Sheriffs, and others to be "not curious to mark who brought forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as in this proclamation ordered."

With this proclamation, or immediately after it, there was published a long list of the books interdicted. It was the *last*, and is only to be found in the first edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, where, with his too frequent indifference to the order of time, he has inserted it under 1539! From the books mentioned he might have seen that it could not have been issued before the preceding proclamation.

Already sinking under the weight of mortal disease, such was the last public manifestation of the monarch's malicious folly. Not that the proclamation could have much effect, if indeed any, beyond the precincts of London. The only reported notice of books having been consumed at this period is confined to that city, and this was probably to give some *éclat* to the vain and expiring effort. A copy of the different publications having been obtained, "soon after this proclamation," says Collier, "the books of the authors mentioned were burnt at Paul's Cross, by the order of (Bonner) the Bishop of London."

Thus Henry, at the very close of life, and his Council, as such, were drawing afresh the line of demarcation between themselves and all the good that had been effected. As much as to say, "Let no future historian confound *our* names with it; or, above all, ascribe to *us* the commencement and progress of a cause against which we fought to our dying day! The Bible of Tyndale had, indeed, been sanctioned; "but in this,"

might his Majesty have added, "I was little else than a passive instrument—I was superintended—I was, to all intents and purposes, only a man overruled."

The enmity now shown was not, however, suffered to pass without notice, and that in a style and manner confirmatory of that marked distinction which we have seen to prevail throughout. So far from confounding the Government, or the King and his advisers, with the progress of Divine Truth, that cause appears to be now, as it had ever done, an entirely separate concern. Accordingly, by one contemporary writer, and in the name of many other individuals, the Government, in its widest sense, of which Henry was the determined head, was then placed in *contrast* or opposition to the Sacred Scriptures, and their unfettered perusal by the people at large.

The reader cannot have forgotten what a commotion was excited in 1526, just at the moment when the New Testament of Tyndale had been introduced into England, by a very small publication, entitled *The Supplication of Beggars*, which Sir Thomas More laboured to answer. But it is curious enough that, as the commotion at first was thus distinguished, so its close was marked by a second supplication, entitled "*The Supplication of the poor Commons to the King.*" The author of this last has never been ascertained, but *both* supplications were now published in one book, being alike distinguished for the same boldness of style.

His Majesty well knew, having read for himself the former publication—whether he ever saw the latter is uncertain—but, in conjunction with the Government State Papers, it finishes the picture of his times. While from these papers it has appeared that the Lord Chancellor was "crying" to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for money, that the Mint was "drawn dry," the Exchequer shut, the other courts of revenue able to afford but little, "that the conduits being nearly run dry, his Majesty's servants were tarrying for the water;" from this last Supplication it is no less evident that the "Commons," and especially the inhabitants of the metropolis, were groaning under certain burdens, and greatly exasperated by one measure relating to *tythes* in London, sanctioned by Henry's final Parliament in November last. As the House had been so liberal to

his Majesty, perhaps he had winked at this bill, if he did not intend it as a compliment in return to the Convocation, and especially to the clergy then living in the immediate vicinity of the throne.

This "Supplication," says the industrious Strype, "is a notable piece, and it gives such a light into the affairs of those days, that a *better* history can scarce be given thereof, being writ in those very times." It was printed and published this year, 1546; but in Strype's time, hardly to be met with. After showing in a clear and forcible style the fines and exactions to which they were subjected by the clergy, the "poor Commons" go on to show the loss to the Crown and ruin to the subject involved in the late "grant of enhanced tenths," which would soon sweep the property of the nation into the hands of the spirituality, strangely so called,—men mostly of immoral conduct—men who would not "bury a dead corpse, unless they had their *duty, as they call it.*" They close with the following appeal:—

"Help, merciful Prince, in this extremity. Suffer not the hope of so noble a realm utterly to perish, through the insatiable desire of the possessioners. Remember that you shall not leave this kingdom to a stranger, but to a child of great towardness, our most natural prince EDWARD. *Employ your study to leave him a commonweal to govern, and not an island of brute beasts, among whom the stronger devour the weaker. If you suffer Christ's members to be thus oppressed, look for none other than the rightful judgment of God, for your negligence in your office and ministry. Be merciful, therefore, to yourself and us, your most obeisant subjects. Endanger not your soul by the suffering of us, your poor Commons, to be brought all to the names of beggars, and most miserable wretches. Let us be unto your Highness, as the inferior members of the body unto their head. Remember that your hoar hairs are a token that nature maketh haste to absolve the course of your life.*"

These pointed warnings were rendered much more so, from the petitioners having laid before his Majesty their grievances and complaints in reference to the SCRIPTURES. Indeed it was with this subject they had *begun*; and we have reversed the order, simply to show, that these were not the mere ebullitions of discontented or worldly men, who did not know their value; or of men who cared nothing about the recent base attempts to take the Sacred Volume out of the hands of the useful orders of society. This they placed in front of all their complaints. Hear what they said to Henry on this subject—

“The remnant of the sturdy beggars not yet weeded out tells us, that vice, uncharitableness, lack of mercy, diversity of opinions, and other like enormities, have reigned *ever since men had the SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH*. And what is this other, than to cause men’s consciences to abhor the same, as the only cause and original of all this? They say, it sufficeth a layman to believe, *as they teach*; and not to meddle with the interpretation of Scripture. And what meaneth that, but that they would have us as blind again as we were?”—“They have procured a law, that none shall be so hardy as to have the Scripture in his house, unless he may spend £10 by the year,” (*i.e.* equal to £150 now.) “And what meaneth this, but that they would famish the souls of the residue, withholding their food from them?—Hath God put immortal souls in none other but such as be possessioners in this world? Did not Christ send word to John the Baptist, that *the poor received the gospel*? Why do these men disable them from reading the Scriptures, that are not endued with the possessions of this world? Undoubtedly, most gracious Sovereign, because they are the very same that shut the kingdom of heaven before men. They enter not in themselves; nor suffer they them to enter that would.

“When your Highness gave commandment that the Bishops and Clergy should see that there were in every parish *one Bible*, at the least, set at liberty; so that every man might freely come to it and read therein—many of this wicked generation, as well priests as others, their faithful adherents, would pluck it, either into the choir, or into some pew, where poor men durst not presume to come; yea, there is no small number of churches, that hath no Bible at all. And yet not sufficed with the withholding it from the poor of their own parishes, they never rested till they had a commandment from your Highness, that no man, of what degree soever, should read the Bible in the time of God’s service, *as they call it*. As though the hearing of their *Latin* lies, and conjuring of water and salt, were rather the service of God, than the study of His most holy Word. This was their diligence in setting forth the Bible. But when your Highness had devised a proclamation, for the burning of certain translations of the New Testament, they were so bold as to burn the whole Bible, because they were of those men’s, Tyndale’s or Coverdale’s translation; and not the New Testament only.”

The outrageous advisers of Henry the Eighth, taking every advantage of his failing strength, having run riot with the body and blood of his subjects, were now hastening to that righteous retribution, which, even in this life, so often falls on the head of the wicked. Too long had they walked after the lusts and devices of their own hearts. Neither Wriothesly nor Gardiner, nor their ducal leader his Grace of Norfolk, must be permitted to escape. The long-suffering of God was now very nearly exhausted. These men had walked in pride, and they must be abased. As the enemies of light and of all moral excellence, but especially of the *Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue*, and of all who prized them, having now vented their malice, it was time that there should be some *reaction*; and what

must have rendered it peculiarly galling, was the quarter from whence that reaction came. Instead of committing other people to the flames, they must now look after their own personal safety; and, instead of hunting after books to burn them, the question will be, what is to be the term of their own official, or even actual existence.

As is well known to every reader of English history, these men, one after another, fell under the displeasure of Henry in his last hours. Watching an opportunity favourable for their purpose, a moment of irritation with his Queen, they pressed the propriety of some investigation into the opinions of her Majesty, and actually obtained a warrant for her examination. But the very promptitude of Wriothesly in laying hands on Catherine, whom he would fain have treated as he did the noble Anne Askew, brought him, as well as Gardiner and Norfolk, to the brink of a precipice. The Chancellor arriving with forty guards to convey the Queen to the Tower, was driven from the royal presence with a burst of fury, and deprived of many of his emoluments by the establishment of the new Court of Augmentations. Gardiner was excluded from the number of the King's Executors, and never allowed to approach the person of royalty again. A harder fate awaited Norfolk. He and his son, the Earl of Surrey, now obnoxious to the rising family of the Seymours, the relatives of young Prince Edward's mother, were apprehended unknown to each other, and sent to the Tower on the charge of treason. Wriothesly, Norfolk's best friend, was obliged to make out the indictment. It was of no avail, that the charge was unfounded and could not be proved. The death of both father and son had been determined on, and the impetuous and accomplished Surrey suffered on the 21st of January, 1547.

Throughout life, Henry had been always very punctilious respecting forms of his own devising; and Norfolk, a peer, could not be despatched after the same fashion with his son. Parliament had met for one day on the 4th of November, and before the close of that month the various parts of this bloody tragedy were nearly cast. At all events, the House had been prorogued, and was now to meet, very opportunely, on the 14th of January; or the day after Wriothesly had pronounced sen-

tence on Surrey. On the following Tuesday, the 18th, a bill of attainder against the Duke was brought in, and, next day, it was read the second time. It was on this day, or within two days after, that the fallen Minister was writing his letter to the King; a most earnestly imploring one for mercy. This had been preceded by one to the Privy Council, begging for alleviations in his imprisonment, and presenting four separate confessions with an eye to mercy. As another precaution against his vast possessions being scattered among his rivals, he conveyed them entire to Prince EDWARD, and this perhaps with a view to mollify the King. But all was in vain; it was blood that was wanted, and that once shed, every shilling *must* come to the Crown. On the 20th, the bill passed the Lords. The Commons were no less expeditious: a Sabbath interrupted them, but on Monday the 24th they returned the bill to the Upper House. Thus the very man who had made himself so busy in hurrying through Parliament the proceedings against *Crumwell*, was served by the House as he had served others. Not a moment was now to be lost; but the custom hitherto had been to *reserve* all such bills to the close of the session, and so it had been done with the Lord Privy Seal. Yet if the King is to have his last dying wishes, and if the Seymours are to gain their end, wonted forms must be disregarded. Accordingly so they were. The royal assent was given on Thursday the 27th; Norfolk was ordered for execution *next* morning, and left to count the hours till break of day. Such was the *last* act of power on the part of Henry the Eighth!

But "there is no man," subject or sovereign, "that hath power over the Spirit, to retain the Spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death, and there is no discharge in that war." By that God, who had borne with him so long, Henry's own hour of call was already fixed, and "about two of the clock in the morning of Friday," the 28th of January, 1547, he had been summoned to a higher tribunal, there to answer for his long and weighty catalogue of cruelty and crime.

To die, as it were, in the very act of embruing his hands in blood, was the close of the King's existence on earth; while no subject had been so unwelcome to himself, as that of his *own* dissolution. No man dared even to hint such a prospect, till

within a few hours of his ceasing to breathe. Even then, some degree of courage was required, and it was Sir Anthony Denny who told the dying man, in so many words, "*that the hope of human help was vain.*" These were terms which betrayed an eager clinging to life still. Henry, "visibly disquieted," had to be informed that the intimation was founded upon the judgment of the physicians. He was then asked whether he wished to confer with any one. "With no other," said he, "but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him *as yet*; I will first repose myself a little, and as I then find myself, will determine accordingly." Determine, however, he did not for nearly two hours, when it was of little or no moment who should come. Cranmer was sent for in all haste, but he arrived only in time to receive one fixed look, when Henry grasped his hand and expired! He was in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and within three months of completing the thirty-eighth of his reign.

Thus narrowly, or by a space of about six hours, did the Duke of Norfolk escape with his life, though he must no more preside at the public and disgraceful execution of his fellow-men. On the contrary he, as well as Gardiner afterwards, must remain in durance for years.

To the close of this monarch's existence, we have toiled through the record of human depravity, certainly not on its *own* account; but because of the moral lesson it now affords, as well as its bearing on the main object of these pages. If it be one of those laws by which God appears to govern the world, that, "*men engaged in an evil cause, however harmonious they may be in the outset, shall, sooner or later, be at variance;*" here we have an illustration of that law, well worthy of remembrance. Gardiner and Tunstal, Norfolk and Wriothesly, had been the leading and uniform opponents of the progress of Divine truth among the people, and often had they played into each other's hands; while the King, to say nothing of his habitual depravity, having but one fixed principle, or the love of power, had died as he had lived. Before that event, however, he scowls on these men, by whose advice he had been so often swayed. They were, to a man, his oldest counsellors, the ablest men around him, and the very pith of "the old learning" party. These recent events, therefore, cannot loosely, or with propriety, be consigned to the

gulf of human passion alone, and there left. This was the breaking up of an old confederacy, by its own leader, or, at least, the man on whom it depended, and then he himself died. It was Providence, by degradation, and imprisonment, and death, "putting down the mighty from their seats, scattering the proud in the imagination of their hearts," and preparing the way for a very different scene in the reign of Edward, especially so far as the printing and *free perusal* of the Sacred Volume was concerned.

With reference to the history of the English Bible, as far as we have come, and after such a detail as the past, with all its imperfections, what, for example, can any reader think when he finds one writer, in summing up the reign of Henry the Eighth, express himself in such terms as the following? "*His* largest claim to our gratitude is, that he at last *permitted* the great fountain of religious truth and of intellectual piety to be opened to the people, by sanctioning the translation and circulation of the Scriptures in the national language; thus making *free to every one* what millions have blessed *him* for!" This is even exceeded by another modern historian. "He *resolutely* maintained to the end of his life the exclusive right of God's undoubted Word to be the religious instructor of the rational creation. The assertion of this fundamental principle is the brightest distinction of *Henry's* reign!!"

All this, and much more to the same effect, has been actually reported of a man who, above ten years after the Scriptures of the New Testament had been introduced into this kingdom, in spite of all his power, and the hostility of his associates—a man who, after he had been signally overruled to sanction the very translation he had condemned, to say nothing of his share in the guilt of leaving the Translator to the flames—did indeed at last inform his subjects that "it had pleased *him* to permit and command the Bible, being translated into their mother tongue, to be openly laid forth in every parish church." But then this is the same man who, in less than six years after, enjoined that "*no* women but noble women, *no* artificers, apprentices, journey-men, serving-men, husbandmen, nor labourers, were to read the Bible or New Testament in English, to themselves or to any other, privately or openly!" And who, in three years after

this, told all England, "It ought to be deemed *certain* that the reading of the Old and New Testament is *not necessary* for all those folks that of duty ought to be bound to read it, BUT as the *Prince and the policy* of the realm shall think *convenient to be tolerated* or TAKEN FROM IT !. Consonant whereto, the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a *great many* !" This daring profanity was crowned by Henry's last public act, within six months of his dissolution—his endeavour, by proclamation, to consign to the flames above thirty editions of the New Testament by Tyndale—denouncing the translation as "crafty, false, and untrue," though it was the very *same* with that which was included in the Bible he had sanctioned in 1537 !

All this contemptible spleen and fury, it is true, had been held in derision, and most remarkably thwarted and counter-wrought, till at last God began to deal with the man in the way of disease and death. Now if historians, at the distance of three hundred years, will *thus* write of his Majesty the reigning King, it may abate the surprise of some at the language of his courtiers when crouching before him ; but, in the name of truth, and of all that is honest in historical narrative, why should we, in this age, be directed to a source of gratitude such as this ? Man praises man, indeed ; and if a king, however profane, or however hostile, is to enjoy the posthumous fame or personal credit of all the good that was done during the days of his mortal life, then, of course, no room is left for any other individual ; but,

" Thus idly some men waste the breath of praise,
And dedicate a tribute, in its use
And just direction *sacred*, to a thing
Doom'd to the dust, or lodged already there."

The worst effect of such language is, not that of its spoiling one of the most deeply interesting and instructive chapters in the history of our country, or its turning away the eye from her real human benefactors. There is a far higher consideration. For if man only is to be regarded here, when or where, in the whole compass of English history, is God, by himself alone, to be specially adored ? After all that we have read, may it not now, with reverence, be said of HIM, that *He* had

trodden an uncommon, nay, unprecedented path? Other nations, it is granted, received the Scriptures, and by the kind providence of heaven, but not after the same singular manner. There is no passage in the history of Germany or in that of any other nation, of a similar character; though, strange to say, this has never yet been distinctly explained, nor at any time sufficiently observed.

But enough, and more than enough, of Henry the Eighth and his courtiers in general. The heart now cannot but instinctively recoil from looking in that direction. Other historians, however, have directed the gratitude of their country to other individuals. The renown of the contest has been ascribed to certain men whom we have seen wait on the times, till the battle was actually fought and won; and the credit of all that followed has been given to such as, led by political motives, were overruled to lend the cause, since it must advance, that countenance, which literally *cost them nothing*. Our preceding history may be referred to in explanation; and whether his Majesty, as far as he was a patron, did not even then “encumber them with help,” we leave the reader to judge.

We only repeat, as not the least remarkable fact in the entire narrative, that the able, though unpretending man, so evidently raised up by God to commence and carry forward the war of truth and righteousness unto victory, has been hitherto left in the background. With this never-to-be-forgotten period, other names have been associated, so as almost to overshadow him; these have been repeated a thousand times, and become familiar as household words; while there are not wanting those who still inquire—And *who* was Tyndale? But if we mean to speak of the first personal and determined preparations for this great contest—of the man who, by first applying the art of printing to the Sacred Volume in our native tongue, effectually placed the “leaven” of Divine truth in the heart of this kingdom; if we intend to refer to the first victories gained upon English ground, to the brunt of the battle, or to the burden and heat of the day, these were not the men. Tyndale, with Fryth by his side, occupy a place in the foreground of the picture, from which they never can be moved by any impartial historian.

But we have not yet done with the influence of our martyred Translator. The providence of God, under the reign of Edward, will interpret how much more we owe to his memory, and whether the people of England did not testify *their* gratitude and veneration, as soon as they were *let alone* to act for themselves.


BOOK II.

From Edward VI. to the Commonwealth.

REIGN OF EDWARD.

MDXLVII.—MDLIII.

A REIGN, HOWEVER BRIEF, DISTINGUISHED IN BRITISH HISTORY, WITH REGARD TO THE PRINTING AND PUBLICATION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE.

HE storm has changed into a calm ; so that in reviewing the Christianity of England from the sixteenth century there have been those, as there are still, who prefer to begin with the reign of Edward the Sixth ; while others repudiate every event before the reign of Elizabeth. But whatever may be the inducement to either preference, such parties must not expect to be acknowledged as possessing much, if any, energy of purpose in tracing effects to their cause ; or any measure of that disposition which cannot be satisfied without accounting fully for circumstances, still existing before every eye. The reign of Henry the Eighth, whatever had been his personal character, was, in many respects, not only *initial* but *germinant*. Every day since has so testified ; and the broad surface of the kingdom still bears witness to the weight and pressure of his sceptre. He left behind him certain marks, which are still acknowledged as memorials of his power.

It, therefore, becomes only so much the more observable, that the genuine or correct history of the English Bible has never allowed us, as it never allowed him, to come down and confound

the Sacred Volume, either with the ecclesiastical arrangements, so called, of his time, or with the fallible interpretations of erring men. No historical line could be more distinctly drawn, whether while the King and his advisers were arrayed *against* the Scriptures, or after they were overruled to *admit* them into England. Then, indeed, his Majesty himself became the remarkable instrument in not permitting the English Bible to be at all identified with the ecclesiastical body he had set up and sanctioned. Not only did he not consult it on this subject, but frowned upon his Bishops, when once presuming to sit in judgment upon the translation.

And now that the King is dead; now that the New Testament Scriptures have been reading for twenty years, and the Bible entire for nearly ten, not unfrequently in the face of the flames; now that we have escaped from what may be regarded as the grand tempest, we no longer require to proceed only year by year, as we have done; nor is it any longer necessary to notice the editions of the Scriptures in regular succession. We have, it is true, all this time been only laying the foundation, and in so doing feel perfectly conscious that we may have trespassed on the patience of certain readers; but more especially on that of any who have never been before aware of what a superstructure has been reared upon it. They have now before them the groundwork of infinitely the *largest* undertaking which Britain has to show, whether to her own people, or those of surrounding nations. When compared with it, everything else without exception, throughout this kingdom, is but *local and limited*.

With regard to the various editions issued from the press in the brief reign of King Edward, we have already hinted that no justice has ever been done to the subject. To say nothing of older historians, even so recently as the year 1792, his readers were informed by Newcome, Archbishop of Armagh,—nay, and as a proof of “earnest endeavour that the Word of the Lord might have free course and be glorified,”—that “during the course of this reign, that is,” said the author, “in less than *seven* years and six months, *eleven* impressions of the whole English Bible were published, and *six* of the New Testament; to which may be added, an English translation of the whole

New Testament, paraphrased by Erasmus.”¹ This only shows how little attention has been paid to the subject, when a period so heart-stirring could be thus reported; but that the blundering statement should have been literally repeated up to this hour, and in our best introductions to the study, or the translations, of the Scriptures, is more surprising still.

We need not remind the reader that, instead of seven years and a half, Edward did not reign quite six and a half; but how stand the facts under this brief period? Why, that so far from only *six* editions of the New Testament, there were nearly *thirty* more; instead of eleven editions of the Bible entire, there were at least fourteen; and all these within the space of less than *six* years and a half, for Edward reigned no longer. In other words, instead of only nineteen distinct issues of the Scriptures, including Erasmus, as often so erroneously reported, we have ascertained about *fifty*; and as for the Bibles, all these editions issued from the press in less than *four* years, or from August 1549 to July 1553.

Such a period, therefore, well deserves a better survey, furnishing, as it does, several instructive and memorable results. With regard to the printing and circulation of the Sacred Volume in the days of Henry the Eighth, we have seen that it was throughout, at best, but a troubled scene, and distinguished for bitter persecution; the days of Edward the Sixth, when properly examined, stand altogether unrivalled, even by any subsequent reign, for *non-interference* with the Scriptures. Nay, the truth is, that in the history of England, it so happens that we have not another reign of a similar character to exhibit; it stands *alone*. It is, however, curious enough, that the reign of the most *youthful* sovereign that has ever *since* reigned in Britain, should have made the nearest approach, and promises before long to equal, and, it may be, far excel it. Meanwhile, even the present age would do well to look back and acquire a little wisdom from this early period; for, although a strict regard to impartiality has left us no choice but to record other things of Cranmer, which must ever be condemned, he will now be entitled to a meed of praise, which his most partial admirers

¹ Newcome's Historical View of English Biblical Translations, p. 64.

have either never observed, or, at least, never marked, as they might have done.

As there was none of that arrogance and impiety on the part of the Crown, with which Henry was ever insulting his subjects; talking to them, at one moment, as if they were children, or were to have no mind of their own; and at another, as if they had no right to form any opinion whatever for themselves; so, on the contrary, great liberty now prevailed in printing any one translation already made. No change for the better could then be greater. The last act of the father was to brand the name and memory of Tyndale: in the first Parliament held by his son, that act was repealed, and declared to be "utterly void and of none effect;" nay, the portrait of Edward will soon be seen and sold, in immediate conjunction with the name and translation of Tyndale.

Possessed of such power of control as Cranmer now enjoyed, one might have imagined that he would have pressed forward *his own* correction of Tyndale's version, and in superiority to all others. But there is no such personal leaning to be discovered—quite the reverse. The people had been left freely to make their choice, or declare their preference, and we shall soon see the result. Here, then, was one trait in Cranmer's character, and one which has never been pointed out, even by those who have sought to justify other steps which cannot be defended. True, it may be said that he was altogether engrossed with his Book of Homilies and his Catechism, with King Edward's Service Book, his Book of Articles, and the *Reformatio Legum*, to say nothing of his parliamentary and official engagements. This is granted, for such indeed was the course he chose to pursue; but still, had Cranmer been disposed to have interfered with the printing of the Scriptures, he certainly could have found time to have both discovered and exerted his power. On the contrary, with his name at the head of the Regency, and on such a subject possessing great sway, he appears to have acted with a degree of candour and liberality which has never been surpassed, nay, never equalled by any man in power *ever* since.

One important consequence has been, that we are able now to see at once what *was* the popular taste. Twenty-one years after the New Testament of Tyndale had been sent into England, an

opportunity had at last presented itself, for the people as such to speak out, and say what they wanted. The printers were ready to print, and the stationers, as they were called, to sell; but, of course, *they* would not press any one translation except that which they knew beforehand was most likely to remunerate them. As all the editions were *individual* undertakings by men engaged in business, they, it must be evident, would print chiefly that book which was most frequently and eagerly sought after.

That zeal for the art of printing which burst forth instantaneously after Henry's death, will prepare us for the numerous editions of the Scriptures which immediately followed. This noble art had been introduced into England under Edward IV., when there were three or four printers; under Henry VII. there were five; and four of these survived to print under his son: but during his long reign of nearly thirty-eight years, not fewer than forty-one printers had commenced business in London, or forty-five in all. Now, the first importation of Tyndale's New Testament into England had taken place, not till more than eighty years after the invention of printing, and about fifty-eight after the art had been introduced into the country; but it is worthy of notice, that from *that* period, of these forty-five printers not fewer than thirty-three had started in business, and that eight of them were ultimately connected with printing the Sacred Volume.

Let us then now observe what ensued, as soon as Henry had "ceased from troubling," and Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstal were bereft of the power. Of the forty-five printers under Henry, fourteen survived when Edward came to the throne. While his father was sinking into the grave, and in less than twelve months after his death, as many as eight new men had started in business as printers. Next year, however, there were not fewer than eleven more, and in the next two, eighteen, besides six others in 1551 and 1552, or forty-three in all; raising the number of printers under this youthful monarch to not fewer than fifty-seven, in the brief space of six years! Now if it be inquired, what connexion had all this with the diffusion of the Divine Record? it was no less than this—that out of these fifty-seven printers, *more than the half, or not fewer than*

thirty-one, and these the most respectable, were engaged either in printing or publishing the Sacred Scriptures.

But the editions of the Scriptures themselves will now furnish us with another view of this memorable period. For Bibles in *folio*, there may have been not so much need as yet, considering the number which had been printed in 1540 and 1541; for although Henry had licensed Anthony Marler to print for five years longer, he was then over-stocked, and the sale must have flagged, as the wayward monarch only frowned on the undertaking ever after. New Testaments, however, were in great request, and the people soon discovered which translation they preferred.

Tyndale's Bibles were published under the name of Matthew; but as for the New Testament separately, the name of William Tyndale was now inserted in the front titles of fifteen editions, if not more. At the same time it may be observed, in farther proof of the freedom of the press, and of the absence of all jealousy or interference on the part of Cranmer, that the impressions of Matthew's Bible took precedence of his own in point of time. That of the former, by Day and Seres, was finished in August 1549, and that by Reynolde and Hill in October; but Cranmer's, by Grafton and Whitechurch, not till December of that year.

Thus, if a version ever received distinguished marks of public approbation, it was that of our first Translator. There had been certain verbal alterations in the text, whether by Cranmer, Coverdale, or Taverner—some of which were no improvements; and so it now appears the people at large had thought throughout the days of Edward the Sixth. They had said, in a manner not to be mistaken, "We decidedly prefer the version of our original Translator, as he gave it to his country."

It is now, however, of importance to observe, that the preceding remarkable course of events with regard to Divine Truth, so interesting in itself, becomes still more so, as proving that, when the people were *let alone*, they could act with vigour for themselves; and that they were acting well and nobly, in a direction from which nothing but good could ensue. But our interest is greatly increased upon observing two of its peculiar features, namely, the *dissimilarity* of this course to every other,

and its marked *independence* of the reigning power. There was actually no other train of things of a similar character under Edward VI., but, on the contrary, quite the reverse. In everything else, instead of reason, argument and the exposition of Divine Truth being left with God to their own effects, the only *ultimate* result was personal restraint, and even unto death. But the Scriptures were let alone. No Act of Parliament or Convocation was passed, for or against them; no injunction was issued; no new translation proposed; no new false title-pages prefixed; but there was something of far different and better effect, and more congenial with God's own glorious purpose and design—*Edward's own visible and marked veneration for the Sacred Record itself.*

The cause, therefore, continues to stand out before us, as the spontaneous act of individual enterprise, in reply to the voluntary and urgent calls of the people themselves, and especially for the New Testament Scriptures. They were anxious to proceed according to the good old French maxim, "*Laissez nous faire*"—*Leave us to act*; and the Government was, providentially, strong enough to comply. For many years, it is true, the votes or voice of Parliament could have formed no index whatever to the consent or non-consent of the people at large. From the way in which members were summoned, or both Houses constituted, this was impossible; but then, at the same time, both Houses were most obsequious, and had wavered with the Crown. Now, in these circumstances, it is only the more observable, that the Parliament of Edward should become conspicuous for *non-interference*, when the King himself was a sincere and ardent admirer of the Scriptures. Thus, though *unconsciously*, the House was witnessing to posterity the benefits which ensue from not touching with this subject. Of these benefits, we have already given substantial evidence; and the reader will be still more struck, when he turns to the particular statement of all these precious volumes, in our list at the close of this work. Meanwhile, no one could desire more evident proofs, in long succession, of a "separated cause," a sacred undertaking; and these, too, present themselves at a period, when the unprincipled changes perpetually occurring, whether in the Privy Council or the Parliament, were loudly saying of every

other department—"It is but the cause of men, of fallible and changing men."

Here, then, was the distinguishing feature of this brief, but memorable reign; and it certainly becomes the more worthy of notice from the facts already stated; for in this one point of view, there has been no reign, of a similar character, ever since. In contrast, too, with Edward's immediate predecessor, far from anything to repel in the young Prince, there is much to invite our love and admiration. Whatever was objectionable during his sway—of which there were more steps than one or two—an enlightened judgment will ever ascribe to his Ministers; for, in the age in which he flourished and faded so soon, he stood like an apple tree among the trees of the wood, if not as a lily among thorns. To say nothing of the precocity of his talents, which, no doubt, has been exaggerated, though he must have been more than usually intelligent, there was his strong aversion to the shedding of blood, which so painfully places Goodrich, and Cranmer, and even Ridley, before us; but, above all, his profound and often expressed veneration for the Sacred Volume itself. It was this that brought him so near to the character of Josiah of old, though even yet so much younger than the Jewish monarch, when the Book of the Law was found, and read before him.

But, lo! the clouds are gathering; the young King, to the grief of many, and these certainly the best in the land, is seen to be slowly descending to the grave; and all the enemies of Divine Truth in the vulgar tongue begin to rally and look up. A lurid gloom begins to settle on the realm. A time of trouble and vexation, of banishment and blood, is at hand. But there was no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel, against Him by whom all things were foreseen. We must enter the storm, and there, even there, delight to trace once more, the peculiar care of the Most High, over His own Word.

It was upon the evening of Thursday, the 6th of July, 1553, that Edward died of consumption. His favourite and inseparable friend, Sir Henry Sidney, had him in his arms, when he suddenly exclaimed—"I am faint; Lord, have mercy upon me, and take my spirit!" He instantly expired, at the early age of fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days. Few kings

have fallen so soon; far fewer still, as safe; and perhaps none in English history more sincerely lamented, by discerning survivors. Under such counsellors he might have been corrupted. He was taken away from the evil to come.

We have witnessed a very remarkable progress in the diffusion of Divine Truth; but we have also seen that this was effected, not by the encouragement or sanction of Parliament, nor, of course, with the consent of the *nation* as such in any form;—no: the cause itself, though *in* the kingdom, was not *of* the kingdom; since no rulers in Europe had discovered greater hostility to Divine Revelation. The convulsion, therefore, which took place after the death of Edward, though only the commencement of a storm, served at once to clear the moral atmosphere, and forcibly distinguish between the passions of men and the cause of God. It enables us, even now, to see, with far greater precision, the actual state of things.

As there had been a *separate undertaking*, which we have descried all along, so it now appeared, as the consequence, that there had existed a *separate people*, not to be identified or mingled up with any intrigue of the times. So far as the human mind was concerned, the changes which had ensued, from the first step taken by Henry VIII. until now, were not national changes. The nation, *as such*, though so long and singularly visited by Divine Truth, cared not for it; and still clinging to its old ceremonies and habits, leaped at the prospect of falling back into its long repose under the shade of Rome. As a warning to the age, therefore, and especially to posterity, *to distinguish things that differ*, some fearful lesson of instruction was demanded, and this must no longer be withheld.

Meanwhile, what the Almighty had so mercifully done for England was analogous to that which, to use the words of Scripture itself, was done by Him, “at the first,” when He did “*visit the nations, to take out of them, a people for His name.*” Such a people, however despised and trampled on, we have beheld in England, in the days of John Fryth, and before then. Some of the best among them we have seen by the light of those fires which the enemy had kindled; and they had been increasing in numbers all along. Under Henry VIII. the war had commenced against the Sacred *Volume* itself, without even

knowing the translator; and it went on against all who imported, received, or retained it. Under the reign of his son, it had been plentifully printed, purchased, and read; and it will now become a decided proof of *progress*, however heart-rending in detail, that the persecution about to commence was to be against all who had *believed* its contents, and held its sacred truths to be more precious than life itself. This, however, in the end, will materially further the cause of Divine Truth, not retard it.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

MDLIII.—MDLVIII.

A REIGN, HOWEVER PAINFUL IN ITS DETAILS, WHICH SO FAR FROM RETARDING THE PROGRESS OF DIVINE TRUTH, ONLY DEEPENED THE IMPRESSION OF ITS VALUE; AND AFFORDED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SACRED SCRIPTURES BEING GIVEN AFRESH TO ENGLAND, CAREFULLY REVISED—THE EXILES FROM THE KINGDOM PROVING, ONCE MORE, ITS GREATEST BENEFACTORS.



ON the 6th of July, 1553, at the age of thirty-six, Mary, the eldest daughter of Henry VIII., succeeded to the throne, and reigned as Sovereign alone for one year. Afterwards, allied by marriage to Philip of Spain, the Queen died in less than four years and four months, on the 17th of November, 1558. This reign throughout has been all along, and generally regarded as a portion of English history distinguished by little else than the shedding of blood. Few, however, have sufficiently observed, that this blood-shedding for opinions held, did not commence till February 1555, or more than a year and a half after Mary held the sceptre. And if this fact has been but slightly regarded, fewer still have ever noticed its bearing on the Sacred Volume, and those who prized it.

That Volume, printed for a period of fully ten years on the *Continent*, had been very strangely introduced into England; or in a manner which must ever distinguish it, historically, among

all other European versions. Yet now, as if to fix the eye upon it still more intensely, it was about to be carried abroad, or back to that same Continent from whence it first came, and by all such as valued the boon, above their necessary food. Yes, now, when the first edition of the New Testament was already twenty-seven years old, and the first Bible printed on English ground had left the press fourteen years ago, as many copies as could be must be carefully concealed at home, and even *built up*, as they actually were, and the rest must be carried abroad! For years that were past, the people had read those Oracles of God on English ground, which had been prepared for them on the Continent: they must now, scattered all over that Continent itself, read the volumes which had been printed in the metropolis of their native island! Formerly, they perused at home, what came from abroad; they must now read beyond seas, what had been prepared for them at home. No doubt, also, copies which had been printed on the Continent were then carried back to it. Still, however, time must be afforded for escape. The wind of persecution being restrained, that it should not blow on the land for fully a year and a half, those who valued the truth of God, carrying with them the Sacred Volume as their highest treasure, soon departed by hundreds, as best they could. The clouds were gathering over England: a time of trouble and rebuke to a nation which, as such, had too long “despised the Word of the Lord,” was at hand; yet could those who fled have seen only a few years before them, they might have sung in concert over the result, as they were sailing to the different seaports to which they fled for shelter.

Upon leaving the Tower for her palace at Richmond, but a few days had elapsed before Mary issued her “Inhibition” against preaching, *reading* or teaching *any Scriptures* in the churches, and *printing* any books! The Word of God in the vulgar tongue, and the printing-press, being the objects of special dread. But even two days before this, there were certain men at large, who must be so no longer. On the 16th of August, Bradford, Vernon, and Becon were committed to the Tower; while no other than *John Rogers*, alias *Matthew*, the editor of the Bible received by Henry in 1537, was commanded to keep himself within his own house, and to have no communi-

cation with any persons except those of his own family. They had already taken certain steps, if not commenced proceedings against many persons; and by the 15th of September, *Latimer* and *Hooper*, as well as *Cranmer*, were safe in the Tower. As for *Ridley*, having preached at Paul's Cross in favour of Queen Jane, he had chosen, however strangely, to proceed to Framlingham to salute Mary, where he was instantly despoiled of his dignities, and sent back to the Tower, by the 26th of July, or only ten days after he had preached his sermon. But still there were as yet no tortures, no murder, nor any threatened martyrdom.

Most providentially, the Queen, though only thirty-six years of age, was to reign no longer than five years and four months; but those fires which never ceased to blaze for three years and nine months, were not kindled till a year and a half *after* she had come to the throne. Gardiner and Bonner, as the leading dogs of war, had not only been let loose, but reinstated as Bishops, and there was the most cordial feeling in harmony with Rome; but still the arm of the oppressor was stayed, nor must one stake be prepared, or fire lighted up, for more than sixteen months after these imprisonments. Cardinal Pole, also, must first come from Italy to England before the kingdom could be formally reconciled to Rome; while Gardiner, now raised to be Lord Chancellor, was, from personal ambition, not a little anxious to *retard* his return, and, in the meanwhile, seeking greater things, if possible, for himself. Bonner, it is true, at once brutal and rash, was ready, at a moment's warning, to plunge into his favourite occupation with fury; but a compass must be fetched; and Gardiner was there to guide it. Cautious, as well as vindictive, he will steadily watch the time, and not fail to end in blood; when both he and Bonner will be in at the death of the best men in all England.

It must, however, have very soon, and *thus* mercifully, appeared, that good faith and clemency were out of the question. Conscientious men, in considerable numbers, were bent upon escape to the Continent, and facilities shall not be wanting. All *foreigners* were to be allowed to depart without hindrance. There were not only Germans and Frenchmen, but Italians and Spaniards, Poles and Scotsmen, harbouring not in

London alone, but elsewhere, and enjoying a degree of freedom from molestation, unknown at the moment in *any* other part of the world! They must now seek safety by flight. Early in the month of September, that interesting Polish nobleman, John A-Lasco, the uncle of the King of Poland, embarked from London, carrying a considerable number of his congregation with him. About the same time many French, and other foreigners, left England. Orders were sent down to Rye and Dover, that no impediments should be placed in their way; and to these *orders*, not a few of the English, the salt of the land, were indebted for their escape. Many went under the character of servants, and others, by what means they could, till at last it has been computed that there were from eight hundred to a thousand learned Englishmen, beside those in other conditions, who were now to sustain the honourable character of exiles from their native land, on account of their attachment to Divine Truth. There can be no question that, as far as they could, they took their most valued treasure, their *books*, with them, but, above all, their copies of the *Scriptures*; and thus it was that the volume which had been originally translated for England, upon the European continent, was now to be read by more than a thousand of her sons and daughters, and all over these countries, from Emden to Geneva!

These exiles, of whom their native land at the moment was not worthy, found refuge at *Emden* in Friesland, as A-Lasco and his flock had done; at *Wesel* on the Rhine in Prussia; at *Duisburg*, a town of Guelderland in Holland; at *Strasburg* in France; at *Zurich* and *Berne*, *Basle*, *Geneva*, and *Aran* in Switzerland; at *Frankfort* in Germany, and a few fled to *Worms*, the spot where the first English New Testaments had been completed at press. Many of these people had, in the end, no great occasion to regret the storm that had driven them from home, so far as they themselves were personally concerned. The improvement and enlargement of their minds was the result, in many instances; while their being all alike sufferers from one common calamity, gave occasion to a far finer display of Christian sympathy and bounty, both abroad and at home, than they ever could have experienced in other circumstances, or ever left for posterity to admire. There were at least three

Ladies of title, at least six Knights, besides other persons of property, among the number who had fled, and they regarded all the rest as brethren in adversity. Many pious individuals too, chiefly in London, contributed freely to their relief, by sending money, clothes, and provisions. Strype gives a list of twenty-six as the most eminent. Abroad, the King of Denmark, Henry, Prince Palatine, the Duke of Wurtemberg, and Wolfgang, Duke of Bipont, with all the states and free cities where the English sojourned, were very bountiful to them. So were foreign divines, especially those of Zurich, whose small stipends scarcely served to maintain themselves. Peter Martyr's house at Strasburg was filled, where the inmates, living at one common table, paid, if anything, easy charges for their diet. Several of the learned exiles subsisted partly by their own exertions. John Foxe had now leisure to compose and publish the first edition of his history in Latin, and Grafton the printer had time to write his Chronicle, to say nothing of other works; but we shall hear of labours infinitely more valuable, for which this temporary banishment from their native land was to prove the *time appointed*.

These may be regarded as an army of *confessors*; but there were many who could not, while others would not, avail themselves of safety by flight, and these formed a distinguished portion of the noble army of *martyrs*. England, as we have witnessed, under Edward VI. had proved an asylum for the oppressed among other nations: it was ere long to become an *Aceldama*, or field of blood. In the first Parliament under Mary at the close of 1553, the statutes of the preceding reign, as well as some of Henry VIII., had been repealed. The state machine was rolled back to its old position, and the kingdom in 1554 was once more placed under the protection of Rome. Her Majesty, though not at all times a quiescent votary of the Pontiff, was, both from principle and past circumstances, a persecutor; while she could not have found in all England two spirits more congenial with her intentions than those of Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner. If they led, others on the bench, and many unprincipled underlings, were ready to follow. All statutes which stood in the way being entirely removed, as there was "a clear field," so there was to be "no favour." Men and

women, of whatever character, office, or condition, even the lame and the blind, and from the child to the aged man, all who had any conscientious opinions not in harmony with the "old learning," all were appointed unto death.

From the 4th of February, 1555, to within only seven days of the Queen's exit, on the 17th of November, 1558, a period of only three years, nine months and six days, the number burnt to ashes, and who died by starvation, slow torture, and noisome confinement in prison, can never be given with accuracy by any human pen. In reading through the details, as the heart grows sick, so every one must come to the same conclusion—that there is but *one* list, and that one accurate and indelible—but it is one above. The highest point of human guilt is to be found in persecution for the *truth's* sake, or in violence done to *conscience*; and when at last inquisition is made for blood, the Judge of all will remember every drop that has been shed, for "the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ."

The different calculations, however, which have been made by Foxe and Burnet, by Strype and Speed, as well as an account by Cecil Lord Burghley, have been carefully collated: and we have thus made out a distinct list of three hundred and eighteen individuals. Of these, two hundred and eighty-eight were consumed in the flames, eight or ten were positively famished, and twenty more pined and expired in their dungeons. Of almost all these we have the names, as well as the time and place of their last triumphs; but the number of deaths, without doubt, must have been greater, especially from imprisonment. In a treatise often ascribed to Lord Burghley himself, but certainly sanctioned by him, and coming from authority, in 1583, the number is estimated at "almost four hundred;" and a testimony borne to the *source* from which these martyrs had derived their faith and principles; a testimony to the power of the Sacred Oracles as *read* by the youth of the kingdom; for as to *preaching* the truth, this had, with a few exceptions, ever been at the lowest ebb.

If, therefore, the number who lost their lives by every species of cruelty be stated at 375, this gives an average of one hundred deaths annually, in three years and nine months. Of the counties in England, 21 suffered, and 2 in Wales; but the

persecution lay heaviest upon those parts where the *Scriptures* were best known. In Essex and Middlesex the victims were at least 114; in Kent and Sussex, 88; in Suffolk and Norfolk, 32; in Gloucester and Warwick, 18; so that in these eight counties alone, two hundred and fifty-two had triumphed at the stake. Nothing could exceed the more than savage barbarity by which these, the most valuable subjects in the kingdom, were put to torture and death. Of the entire number, more than one hundred and fifty had been consigned, in *groups*, to one common fire! Thus we find of such companies, that there were six instances of *three* individuals, at different times; five of *four*, and four of *five*; six instances of *six*, and four of *seven*! There were two dreadful cases of *ten* the same day; the first at Lewis in Kent of six men and four women, including the master and servant, the mother and her son, in one common conflagration! The second was at Colchester of five men and five women, six of whom were martyred in the morning, and four in the afternoon. Several of these must have been advanced in life, as their united ages amounted to about 406 years.

But the most horrible scene of all, in point of number, was at Bow, near London, when not fewer than *thirteen*, eleven men and two women, were consumed in one pile, on Tuesday the 27th of June, 1556. The number of persons present was estimated at *twenty thousand*; “whose *ends* generally in coming there,” says Strype, “and to such like executions, were to *strengthen themselves in the profession of the Gospel*, and to *exhort and comfort* those who were to die.” Yes, and notwithstanding all the fury of the enemy, this disposition on the part of the people went on to increase throughout the years 1557 and 1558, till upon this very day of the week, two years hence, we shall see what happened. When the present martyrs appeared at the stake, a few words were all-sufficient to secure an echo. The short expressive ejaculation on the part of only one bystander, was replied to by an *Amen*, which came upon the ears of their murderers with a voice of thunder; and such a voice had made them quail. These noble confessors indeed actually triumphed at last, so far as to paralyse the arm of Bonner, and banish the fire at least from *Smithfield*, nearly five

months before Mary was called away by her final Judge ! The very last time, when seven martyrs were there consumed, on the 28th of June, 1558, was a memorable one ; and as it has never been sufficiently pointed out by any historian, must not pass unnoticed here.

They belonged to a "Congregation" in London, that had assembled in secret for many years ; the same that had been addressed by Bainham in 1531, and by Fryth in 1533. Changing their place of meeting from time to time to avoid the vigilance of the spies sent out by Bonner, they escaped, as a body, for some time. One of their pastors, John Rough, a native of Scotland, and Cuthbert Symson, one of their deacons, were taken by spies, and suffered, the former in December 1557, and the latter, with two other members of the same body, in March following. These all witnessed a good confession. The congregation still met and chose another pastor, when, within a month after the last fiery trial, having met in a field near Islington for prayer and meditation, they were discovered by the searchers, and twenty-two of them apprehended and lodged in Newgate. Of these, seven escaped with their lives, two died in prison, and thirteen were condemned by Bonner to the flames. Seven of these were brought up for sentence on the 17th of June, when one of them, Roger Holland, a person above the common rank, was interceded for by some persons of distinction who were present. But the Martyr stood so firmly to his confession that Bonner would show no mercy, and read the sentence. To this Holland replied, "Even now I told you that your authority was from God, and by His *sufferance*. And now I tell you God hath heard the prayer of His servants, which hath been poured forth with tears by His afflicted saints, which daily you persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to speak, which by His Spirit I am moved to say, that *God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you shall not molest His Church*. And (turning to his friends) *this shall you in short time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be most true ; for after THIS DAY, in THIS PLACE, shall there not be any by HIM put to the trial of fire and faggot.*"

When he was led out to suffer with his six companions on the 28th June, proclamation in the name of Philip and Mary was made —That "no man should either pray for, or speak to the prisoners;" but the multitude could not be restrained. The whole "Congregation," with their pastor, was there, and rushing forward they embraced their brethren before they were made fast to the stake. When proclamation was again made enjoining profound silence, one with a loud voice cried out, "Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them!" Immediately the whole multitude at once responded, "Amen ! Amen !"

Embracing the stake, Holland then blessed the Lord for his call, once to light, and now to glory ; and the whole seven died in joyful constancy with prayer and praise.

Such a triumph well deserved to be traced, for it was a decisive one. Mary had yet nearly five months to reign, but she must no more burn a single martyr at the wonted place, nor at any other, within her own capital. Bonner's occupation, too, was gone ; for, as far as we know, he never personally sentenced one individual to the flames, in any place, after being thus

addressed by Roger Holland. Six men, indeed, out of the twenty-two seized, still remained to be disposed of, and, a few days after Holland, they had been examined : but all this the Bishop had prudently left to Thomas Darbyshire, his nephew, the Chancellor ; nor were they put to death till the 13th or 14th of July. But even then they cannot be burnt in *London* ; they must be sent down to Brentford, and the writ to execute come from the Lord Chancellor's office. All this is distinctly stated to have been done in "post-haste," and at night, either from *fear or craft* on the part of Bonner ; but never again must the fire blaze in Smithfield. Such was "*the Congregation of the Faithful*," assembling for worship in the days of Queen Mary ; and, with all its imperfections, there certainly never was in England a body of Christians more highly honoured by God, in "resisting unto blood, striving against sin."

On the whole, the reader can now easily distinguish between the people at large, and those who had been so shockingly persecuted ; nor need he imagine that the English as a nation had all of a sudden become more distinguished for cruelty than the neighbouring nations on the Continent. They had indeed, at first, asked for such a Queen as Mary, and obtained their desire ; they had unwillingly submitted to such a King as Philip, and to such Ministers ; and under their united sway that salutary horror was implanted in the nation, which was not to leave it for generations to come ; but it was the leaders of this people who destroyed them, but more especially, as a body, the Bishops, who were now fighting with fury for "their kingdom of this world," as they so manifestly had done, ever since the Scriptures were introduced in 1526. For these five years past they had been powerfully backed, and occasionally goaded on, by both the King and Queen ; nor had the diocese of Canterbury under Cardinal POLE formed any exception to the raging cruelty.

A far different subject, or the history of the English Bible during this reign, now claims our attention ; although it is probable that not a few may be disposed to inquire,—“ And what can possibly be said at such a time as this ? ” That “ *all things went backward*,” is an expression which has been often employed, it is true, in reference to the days of Mary the First ;

but it is one, strictly speaking, far from being correct. There was, to a certainty, *one* exception, and that one was worth all other things put together; so that for every feeling excited, or rather harrowed up, by the recital of martyrdoms, cruelty and banishment, there is yet balm in reserve; and as that is to be found nowhere else, except in the positive progress of Divine Truth, it only renders the history of the Sacred Volume one of deeper interest.

It is true that all the authorities, styled civil and ecclesiastical, were up in arms against it; and now, banded together as the soul of one man, they could officially alter or destroy everything else of human appointment or device: but they might as well have expected to succeed in rooting out the violet or the rose from the soil of England, as in banishing the Word of Life from the country, or in snatching it from all the people who had already received and prized it, as their only and all-sufficient guide to a better world.

No sooner, indeed, had January 1555 arrived, than it seemed as if something of this kind had been meditated, by their hasty attempt to brand certain *persons* with odium. There were two individuals still remaining in England to whom the country had stood indebted for the Scriptures—*John Rogers* and *Miles Coverdale*; and these were among the earliest victims seized by Government. With both characters the reader is already intimately acquainted; the first as the original editor of Tyndale's Bible, which, after so many editions, was now in use; and the second, not only as a translator, but the diligent corrector at the press of several of these editions.

When Queen Mary entered London, and had reached the Tower, on Thursday, the 3rd of August, 1553, it is well known that on the second day after, she released Gardiner, and Bonner, and Tunstal, from imprisonment, styling them "her own Bishops." The first of these she immediately appointed to be Lord Chancellor. He had been distinguished as one of the most eminent enemies of the vernacular Scriptures. In the year 1537, when the Bible edited by John Rogers was introduced into England by Grafton, and with such success, Gardiner was in France; but after his return in September 1538, he did all in his power to thwart the circulation of the Scriptures in the English tongue. Rogers, then on the Continent, had

remained for twelve years longer, ministering to a German congregation. During the reign of Edward, either attracted by the state of the country, or personally invited, he had returned to England by the year 1550, and afforded occasion for one of those singular scenes, which had not unfrequently taken place under the roof of St. Paul's. The reader cannot have forgotten one in 1536, while Latimer was preaching his noted sermon to "the children of light and the children of darkness." Both classes were congregated here still; but perhaps no discordancy had ever exceeded the following. At the risk of a little repetition we present the picture entire. In September 1549, Bonner had been deprived of his office as Bishop of London, and who should be officiating in his room for the following half year, but *Gabriel Dunne*, as residentiary prebend!—the man who, with Phillips, had ensnared Tyndale at Antwerp, and at Brussels did his best to secure his death. Dunne's official services, as bishop *pro tempore*, had ended by the appointment of Nicholas Ridley to the See of London in April 1550, and it is the very next month that we have certain evidence of Rogers being in London. He may have come earlier, but we are told that "when he returned to England he was admitted Rector of St. Margaret Moyses, and after that, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, on the 10th of May, 1550." The Rectory, however, he resigned next year, on the 10th of September, having been appointed by Ridley, one of the *Prebendaries* of St. Paul's, on the 24th of August preceding. Here then, we have *Dunne*, as prebend, sitting in the twelfth stall on the right side of the choir, and *Rogers*, as Paneras prebend, in the sixth on the left; but this is rendered still more remarkable from its being the very stall which had been occupied by *Robert Ridley*, the uncle of Nicholas, once so furious in opposition to Tyndale and his translation!

Any person can now clearly perceive, with what good will both Gardiner and Bonner must have welcomed the day when they should be able to triumph over both the Bishop and his Prebend, Ridley and Rogers, and wreak their vengeance on them both. But JOHN ROGERS had done nothing to call for any interference. He had occasion, it is true, to preach, in his turn, at Paul's Cross, and then he warned the people against

idolatry and superstition. This was after the Queen's arrival in London. He was immediately charged with preaching erroneously, but he so defended himself before the Council, that he was freely dismissed. At this moment, had he felt disposed, he *might* have escaped abroad, and he had strong inducements so to do. He had a wife and *ten* children, and in Germany he must have been secure of a living; but he would not depart. By the 18th of August, 1553, a proclamation was issued, forbidding *all* preaching; after which, Rogers was ordered to remain, as a prisoner, in his own house, and communicate with no one, save his own family. He happened to live not far from Bonner himself, who, with the sanction of Gardiner, as Chancellor, at last got him sent to Newgate, the worst of all the prisons; where, among thieves and murderers, he remained throughout the whole of 1554, and there he is said to have been of use to the prisoners. "My Lord," said Rogers to the Chancellor, "ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison *without law*, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great cost and charges, having a wife and ten children to find; and I had never a penny of my livings, which was against the law." They had, in short, left him to pine or perish in prison, and there having been no specific charge, the whole course was illegal.

At last, however, Rogers was called up for examination. The year 1555 was to be distinguished for persecution, and on the first of January they had commenced in good earnest, by the apprehension of thirty individuals. On the 22nd, both Rogers and Hooper were before Gardiner, and other members of Council, as the Queen's Commissioners. The parties present were perfectly characteristic. Besides Gardiner, there was Tunstal, Heath, and Thirlby, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir John Bourne, Secretary of State, and others, evidently eager to sit in judgment on such a man as this; and as if it had been to point out to posterity the precise *animus* or spirit of the persecutors, as well as give still greater prominence to the history of the Sacred Volume, Rogers must die *first* of all. He must now lead the

van in the army of martyrs, and obtain ever after the honourable appellation of *Proto-Martyr* in Queen Mary's reign.

Towards this good man, it is evident that Lord Chancellor Gardiner had behaved with peculiar harshness and cruelty. He had, in fact, owed him a grudge for eighteen years, and now illegally had imprisoned him, for nearly eighteen months, though the martyr had frequently implored his release. Rogers had married when abroad, and presuming that a female, and a foreigner, and she not far from the time of her confinement, might have some influence, he had sent her to Gardiner, with certain female companions, so long ago as Christmas 1553, and as far as Richmond, "humbly craving that he might be set at liberty," there being nothing laid to his charge. The only answer to this was his being committed by Bonner to Newgate! From Newgate, Mr. Rogers had not only sent two petitions to the Chancellor, but his wife many times, without any effect. A Mr. Gosnold, and other benevolent gentlemen, had also petitioned on his behalf, but all was in vain; and now that the prisoner is brought up for examination, it seemed as if, in the first instance, it had been only to gratify Gardiner's spleen and passion.

He was called up once more, before a far more formidable array of persecutors, on the 28th, and finally the next day, at nine o'clock, when Gardiner read his sentence condemnatory, giving him over to the tender mercies of Bonner and the Sheriff. Not one word had been said respecting his publication of the Sacred Scriptures, but the Chancellor, in condemning him, had thought this far too fine an opportunity not to cast a slur upon the *Bible*, and thus hold up Rogers to the terror of all its readers, at the very commencement of this fiery day. In his sentence, when naming Rogers, three times he took special care not to omit, "otherwise called *Matthew*." We have no proof that this was the intention, but it served such a purpose for the moment. Gardiner having finished, gratuitously told him that he was now "in the great curse," and that no man was to speak to him. Rogers, who throughout had spoken with great boldness as well as ability, and, as we shall see presently, to Gardiner's utter confusion, if not dismay, then replied—

"Well, my Lord, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take Him to witness, that I never wittingly nor willingly taught

any false doctrine ; and therefore have I good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you ; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the *true* Catholic Church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false Church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these *twenty years*—the Lord be thanked therefore ! But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me *one thing* !”

“What is that ?” said Gardiner. “That my poor wife, being a stranger (a foreigner), may come and speak with me, so long as I live—for she hath ten children, that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what *were best for her to do*.” Will it be believed, that, at once discovering a mind of the vilest character, the solitary request, and so touchingly put, was with disgusting barbarity denied ! And Rogers, though he had told the Chancellor that he had been married eighteen years, saw the man no more. The amount of such wickedness it is not for us to describe.

Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, his honourable companion, had been also condemned the same day, and both were to be conveyed to Newgate. There was now, however, some cowardly fear of the people. The sentence had not only been pronounced with *closed doors*, but they waited till *night*, before their victims were sent off. Even then, they conducted them from the Clink Prison to Winchester’s house, close by, and passing through it, along London bridge, officers had been sent before them, ordering the costermongers, who sat at stalls in the street, to put out their lights ! Why all this caution, if there was no apprehension of a rescue ? Their coming, however, had been anticipated, and pious householders appeared on both sides of the streets, with candles. On their part, as the prisoners passed along, there was nothing but salutations of affectionate sympathy, thanksgiving for their constancy, and earnest prayers for its continuance.

This was on Tuesday the 29th, and Rogers had only to live till Monday following. Early that morning, the 4th of February, not aware of what awaited him, like Peter of old, he was sound asleep. The jailer’s wife went and had some difficulty in awaking him. She then warned him to make haste, and prepare himself for the fire ! “If it be so,” said the good man, “I

need not tie my points." Bonner was already in waiting. Both Hooper and he were then, what they chose to call degraded, by being bereaved of their ecclesiastical trappings; a process which necessarily occupied some time, as they had first to be arrayed, and then the several parts were torn from them piecemeal. Hooper was to be sent off next day to Gloucester; but the stake was already prepared for Rogers. Then once more, to Bonner he tendered the same solitary request he had done to Gardiner; but it was now reduced to this—"that before going to the stake, he might be permitted to speak a *few words* to his wife." But this, like his fellow, the inhuman monster denied! Foxe supposes that it was chiefly to inform her of his examinations and answers, in his own handwriting, which he had left behind him, concealed in the prison. But if it was, the Bishop's denial went for nothing, as they were afterwards found.

Upon being delivered up to the Sheriff, Woodroff, before they left the prison, urged Rogers to revoke his opinions. "That," replied the martyr, "which I have preached, I will seal with my blood."—"Then," said Woodroff, "thou art an heretic."—"That," replied Rogers, "will be seen at the day of judgment."—"Well then," said the Sheriff, "I will never pray for thee."—"But," said Rogers, mildly, "I will pray for *thee*." Thus they proceeded to the stake.

Upon entering the street, they found an immense crowd awaiting them. In walking towards Smithfield, Rogers was repeating a portion of that blessed book he had given to his country—the 51st Psalm. The people were giving thanks for his constancy; but there among the crowd, there met him the wife, whom neither Gardiner nor Bonner would permit him to see. His wife, the foreigner, with *all* her children—one of these, a youth named Daniel, if the eldest, now nearly seventeen years of age; the youngest, or the eleventh child, an unconscious babe, now hanging at the mother's breast! In the midst of this overwhelming scene, the husband and father stood firm, and having got through it, the bitterness of death was past!

At the stake they brought him a pardon, upon condition that he would recant. This, of course, he pointedly refused to do,

and at last, washing his hands, as it were, in the flames, he cried with his final breath, "Lord, receive my spirit."

We have referred to his examinations and answers, as they were afterwards printed in full, from the copies left behind; and by John Foxe, who knew the martyr well. It so happened that Mrs. Rogers, with her son Daniel, had gained access to the prison, and after looking in vain for these manuscripts, they were about to depart, when the youth, looking round once more, spied his father's papers, deposited in a corner under the stair.

John Rogers appears to have been the son of a father of the same name, and born, not in Lancashire, as it has sometimes been stated, but in Warwickshire, at Deritend, in the immediate vicinity of Birmingham. Rogers had been married in 1537, or the same year in which he had completed the Bible, to Adriana Pratt, *alias* de Weyden. She now returned with her children to Germany, and the lad who had found his father's papers was afterwards better known, as an Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to different countries.

With regard to MILES COVERDALE, without farther explanation it must appear almost incredible that, only fourteen days after the death of Rogers, or on the 18th of February, Queen Mary was writing a letter, of which he was to be the bearer, to the King of Denmark. He also had been in trouble, as well as Rogers, since 1553, though not confined to prison. This letter was written only on Monday week after the scene at Smithfield, and the same day on which a splendid embassy was leaving London for Rome; and yet the very next day Coverdale had his passport, "for himself and two servants," by which was most probably meant his *wife* and *one* servant; and so he left England for Denmark. Thus, if the one man connected with the Scriptures must lead the van of martyrdom, the other can easily be extricated from the grasp of Government by the overruling providence of God.

The deliverance has been ascribed *solely* to the repeated and very earnest interposition of his Danish Majesty; and but for this, humanly speaking, he might not have survived: but there was a very curious concurrence of circumstances in favour of Coverdale's deliverance at *this* moment, for King Christian's second letter to Mary on his behalf was nearly *five months* old.

Why, then, should Coverdale, a married Bishop, and an old offender in their opinion, be suffered to escape, and that immediately after the fire had been kindled for Rogers? It will certainly prove to have been a memorable fact if the examination and martyrdom of the *one* man should have contributed to the escape of the *other*, and more especially as Rogers could have had nothing of the kind in view.

The circumstances, therefore, now referred to are the more worthy of notice, as they not only stand in immediate connexion with the examination of the Proto-Martyr, but discover not a little of the true character of these unprincipled men in power. Taken all in all, they form the richest scene in the reign of Mary, though scarcely, if at all, before observed.

The martyrdom of John Rogers, in February 1555, connects itself with that of the heroic female, Anne Askew, in March 1546. There had been no fires in Smithfield since the memorable night on which she suffered, almost nine years ago. Considering the progress which had been made during the reign of Edward, through the medium of the Scriptures, the death of Rogers must have been regarded by many in London with unmingled horror; but, beside this, a large and promiscuous assembly had been present at his notable examination on the 28th of January, when he caught Gardiner and his bishops in a snare, and the people marked it. The language of Gardiner could not fail to have been in the mouth of thousands ever since, and the excitement in a few days was such as to frighten for a moment all these men of blood, from King Philip downwards. The present juncture, embracing a space of less than three weeks, will explain this.

It was on Tuesday the 22nd of January that Rogers was first examined. This was before Gardiner, as Lord Chancellor, and other members of the Council, such as Lords Howard and Paget, Sir Richard Southwell and Sir John Bourne, as Commissioners from the *Queen*. But on Monday the 28th, to Wednesday the 30th, Gardiner and many more sat by *commission* from Cardinal POLE; and yet only the next week, when six other men were examined and condemned, they were not brought before the same tribunal, but merely before Bonner and his Consistory, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. Here were

three distinct forms of proceeding, within the short compass of eighteen days. Then, to crown all, the very next day, or Sunday the 10th of February, we have a sermon preaching before King Philip, and by a Spaniard; but upon what subject? *The sin of persecution for conscience' sake!* Now, why this erratic course on the part of the persecutors? Why could they not go straight forward? And if this sermon was a base artifice, of which there is now no doubt, why was it resorted to at the present moment? The true character of all the parties in power is here involved.

Stephen Gardiner, who plumed himself on his sagacity or cunning, had, no doubt, imagined that if *he* once proceeded against certain leading men; or, in the cant phrase of the day, if the *head deer* were only brought to the ground, the common people would shrink with terror, and succumb to their authority. It was full of this idea that he commenced, in a high tone, with John Rogers on the 22nd of January; but the very man with whom he thus began, proved to be more than a match for his proud and imperious temper. On the 28th, as soon as Rogers entered, nothing daunted, we know from himself that he remarked the change on the Court. Gardiner was there, of course, as Chancellor and Bishop, and chief persecutor; but "there were," says Rogers, "a great sort of *new* men, his fellow bishops, of whom I knew few"—after eighteen months' confinement. There were, in fact, not fewer than thirteen in all, six on each side of the Chancellor, besides three notaries, three noblemen, eleven knights, and a very great multitude.

Gardiner perhaps never forgot himself so far as he did this day; but he could not stand the replies or remarks of his prisoner, and found it not so easy to examine these men as he had anticipated. In his wrath he actually called King Edward an *usurper*, and then tried clumsily to recall the term; but another expression, in reference to *the reigning Queen*, turned out to be vastly more awkward for him and all his order. Rogers had intimated his persuasion that "*her Majesty* would have done *well enough* but for his (Gardiner's) counsel." When, in his haste, in reference to the persecution now commenced, he replied—"The Queen went before ME, and it was HER OWN motion!" Thus affording another instance of persecutors wish-

ing to shift the blame from themselves; though certainly, at such a time as this, the assertion was very hazardous, whether it was true or false. But Rogers replied—"Without fail, I neither can, nor will I ever, believe it!" Aldrich of Carlisle, in name of himself and all his brethren, immediately said—"They would bear Gardiner witness." "*Yea*," said Rogers, "*that I believe well.*" On which the laugh went round among the crowd assembled. Upon this, even Sir Richard Southwell, the Master-Comptroller of the Royal Household, and Sir John Bourne, Principal Secretary of State, stood up to *confirm* the Chancellor's assertion. Never had men more fully committed themselves. Rogers then said—"It was no great matter; but I think that they," the Bishops, "*were good helpers thereunto themselves.*" Such a dialogue was easily carried away, and every word must have told upon the people throughout the metropolis; but the assertion first made, in open court, and before such a crowd, for "the thousandth man could not get in," was felt, in the cool of the day, to have been no light matter. If it was true, they had betrayed a state secret! Accordingly, next morning, when Rogers and Hooper were brought up for condemnation, it was found convenient to do so, as already hinted, with *closed doors*.

Gardiner, however, both this day and the next, was equally nettled in the examinations of Tailour, Bradford, and Saunders. From Rogers, to the last man examined, he had had his own book,—"*De Vera Obedientia*," or "*True Obedience*,"—quoted against himself, and his present conduct. To this book, Bonner had affixed a preface, or high eulogium; and both having been translated into English, and printed abroad, many had it in their hands, many more in their mouths, and it was now quoted, or referred to, before both the authors, by men who had been long familiar with the original publication in Latin. Tunstal also was forcibly reminded of his famous sermon before Henry VIII., printed by Berthelet in 1539, or sixteen years ago. It, therefore, could not fail to be no small mortification, after his furious attack on the *head deer*, when my Lord Chancellor found that here were *six* more men waiting to be examined; one of them, indeed, a gentleman, Mr. Hawkes, but the other five precisely of that humbler class on whose boldness and

principle poor Gardiner had not calculated. Hence, when these individuals came to be examined and condemned, neither the Chancellor nor eleven of his Bishops were there! The whole process was despatched, and that speedily, by Bonner alone, as Ordinary, who had called the Lord Mayor, Sir John Lyon, and certain Aldermen, to sit with him and his underlings.

Bonner had examined the whole number on Friday, and condemned them all to the flames on Saturday the 9th of February, or the fifth day after the Proto-Martyr had been consumed to ashes; and what, then, could the reader expect to follow only next day? If it was a sermon—which, in these times, was a great rarity, and therefore the more to be observed—must it not have been a sermon in praise of the Bishops, for their burning zeal on behalf of “the old learning?” It was quite the *reverse*. The blundering assertion of Gardiner to Rogers, only thirteen days since, confirmed as it had been by all the Bishops present, and even two official laymen, had neither been forgotten nor unfelt. It had certainly placed *her Majesty* before the country in one of the most critical of all positions, as the sole and imperative persecutor; and there can be no doubt, from what followed, had made her tremble, not only for herself, but the husband on whom, at this moment, she doated. The truth is, that public feeling still ran very high against the Queen’s marriage. She had allied herself to a Spanish prince, and the people had been foretold that, to a certainty, he would introduce the Court of *Inquisition* into England. Nothing, therefore, could have been more dangerous to the Queen than the positive affirmation of Gardiner, before a large and promiscuous audience. So, at least, it had been felt, but more especially by King Philip; and what was the miserable artifice to which he resorted? He had brought with him into England, as his confessor, Francis Alphonso di Castro, a Spanish divine, himself an author against *heretics*; and this was the man appointed by the King to preach before the Court, on the 10th of February, and *against religious persecution*.

We regret not being able to find out his text; but in the course of his sermon he enlarged on the sin of taking away the lives of any for their religion—reprobated the practice of

burning men on account of their opinions—and affirmed that the *Bishops* would search the *Scriptures* in vain for any authority to spill the blood of their flocks. The *Scriptures*, he insisted, taught Bishops, in the spirit of meekness, to instruct those who opposed them, and not to *burn* them for their conscientious opinions!

But the Lord Chancellor of England, at the moment, was a Bishop, and President of the Court for burning; Tunstal, who, in former days, led the van of persecution, had sat on his left hand, and Bonner on his right, who, only the day before, at one sweep, had appointed not fewer than six men to the flames. By the authority of these men, and ten others of the same order, on Monday before, Rogers had been consumed to ashes; on Friday, at Coventry, Saunders had followed; and only twenty-four hours before the sermon, Hooper was in the flames at Gloucester, and Dr. Tailour at Hadley!

As an exhibition, therefore, next day, nothing could have exceeded this. A Spanish priest upon English ground, preaching before the Court, and against the Bishops of England, especially those in power! Arraigning, nay denouncing them in public, for having embued their hands in blood! While there sat Philip to sanction the sermon, not without some fear for his personal safety or favour; and, like Pilate of old, he seemed “to take water and wash his hands before the multitude,” saying, “I am innocent of the blood of these just men.” The occurrence was a remarkable one; and the more so, since it is evident, that nothing less than apprehension of some sort in the breast of the Monarch, could have been the impelling motive. “It was believed,” says Collier, “that the Queen was overruled since her marriage, and that these fires had been kindled by *Philip*: however, the King, it seems, had no mind to lie under this imputation.”

Where Gardiner and Tunstal were, or how engaged, at the moment when the Spaniard was preaching, we are not informed; but certainly our exulting Lord Chancellor had but little imagined, that the *Editor of Tyndale's Bible* would live to come to England, and lead *him*, in the last year of his life, so to expose the Bench and the Court, at one stroke! Still less could he have supposed that the same man would so hit the mark, as

to cause him eventually to shrink behind the curtain, and retire from playing at the game of persecution ever after!! Such at least was the fact, for "he never afterwards," says Lingard, "took his seat on the bench,"—"whether it was," says the same author, "that Gardiner disapproved of the measure, or that he was called away by more important *duties*!!" The latter alternative is, to say the least, strangely expressed; but neither the one nor the other will now serve the purpose of history, in accounting for the Chancellor's non-appearance. "Gardiner," says Soames, "having kindled the fires of persecution, *left* to others the hateful office of supplying them with a succession of victims:" but we have no evidence whatever of any change of disposition in the man. The circumstances now related, alone and perfectly account for that change of tactics which ultimately ensued. At present, however, there was a dead pause; the execution even of the condemned prisoners was suspended; and the crisis occasioned farther debate in the Council itself.

Now, it was precisely at *this* moment that *Coverdale* was released, and sent out of the country. On Monday week after this sermon, it had been thought *advisable* for the Queen at last to write her letter. It might very conveniently seem almost to contradict what Gardiner had said in open court, that day three weeks before, and on Tuesday the passport was also ready. It will, perhaps, therefore now be conceded, that there was at least some connexion, between the examination of Rogers and the escape of Coverdale: though the interference of his Danish Majesty must not pass unexplained.

It so happened that Coverdale, as well as Rogers, was a married man; and strange as it may appear, that which had formed a source of such agonizing distress to the one man, became one of relief and safety to the other; a circumstance the more remarkable, as marriage, though "honourable in all," was alone sufficient, after the accession of Queen Mary, to ensure the bitterest mockery, as well as privation and punishment. So Rogers had felt, especially during the last ten days of his life. It was to an excellent woman, Elizabeth Macheson, that Coverdale had been allied for a number of years, and they were both at Exeter when he was summoned to appear before the

Council at Richmond, in August 1553. From that time he had been committed, though as a prisoner at large. But then he and an exile from Scotland had married two sisters, known, from monumental inscription, to be of Scottish extraction, though they might have been born abroad. This exile, who had passed through England to the Continent, was John Macbee, named in his own country Macalpine, and known abroad as Dr. Maccabæus. Having retired to Denmark, he had been of great use to Christian II.; was not only one of his Chaplains, and professor of Theology in the University of Copenhagen, founded by the King, but had been one of the translators of the Danish Bible, first printed in 1550. It was through his intercession for his brother-in-law, Coverdale, that the King interfered, and himself wrote a letter to Mary, so early as the seventh calends of May, or 25th April, 1554. This drew forth a tardy and evasive reply, as if the only cause of displeasure with Coverdale had been, that he was in debt to the Treasury, or in arrears with his tenths. Taking advantage of this admission, his Majesty wrote a still more urgent letter—"It was only a *debt*, and the bishopric had not been enjoyed long enough to afford to pay anything—he would not trouble her Majesty by *repeating* the petition;" but "we plainly hope for such an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly, in our presence, make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Majesty." In this letter, dated from "our city of Otton (Odensee) the 24th of September, 1554," the case was actually so put, as if a refusal might affect the good understanding between the two kingdoms; and yet we have seen that four months passed away, till at last they came to the examination of Rogers and its consequences. It may therefore be said, in conclusion, that to the influence of two men, Maccabæus and Rogers, both of whom had been connected with the translation of the Scriptures, the *third*, Coverdale, was indebted for his deliverance!

That the sermon of the Spanish friar was not merely a shallow artifice, but a piece of profane mockery, appeared but too soon. Only five short weeks had passed away, when Philip and Mary, and the Bishops by their authority, and that of Cardinal Pole, were once more fairly started on their pursuit

after blood. Six individuals, it will be remembered, were under condemnation at the moment when *di Castro* was denouncing all cruelty. Five of these it was found expedient to send to the country, and put to death in *different* places; one of whom, Mr. Hawkes, did not suffer till so late as the 10th of June: but even so early as the 16th of March, the fire was first kindled for one of the six, Tomkins, and in Smithfield itself. Only ten days after this step, an order was sent to the Justices of *Norfolk*, in which they had special instructions to look after all preachers of heresy and private meetings; and this order, let it be observed, was by no other than the King and Queen.¹ Nay, before the 24th of May they had sent their "Letters unto the Justices within *every* of the counties of this our realm," and even Bonner himself must be roused and urged to proceed to extremities; their Majesties at the same time actually expressing "no little marvel" that there had been such relaxation on the part of certain Justices.² Paulet, Marquess of Winchester, "the willow tree and not an oak," who bent with every blast, was specially vigilant in the Council, and Richard Lord Rich, a persecutor from the days of Sir Thomas More, was no less active down in the country; but still, even to the close of this year, 1555, it was found necessary to proceed with caution in *London*. Out of above eighty martyrs before the 18th of December, not more than seven appear to have suffered in the capital.

It was in January the next year, 1556, that the persecutors set off in full vigour, when seven individuals were committed to the flames at Smithfield, in one fire, and five at Canterbury, in another! In short, Gardiner, unchanged, must go the way of all the earth, and Cardinal Pole succeed as the adviser; when, what with his official authority, administered with characteristic policy, and that of the King and Queen, at certain convenient moments, Bonner, as "the chief slaughterman of England," powerfully aided by his Satanic assistants, and other persecuting prelates, contrived to perpetrate all the cruelties, or the sickening enumeration, which has been already given.

As for Latimer and Ridley, they died triumphantly at Oxford, on the 16th of October, twenty-seven days before the unhappy

¹ Cotton MS. Titus, B. ii., 116.

² Regist. Bonn. fol. 363.

death of Gardiner. Cranmer followed on Saturday the 21st of March, 1556, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and after the manner which has been so plentifully described elsewhere, by conflicting authorities. Whatever imperfections were to be found in his character, the virulence with which it has occasionally been attacked, only proves, that for the part he acted as a whole, he is never, by certain parties, to be forgiven. In a history such as the present, however, the character of Cranmer now comes before us, under an aspect altogether different from that which it may have done in any other history. The present writer is not only relieved from entering farther into its merits or demerits, but that there is high, because sacred ground, for his abstaining. The translation of the Sacred Volume was the work of *another*. So far as Cranmer followed up the subject, under Henry's reign, in conjunction with Crumwell, we have endeavoured to do him ample justice. Under Edward he never appears to have personally returned to the work; but his abstaining from all interference with any others so engaged, ought never to be forgotten.

Upon the accession of Henry's eldest daughter, and with immediate reference to the Scriptures, the country at large was in a very different state from what it had been less than thirty years ago, when there was neither a printed Bible, nor even a New Testament in print, within its borders. Just before Mary assumed the Crown, England seemed to be fairly on the way for becoming a land as distinguished for the possession of the Sacred Volume, as God had appointed it should be, in the end. About sixty-five editions of the New Testament, and thirty of the entire Bible, had passed through the press: but here now was an opposing party, not only in full power, but determined to exercise it. Resolved to carry everything before them, it might naturally have been supposed, that one of the very first movements must have been a systematic attempt to *destroy all these volumes*. Could the burning of the sacred *books* have been a more obnoxious measure, than the burning of men and women, old and young? Was the seizing of the *Scriptures*, and at once burning them in open day, not as easy as the seizure and imprisonment of *men*? And yet, however much blood was shed ultimately, and however much cruelty inflicted, on the part of

Government there was, on the whole, a most mysterious silence maintained, with regard to the English Bible, which has never been sufficiently observed.

In the days of Henry the Eighth, it was the *book* by way of eminence, the “pestiferous poison,” as Tunstal profanely styled it; the “heretical fountain of all novel and dangerous opinions;” or, the Sacred Volume, under various abusive epithets, against which they gave forth their loudest thunder, and after which, under orders, they daily hunted. The very possession of it, or its distribution, whether by gift or sale, were crimes denounced and punished. There were a thousand copies in England now, for one at that period; and yet, under Queen Mary the great hue and cry had almost entirely changed. Justification by faith, as a tenet of Scripture, but, above all, transubstantiation, as a chief corner-stone of “the old learning,” were the engrossing topics; mixed up with an endless measure of low and even obscene abuse on the part of the examiners. But throughout these tedious and repeated cross-examinations, the cautious abstinence from reference to the Bible, as a book, or to the possession of it, is very remarkable. The examiners never appear to have been enjoined to abstain, and yet they did. Throughout the entire reign there were three proclamations, and in the second only were *any* books whatever specified by *name*. The first of these, 18th August, 1553, already mentioned, merely forbade the *public* reading of the Scriptures. The second was not issued till twenty-two months after, on the 13th of June, 1555. In this, twenty-five authors are distinctly denounced by name, or thirteen foreigners, and twelve Englishmen; thus hinting, by the way, a continued and powerful *importation* of books from abroad, but nothing is enjoined as to burning the Scriptures already printed and possessed. The injunction related solely to the books specified being *imported* from *henceforth*. The last proclamation was certainly the most dreadful. It referred to books, in general terms, wicked and seditious, to be delivered up on *pain of death, without delay, by martial law!* But this was not issued till *three* years after the former, on the 6th June, 1558, or only five months before Mary’s death; and still no mention is made of the Bible, or New Testament, separately. It was a proclamation against

books of *human* composition only, not the Sacred Scriptures.

Copies of the Scriptures no doubt were consigned to the flames, though we can fix upon no more than three occasions. The first is mentioned, three years after Mary had been on the throne, when at least one foreign author, Cabrera, has told us that "many of the Bibles, chained to desks in churches, were burnt about this time;" and again, in the opening of 1557, when the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford were visited by Ormaneto, a furious Italian, datary of the Pontiff, or chief officer of the Court of Rome. When the bones of Bucer and Fagius were actually dug up and burned at the former, *Bibles* as well as other books were also consumed; and the same course is said to have been pursued at Oxford, when the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife was treated with such indignity. But still, in the midst of so much Satanic opposition, and the royal denunciation of *other* books and *human* authors, perhaps there has never been a more striking line of distinction drawn, in reference to the Sacred Volume. What renders the fact already stated still more observable is—that the translations of the Bible by Tyndale and Coverdale had been once pointed out, or referred to, at least by the priests or clergy, and for destruction. In an address by the *Lower* to the Upper House, these were their words—"We the clergy of the province of Canterbury do humbly pray"—"that all suspect translations of the Old and New Testament, the authors whereof [*not however here named*] are recited in a statute made year of Henry VIII. &c. may be destroyed and burnt throughout this realm."³ These few words are buried among twenty-eight other items, and the reference made must be to the Act of 34th of Henry; but still no express law followed, nor was there a single proclamation in compliance, or one in which the Sacred Volume was pointed out for destruction, either by royal authority or that of the Convocation, or that of Cardinal Pole. Why then not acknowledge the Overruler? "He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him, and the *remainder* thereof he restrains."

Nor was this the only point worthy of observation under this

³ Parker MS. Col. Cor. Chr. Cant.

reign. Providentially, time was afforded for the preservation of the Scriptures, and by two distinct methods. One was by their being carried abroad, beyond the reach of danger. The pause at the commencement of Mary's reign was not unimproved as to personal safety, and the exiles unquestionably availed themselves of the opportunity as to that which they valued above most fine gold. A single copy, if more could be carried away, would not satisfy any one among them; and it was far more easy for them to carry books away at the time they went, than it was afterwards for some of these exiles to import their own writings. This, however, they afterwards did, and to such extent, as to provoke the royal inhibition of June 1555, which, after all, could not stem the influx. The stern proclamation of death by martial law, three years after, was a proof of *failure*; and the Queen was thus, in effect, only declaring—what her father before his death had done—that royal edicts, in certain circumstances, if not nearly impotent, possess no sovereign power.

But the other mode of preservation was by *concealment*; and this was practised to no small extent, whether in the crowded city or the hamlets of England. This course, however, from its very nature, did not admit of its being put on record, and yet we are not without evidence of the fact. The highly-prized treasure, read often in the dead of the night, was concealed under the bed, in hay-lofts, or in out-houses; and we have one notable instance of another mode. Mary had not dismissed from her immediate service *all* who had any value for the Scriptures; on the contrary, Strype assures us, from manuscript, that the Gentlemen Ushers of the Queen were “almost all favourers of the Gospel.” These had been in the service of Edward, her brother, with the exception of others that she had appointed. Of one of them the same laborious author gives a long account in his “Memorials,”—Mr. Underhill, a gentleman, who, though imprisoned and molested, after all continued to receive his pension, and outlived the present reign. At one period, “a diligent search being made for all suspicious books,” he was then living in Wood Street, Cheapside. Underhill forthwith “sent for a bricklayer, and built up a wall in his chamber, against the place where all his books were, and so inclosed them in security from the danger of being taken,

preserving them for himself against better times." Similar precautions were, no doubt, taken by others ; and it is impossible to say how many precious volumes, if not also printing materials, were built up until Mary should draw her last breath.

It may now, however, be observed that, of all the *other* books printed up to this period in England, there are not a few of which not a vestige remains ; while, in reference to the *Scriptures*, of which so many editions had been printed, nay, and innumerable editions since, it is a most singular fact, that there are very few, perhaps not above three or four, of which we have not a copy, and of the great majority several copies, either in England or Scotland. In this point of view, our list of editions at the end of this work becomes one of the most remarkable in the entire range of English literature.

Returning, however, to the reign of Mary, Rogers has been martyred, and Coverdale banished ; Grafton and Whitchurch, though imprisoned, and excepted in the general pardon granted at Mary's accession, have escaped to the Continent ; John Day, the spirited printer, and above twenty more beside, can act no more as they were wont to do, up to July 1553, when Edward died. Was there then absolutely nothing to be done, under this Queen's reign, in the way of farther progress ? With regard to printing the *Scriptures*, however humbling to national vanity, we are obliged to answer—in *England absolutely nothing*. The press was fettered or suppressed, and not a leaf could be issued. The text of the translation also required to be *reviewed* with far more leisure and superior skill than it had ever yet been upon English ground, or since the first edition by Rogers ; but this cannot be done, or rather, as Providence had determined, *must not*, in any corner of our native land. The Government has fallen back into very much the same condition in which it was in 1523, when Tyndale found at the last, that there was "not only no room in my Lord of London's house to translate the New Testament, but that there was no place to do it in all England."

But what did all this signify ? Providence had at the first spoken to this Island, in a way not *common* to the other nations of Europe, and there was nothing now to prevent a repetition of the same singular mode. An *exile* from his native country first

accomplished the translation, and somehow or other got the book introduced into the kingdom, in spite of Henry VIII., and his Cardinal Wolsey. Then, an *exile* shall do the same thing once more ; by correcting and printing the New Testament, and sending it into England in spite of either *Philip or Mary*, or their Cardinal Pole. In every point of view this was no other than a similar triumph ; and in both instances at a moment when there was nothing but opposition from the Crown and the bench of Bishops, as well as a Cardinal, by authority from Rome, triumphantly presiding in the country. It also deserves remark, that, in both cases, the Testament was published *anonymously*, without ostentation, or a dedication to any official individual whatever. In the first instance, the name of the translator was not known, nor till Tyndale was compelled by circumstances to disclose it. In the second instance, nothing having occurred to compel the improver of this version to disclose his name, it has been overlooked to the present hour. Both books were prepared, and sent into England, when persecution was the order of the day, and every seaport seemed to be shut against them. No analogy could be more striking, or complete.

But was this second triumph effected while Mary was yet on the throne ? It was. The recension of the text must have commenced not long after the time when the stake was first prepared ; the book left the press on the 10th of June, 1557, one of the most awful months in the record of persecution, when at least twenty-seven martyrs perished in the flames ; and it was perusing *in* England, for some time before the Queen's death. By how many indeed, it is impossible to say ; one authentic instance we find in a victim of Bonner's cruelty, John Living, a priest of some learning, who complains that on being conveyed to prison, the jailer carried him first to his own house in Paternoster Row, and "there," says he, "robbed me of my purse, my girdle, my Psalter, and a *New Testament of Geneva*."

But what was this Testament of which he spake ? It was the book to which we have referred ; a very beautiful one, and now of rare occurrence, printed with a silver type, and on the best paper ; by far the best review of the Sacred text that had yet been made, "diligently revised by the most approved Greek

examples, and conference of translations in other tongues." It is the *first* English New Testament, *divided into verses*, and formed an important preliminary step to the revision of the whole Bible.

Few mistakes have been more common, and even up to the present day, than that of ascribing the translation of the Scriptures into English to a *number* of individuals. Thus the name of Tyndale has frequently been associated with various other men. The same confusion has prevailed, when referring to this "Testament of Geneva." "This translation," it has been said, "was made by *many* of the principal English Reformers."⁴ The translation, correctly speaking, is an improvement of Tyndale's, on comparing it with the Greek original, once more : but so far from *many* being engaged, the address to the reader at the beginning incontestably proves it to have been the work of only *one* man; and we now offer some interesting particulars respecting one, which will probably leave no hesitation as to his being the person to whom his country stood indebted.

William Whittingham, the branch of a family, not extinct in the male line, till so recently as 1758, was born in the year 1524 at Holmeset, afterwards called Holmeside Hall, six miles from Durham, in the parish of Lanchester. His father, William Whittingham, Esq., of Holmeset, had sent him to Oxford, where he became a commoner in Brazen-nose College about 1540, and made such proficiency in learning, that in 1545 he was elected a Fellow of All-Souls. Anthony Wood affirms that he was after this chosen one of the senior students in Christ Church, formerly Cardinal College; "Henry VIII. endeavouring to *replenish* it with the *choicest* scholars in the University," precisely as, the reader may remember, Wolsey at first attempted. This is curious enough, as Whittingham was thus following in the *same* path by which John Fryth had been led, twenty years ago. Whittingham, however, so far from being, like his predecessor, confined in the dungeon below, in May 1550 had leave granted him, by the dean and canons, to travel for three years. He embarked for France, intending to go into Italy; but being

⁴ Lewis, Newcome, Horne, Lowndes, and others.

taken unwell at Lyon, he proceeded first to Paris, and then to Orleans University, spending at least a year and a half between these two cities. After having visited several parts of Germany, his travels terminated at Geneva, where he remained till about May 1553, when his three years had expired. But what a change awaited him on his return! Edward died on the 6th of July. Christ Church now must soon have proved as dangerous to him, as Cardinal College, or the same spot, had done to Fryth. Whittingham, with a mind now enlightened, had no idea of waiting till another Cardinal should bear sway, and his agents at Oxford burn Bibles, as Wolsey had treated the New Testament Scriptures. Instead, therefore, of "leave granted" a second time, just as if to make the parallel more complete, like Fryth or Tyndale before that, he must now fly to the Continent, where he arrived in safety, and at Frankfort, on the 27th of June, 1554, with the first exiles who there took up their abode.

In March, next year, arose the well-known "troubles of Frankfort," where the exiles differing in nothing that respected the great essential principles of Divine Truth, plunged into a vortex of angry strife respecting the mere external forms of social worship. Neither party had sufficient light to take the high and safe ground, the *all-sufficiency of the Sacred Record* itself; and the contention became so sharp, that soon they were divided into two hostile bands! One party retired to Basle and Geneva, and the other, who had conquered, remained at Frankfort, but were *never* united among themselves. Whittingham was one of the *retiring* party; in retiring with him we shall now have occasion to mark the watchful care of the Almighty over His own Word; once more about to be given to a country, which was once more fighting against it. He immediately after this found out for this confessedly eminent scholar, far different and nobler occupation than that of fighting at Frankfort, about the words which *man's* wisdom teacheth. Whittingham had hitherto sustained only the character of a Christian and a scholar. Having had no official, that is, no ministerial character in the Church, he bore still nearer resemblance to John Fryth; and in his own apprehension, we know, that, "from his former travels and observations, and his acquisition of several languages," he

imagined "he had fitted himself more for civil or state employment than any other." No matter; this, we presume, is the individual now selected to sit down, with greater skill and more composure, to the New Testament, than any man since Tyndale himself; and, like him also, happily now unfettered by any human authority whatever. Hitherto Whittingham had lived a single life, but after retiring to Geneva, where he had arrived in the autumn of 1555, he was married to Catherine, the sister of John Calvin. Whatever may have been the date of his marriage, this was the time in which he must have applied assiduously to the English New Testament, with "the most approved Greek examples" before him. To his recension of Tyndale's version, he prefixed two things. First, "an Epistle declaring that Christ is the end of the Law, by John Calvin," his brother-in-law; and then his own address, of three leaves, "To the Reader." In this, he speaks throughout in the *singular* number, taking the entire responsibility upon himself; and after the broil in which he had previously been involved at Frankfort, his language becomes the more impressive. Adverting to three distinct classes of men, he says—

"The third sort are the simple lambs, which partly are already in the fold of Christ, and so hear willingly their Shepherd's voice, and partly wandering astray by ignorance, tarry the time till the Shepherd find them, and bring them unto His flock. To *this* kind of people, in this translation, *I chiefly had respect*, as moved with zeal, counselled by the godly, and drawn by occasion, both of the place where God hath appointed us to dwell, and also of the store of heavenly learning and judgment, which so aboundeth in this city of Geneva. . . . To these, therefore, who are of the flock of Christ, which know their Father's will, and are affectioned to the truth, *I render a reason of my doing in few lines,*" &c.

"Counselled," as he tells us, by others, it is evident that the writer had obtained the palm for scholarship among his brethren: now as Whittingham will come before us, presently as the *chief* person engaged with the entire Scriptures, or the Geneva Bible of 1560, there can remain little or no doubt that he is the man now speaking in this preface. Afterwards he will appear to have availed himself of the learning of some other individuals, though by no means to the extent which has been all along so vaguely reported.


This New Testament, in duodecimo, neatly printed in Roman and Italic types, consists of 456 leaves, including the title—"The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke and best approued translations. With the arguments as wel before the chapters as for every Boke and Epistle; also diversities of readings, and moste profitable annotations of all harde places; whereunto is added a copious table.—At Geneva, printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII." And at the end, "Printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII. this x day of June." The date is worth notice on one account, that Whittingham died only six miles from the spot where he was born, or at Durham, on the very *same day*, twenty-two years afterwards, the 10th of June, 1579. A copy of this book, at public sale, has brought as much as £11 5s.

Here, then, was one set-off for the reign of Queen Mary, which she and her husband would have gladly dispensed with. Literally, in the time of "blood and fire, and vapour of smoke," in a dark and cloudy day for England, *that* was accomplished which had never been overtaken all the time of King Edward. The New Testament did require revision, but it must be done by an *exile* upon foreign ground, and be printed much nearer to Rome than London, while the book, as we have seen, was already in the kingdom. More than this, the entire Bible, still more improved by a careful comparison of the original Hebrew and Greek, was *already* commenced; nay, during the last year of this Queen's reign, the revisers at Geneva were engaged with it literally *night and day*. Whatever, therefore, had been overturned or trodden down in England, this cause had sensibly advanced. The storm had only enlivened its progress, and actually brought it into a *far better* state than it was before. We have yet to see how it fared with "the Exiles'" Bible, and what a blessing it proved to the families of our native land, for a period equal to ten times the duration of Queen Mary's reign. The Queen expiring on the 17th of November, 1558, she was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth.

REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

MDLVIII.—MDCIII.

A REIGN, HOWEVER POWERFUL IN EVERY OTHER DEPARTMENT, HAVING NO ACTUAL CONTROL OVER THE CHOICE OR PREFERENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, WITH REGARD TO THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THEIR NATIVE TONGUE, AND THUS PRESENTING THE ONLY EXCEPTION TO UNLIMITED SWAY.

HE second daughter and only surviving child of Henry VIII., or the last branch of the Tudor family, now ascended the throne, at the age of twenty-five. Born with the finest natural capacity, the education of Elizabeth, followed by the discipline through which she had passed, enabled her to hold the sceptre with a firmer grasp than that of any of her family who had preceded her; and throughout the long period of above forty-four years, England had no occasion to complain for want of a *strong government*. The preservation of the Queen to the present hour was very remarkable, and it proves, in the most striking manner, that a nation can no more judge of what may contribute to its stability, than any single man can tell what is good for him all the days of his vain life, which he spendeth as a shadow. Thus, the English people, when Mary was proclaimed, had drowned with joy the voice of the heralds; but their hearts revolted at the very prospect of her marriage to a Spanish prince, and the step once taken was never forgiven. Yet that prince must come into the country, and enjoying, as he did, entire sway over his English Queen, thus prove one instrument, and in no inferior degree, of preserving her sister from the block. The life of no heir to a throne was ever worth less than that of Elizabeth at one period; and had Mary only remained single, with Stephen Gardiner for her adviser, humanly speaking, her sister might have ended her days on the scaffold. One providential purpose for which Philip had come to England being answered, he may live abroad, and another day, with his Armada, seem to be bent on the ruin of the princess he had saved; but she will outlive him, as well as every storm that shall be raised against her.

The first months of this able monarch were distinguished by caution, a caution which extended to her treatment of the Sacred Volume. It is true that when presented with an elegant English Bible, on her first progress through London, she kissed it, and said that she would oftentimes read that holy book; but that did not imply her approbation of its being printed and circulated freely. Even at her coronation, when there was to be an opening of the prison doors to them that were bound, and one besought her to set free four or five others who had long been shut up, meaning the four Evangelists and the Apostle Paul, she replied with more shrewdness than grace, "That it were better first to inquire of themselves whether they would be released or no."

There was now to be no Parliament or Convocation for three years, but at last, and without therefore having consulted either the one or the other, about midsummer or the autumn of this year we hear something respecting the Scriptures; and by virtue of Elizabeth's authority, certain injunctions were issued. Among these were the following, left with every parish visited:—

"To provide within three months after this visitation, at the charges of the parish, one book of *the whole Bible* of the largest volume in English, and within one twelve months the paraphrases of Erasmus, also in English, and the same to be set up in some convenient place within the said Church, where the parishioners may most conveniently resort and read the same. All parsons under the degree of A. M. shall buy for their own use the New Testament in Latin and English with paraphrases, within three months. Inquiry was to be made whether any Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, did discourage any person from reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English."

No intimation was given here, or anywhere else, as to how or where *such* volumes were to be found, and hence it has been inferred by Lewis, that under the late reign they had *not* been destroyed or burnt to any very great extent. At the same time, it may be observed that this was nothing more than a *royal* injunction; buried too among not fewer than fifty others, some of which are strange enough; and if the effects resembled those which resulted from *Henry's* voice, then there would, in many instances, be a reluctant, in others, only a tardy compliance.

As for the preparation of more copies, Elizabeth said not one word, while the printing press, as we shall see presently, far from approaching its freedom in the days of Edward, has become

more fettered than it had ever been, since the art was first introduced into England !

All this, however, will only render the progress in printing of the Sacred Volume still more remarkable. This was a cause in which neither the reigning Prince nor the Privy Council, the Parliament or Convocation, had ever been much consulted, and *never* with a view to its essential progress. It had commenced contrary to the will of all these parties, and as certainly proceeded without taking orders from them. For the progress therefore, at this crisis, as we were accustomed to do in the days of Elizabeth's father, we must now look abroad. From *thence* the Queen requires to be *put on her way*, and in a manner not unlike to Henry's reception and sanction of the Bible at first, in 1537.

While Elizabeth was yet in jeopardy of her life, and under the guardianship of Sir Thomas Pope, we have already seen that an edition of the New Testament had been printed at Geneva,—that copies were finding their way into England, in despite of all opposition,—and that an edition of the entire Scriptures was already commenced, in the same city. The exiles themselves inform us *when* this was begun. It was when “the time was dangerous, and the persecution, in England, sharp and furious.” The fact is, that no sooner had the New Testament left the press, than Whittingham, with one or two others, were preparing for their larger undertaking, and, at the latest, by January 1558 they had commenced. These men tell us that “they thought they could bestow their labours and study in nothing more acceptable to God, and comfortable to His Church ;” and they add,—“God knoweth with what fear and trembling we have been for the space of *two years and more, day and night*, occupied herein.” The space referred to, therefore, was from January 1558 to the 10th of April, 1560, when the last sheet was put to press.

Considering the high character of this version, and the number of editions through which it passed, it would have been gratifying could we have fixed, with more positive certainty, on the individuals to whom the nation stood indebted. They were most probably not more than *three* in number, or four at the most ; but whether it arose from modesty or motives of

prudence, we are left to find out the real parties. The revision has been often, it is true, and very loosely ascribed, to *six*, and even *nine*, individuals, as though engaged in one body :—viz. William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Miles Coverdale, Thomas Sampson, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Knox, John Bodleigh, and John Pullain. This, however, is doing nothing else than numbering up certain men possessed of learning, who happened to be then living in Geneva. It requires but a little investigation to reduce the number to one-third, and then, we presume, the great burden, if not the entire responsibility, will appear to have fallen upon three of these scholars. It is true that all these men, with many others, were intimately and affectionately connected with each other. They were members of the *same* Christian church, and a church, be it observed, which as a *body* felt deeply interested in this edition of the Sacred Volume. The entire expense not only of this Bible, but of an edition of the Psalms by itself, was defrayed by “such as were of most ability in that congregation.” There was no application to their native country, no solicitation of one farthing from without. Amidst the storm that raged against the truth, they had been driven into a corner, and thus the Church was employed. In the fulness of their hearts, the sound *learning* of certain members, and the pecuniary *substance* of others, being devoted to the cause of their common Saviour, nothing could be a finer exhibition of Christian zeal for the highest interests of their native land. Thus, as the first translation of the Sacred Word, commenced in 1524, had sprung from the devoted zeal of a solitary Christian *exile*, whose heart had bled with pity for his country; so the next thorough revision of the entire Sacred Text must come from the bosom of a small Christian community, also in *exile*, “for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.”

The accession of Queen Elizabeth, however, in November 1558, naturally filled this entire circle with joy, and the men we have named, as well as others, were as naturally separated; but then this was with the *exception* of those who had devoted themselves to the revision and printing of the Bible. The good news had reached Geneva in December, and at that moment, we are informed, that the *greater part* of the book was *not* finished :

but "Whittingham, with *one or two* more, did tarry at Geneva a year and a half after Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, *being resolved to go through with the work.*"¹ Le Long has affirmed that "the chief and most learned" of the men already mentioned, were Coverdale, Whittingham, and Gilby; but Coverdale, now seventy years of age, cannot be traced as at Geneva sooner than December 1558, and it is certain that he returned in 1559; how early we cannot tell. He was preaching at Paul's Cross on the 12th of November. In short, *Knox* had left Geneva as early as January 1559; *Goodman* followed him to Scotland, where we find him in September; while it is as certain that *Coverdale and Cole, Pullain and Bodleigh*, returned to England in the same year. The only three left, therefore, were Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson, and with their names *only* the translation should have been associated; since the men who completed "the greater part," must have been those by whom it had been begun. Many of their brethren, indeed, they tell us, "*put them on this work by their earnest desire and exhortation;*" while others encouraged them "not to spare *any charge* for the furtherance of such a benefit and favour of God toward His Church."

Although we cannot now notice every edition here, but refer to our list, yet as the *only* English Bible distinctly pointed out in any patent, from Elizabeth downwards, and especially as the basis of so many editions for above eighty years to come, this demands some farther notice.

Title.—"THE BIBLE AND HOLY SCRIPTURES conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in divers langages. With moste profitable annotations upon all the harde places, and other thinges of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader." Beneath is a wood-cut, of the Israelites passing through the Red Sea. "At Geneva. Printed by Rouland Hall, MDLX." *Collation.*—After a dedication to the Queen, and an Epistle to the Readers, about to be noticed, we have the text from Genesis to 2nd Maccabees, fol. i., 474. "The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c., with the same wood-cut and imprint as before. "The Holy Gospel," &c., fol. ii., cxxii. A table of interpretation of proper names—of principal things—the years from Adam to Christ—and the years from Paul's conversion. There is no Colophon. The Sacred text is in Roman, the contents of chapters in Italic type. A full page contains 63 lines.

¹ Wood's *Athenæ*, 4to, i., p. 447.

Not at all aware, perhaps, of the cautious expediency by which the Queen of England was now guided, they subjoined a dedication to her Majesty, remarkably free from that fulsome adulation, which had been far too common, and expressing with great frankness their zeal for further progress in the cause of truth and righteousness. But there was a *second* address or "Epistle," still more worthy of notice. In what they had done, the translators now fixed an eye of sympathy and love, not upon *England* alone, but, taking a nobler flight, upon all those to whom the English language was *vernacular*. Such was the happy effect of *adversity* and *travel*; the one softening, the other enlarging their minds. Their epistle of explanation, therefore, as to this version, is addressed to no particular party; but—"TO OUR BELOVED IN THE LORD; THE BRETHREN OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND." A most judicious title, and if there must be any Epistle to the Christian Reader at all, it would have been well for the interests of the United Kingdom had the words been preserved *inviolata* from that day to this. Amidst all that has occurred since, it is the *only* one to which no objection worth notice, could, or can, be brought; to say nothing of its being so akin to the simple majesty of the Divine Record, and to that only light in which God has regarded the entire number of His people, in this highly favoured country, all along.

The last sheet of this Bible having been committed to the press on the 10th of April, 1560, Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson returned home immediately; but of all the men already mentioned, there was one, who had not only fostered the translation when proceeding at Geneva, but was specially interested in its circulation throughout England, immediately afterwards, and he must not now be passed over. Bodleigh or Bodley is a name that one should have imagined would not have escaped notice, as it has generally done.²

² John Bodley, Esq., a native of Exeter, was one of the many exiles for conscience' sake, in Mary's reign. He wandered over a part of Germany, and having at last settled at Geneva, he joined the English Church there. His son Thomas, afterwards the founder of the famous Bodleian Library at Oxford, here received his education under the best teachers. On returning to England, he entered Magdalene College, and, at the age of twenty-one, was reading Greek

Although, however, these exiles had completed their translation of the Bible, and borne the charge, it by no means followed that the book should be forthwith admitted into England, and more especially by authority. They had laboured "night and day," indeed; but though so zealous, this was a point yet to be ascertained. The New Testament of 1557 had been secretly introduced, but it was then an interdicted book—it had not since been recognised as lawful, and already we have witnessed the extreme caution of the reigning Queen. Besides, there was a translation under the name of Matthew, and, above all, of Cranmer, both of whom had been once, or already sanctioned; while this new version had been accomplished by men, who, like Tyndale of old, had been obliged to fly the kingdom. But, notwithstanding, the time had come for the Geneva book to be admitted, and this was as soon as it was finished; only all these circumstances render its reception at the moment more worthy of notice. On returning to our native land, while not one word has yet been said as to any reprint of *Cranmer*, and in the face of John Cawood and Richard Jugge having been already appointed *her Majesty's printers*, the first distinct notice of the Geneva Bible having arrived in England is by no less than a patent from the Queen, granted in favour of John Bodleigh already mentioned.

"Elizabeth, &c.—To all manner of printers, booksellers, &c.—We do you to understand, that of our grace special, we have granted and given privilege and licence, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant, and give privilege and licence, unto our well-beloved subject John Bodeleigh, and to his assignes, for the term of *seven* years next ensuing the date hereof, to imprint, or cause to be imprinted, *the English Bible, with Annotations, faithfully translated and finished in this present year of our Lord God, a thousand, five hundred and three score*, and dedicated to us; straitly forbidding and commanding, as well printers and booksellers as other persons, within our realms and dominions, in any manner of wise, to imprint, or cause to be imprinted, any of the foresaid English Bibles, that the said John Bodeleigh shall, by the authority of this our licence, imprint, or cause to be imprinted, or any part of them, but only the said John Bodeleigh and his assignes; and that every offender shall forfeit to our use forty shillings, of lawful money of England, for every such Bible at any time so printed, and all such books to be forfeited, &c. In witness whereof, &c. 8th Jan. 1560-1561."

Lectures in Merton Hall, Wickliffe's College. Much as England owes to the son for the magnificent Library that bears his name, she is under a deeper, though less acknowledged debt to the father for his zeal in the cause of Divine Truth.

Whether this patent was of much advantage to the patentee is at present of secondary moment; but it forcibly reminds us of Henry VIII., in the year 1537. It presents Elizabeth before us, now *at the first call* from abroad, and without any hesitation, herself opening the way for the general circulation of this Bible throughout her dominions, for seven years to come. Little did the exiles imagine, when flying abroad for *their* lives, that one grand intended purpose was the improvement of the Book of *Life* itself, and that no sooner should *that* be finished, than it should be at once, and so received! Both Philip and Mary had thus, unconsciously, been pushing forward the cause they wished to destroy, and Elizabeth, however imperative at other moments, or however cautious, must not now stand in the way.

But is this the selfsame Queen who spake so warily before all her courtiers, less than a year ago? It is the same. Her reign was the commencement of a new era, in many respects; but, in the present case, one is forcibly reminded of another, in the reign of her father, twenty-four years ago, and the analogy is not faint. As only *eleven* months had elapsed between Henry's winking at the martyrdom of Tyndale and the royal sanction of his translation, so only *eleven* months had now passed between the evasive or cautious reply of his daughter and her royal patent. Both volumes had been prepared upon foreign ground, and both in the face of clouds and darkness, or the frown of the reigning government; yet the second is now come into England, as did the first, by the declared consent of the Sovereign. Henry had not read the Bible he sanctioned, nor had his daughter assuredly examined the present volume. In this second instance, however, there is equal, if not superior, emphasis. The present Sovereign, no less arbitrary and inflexible, was far more quick-sighted and vigilant than her father. It has been said that "her eye was everywhere," and as far as free inquiry through the medium of the press was concerned, never since the introduction of the art into England had it been so guarded. Every book, on whatever subject, or in whatever language, required to be licensed by her Majesty in express writing, or by six of her Privy Councillors. Under these circumstances, the patent granted to Bodley is the more remarkable.

Such was the commencement of those numerous editions of the Geneva version which followed, not only during the long reign of Elizabeth, but down to nearly the middle of the next century. As for the present moment, placed in circumstances the most critical, but surrounded by men of high renown as politicians, a Prince more potent had never swayed the sceptre of England; only we have yet to see whether Elizabeth had power sufficient, either to control, or in the slightest degree regulate, the stream of Divine Truth which in a few years flowed over the land; or, in other words, whether the public opinion and taste, as to the translation of the Sacred Word, was influenced by regal authority or not.

After that two editions had been executed abroad, besides two of the New Testament in a separate form, it was certainly time for the English printers to bestir themselves; and the man who had printed for Queen *Mary* all along, John Cawood, must be allowed to take the lead. He had changed with the times, and now came forward with an edition of Cranmer's Bible in quarto; while Richard Jugge, silent since the days of Edward, now gave two editions of the New Testament, one of Tyndale's, and, it has been affirmed, one of Coverdale's. Richard Harrison, too, though *not* printer to her Majesty, having obtained licence, had printed an edition of Cranmer's Testament. Thus, and before the year 1561 had expired, it is curious enough, the people had Tyndale and Coverdale, Cranmer and the Geneva version all before them. Seven years must pass away before another competitor appears; but this will be no other than Parker's or the Bishops' Bible, and the result remains to be seen. These, even including Parker's Bible, it must be borne in mind, were, without exception, personal undertakings, or affairs managed with certain *stationers*—that is, printers or booksellers for the time being, the licence granted for every single edition being applied for, to secure the parties against loss by their outlay of capital. The different *versions* were like so many candidates for public choice, or so many feelers, put forth through an all-wise, overruling Providence, leaving time to discover *which* was to prevail, as esteemed by the readers to be the best, or nearest to the Divine original.

In the year 1562, an edition of Cranmer's Bible appeared, the

first in *folio* under Elizabeth: and it is worthy of notice, that this came from *neither* of her Majesty's printers, but from the press of Richard Harrison, already mentioned.

The two previous editions of the Geneva Bible being exhausted, Bodley, in 1565, was preparing a new impression, but wishing to renew his privilege beyond the seven years first granted, he applied to Sir William Cecil. The wary Secretary consulted Archbishop Parker, who replied that though he was himself, with other Bishops, then engaged on "another special Bible for the Churches," he thought so well of this one, that he wished Bodley to have twelve years' longer term to his special privilege, but coupled with this recommendation his desire to "take such order with the party *in writing under his hand*, that no impression should pass, *but by their direction, consent, and advice*." Thus quietly setting aside the royal licence unless confirmed by the consent and advice of the Bishops! The idea of such a rider on his patent, once communicated to Bodley, seems to have been quite sufficient, for after this date we hear not one word more of it; and the Geneva translation was printed again and again, without licence either asked or granted!

About twenty-eight years ago, or in 1538, the reader cannot fail to remember an edition of Matthew's Bible being commenced under Coverdale's inspection at Paris, which, however, had to be finished in London. But if the state of France was unpropitious to such an attempt then, it seemed to have been much more so now. There happened, however, to be a short pause in the civil wars which for forty years had desolated that fine country. The King of Navarre had been killed at a siege, the Duke of Guise assassinated, and fifty thousand Huguenots already slain. Elizabeth, for her own safety's sake, had aided this people; and in 1563 a peace was concluded which lasted till 1567. A gentleman, then living at Rouen in Normandy, belonging to the Customs, and of good repute, resolved to seize the opportunity here presented him; and *at his own cost and charges*, committed to the press an edition of Cranmer's Bible in *folio*. This is a very fine book, on royal paper, printed "at Rouen by C. Hamilton, *cum privilegio*, 1566." This gentleman, Richard Carnarden, the frequent correspondent of Cecil, as in

the Lansdowne manuscripts, was afterwards in the London Custom House, and living as late as the year 1599.

Another instance at home was no other than the last edition printed by the same man who in the midst of actual pestilence, and with but doubtful prospect of success, *first* brought the Bible of 1537 into England, Richard Grafton. He had weathered the storm in Mary's reign, and now saw his old virulent enemy, Bonner, still living, but under general contempt, and in prison. Though advanced in life, Grafton ventured on an edition of Crammer's Bible, evidently intended for family use. It was the *first* edition of the English Bible in *one volume octavo*; and it seems to have been a very large impression. At least there is a passage in the annals of Queen Elizabeth, by Sir James Ware, the Irish Camden, which, if correct, could bear upon no other than the present octavo Bible. "In the year 1566," says he, "John Dale, a bookseller, imported seven thousand copies of the Bible from London, and sold the whole, in Ireland, within two years." What a singular contrast to so many succeeding years! But it would be a circumstance no less memorable, if the very same individual who first brought the Sacred Volume into *England* in 1537, should, before his death, have been the first employed in printing it even for *Ireland* itself. Accordingly, there does not appear to be one copy left in the possession of any private collector, or public library, on this side of the Channel, nor have we heard whether there be one left in Ireland.

At last, in 1568, or the tenth year after Elizabeth had ascended the throne, the first edition of the Bible, superintended by Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was published. Great care had been taken in this revision of the text, by more than fifteen learned men, Greek and Hebrew scholars, besides Parker himself, who superintended the several portions, as they came from the hands of those to whom he had committed them.

The *Pentateuch* was consigned to W. E. or William Alley, Bishop of Exeter; *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, to R. M. or Richard Davies of St. David's, who had previously been engaged in translating the Bible into Welsh; *Samuel, the Kings and Chronicles*, were assigned to Edwyn Sandys of Worcester; *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther and Job*, to A. P. C. or Andrew Pearson, Prebendary of Canterbury; the *Psalms* to T. B. or Thomas Bentham of Lichfield and Coventry; the *Proverbs* to A. P. C.; *Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song*, to A. P. E. or

Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely; *Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations*, to R. W. or Robert Horn of Winchester; *Ezekiel and Daniel* to T. C. L. or Thomas Cole, once at Geneva, afterwards Dean of Lincoln; the *minor Prophets* to E. L. or Edmund Grindel of London; the *Apocrypha* to J. N. or John Parkhurst of Norwich; the *Four Gospels and the Acts*, to R. E. or Richard Cox of Ely; the *Romans* to Edmund Guest of Rochester; the *Corinthians* to G. G. or Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster. Mr. Laurence, a learned Grecian, was also engaged, with one or two other individuals. From the majority of these men being on the Bench, this translation has been styled "the Bishops' Bible," the initials above mentioned being printed at the end of their respective parts.

Parker had now at last accomplished that which Cranmer had attempted in vain, or a version of the English Bible, generally revised from the preceding, in conjunction with certain brethren on the Bench, and other scholars. It was a decided improvement on the whole. They had watched Cranmer's or Coverdale's leaning to the Vulgate; they expunged the three verses from the fourteenth Psalm, which the latter first inserted at Paris, and in Timothy, they altered Cranmer's rendering "by authority of the *priesthood*" to that of "the *eldership*," besides other amendments of the text.

It has been erroneously supposed that this revision was undertaken by royal command. There is not only no proof of this, but the evidence presented forbids the idea. Parker, in presenting the first copy to Elizabeth, through Cecil, prays for her Majesty's "gracious favour, licence and protection to be extended to this recognition of the Bible." He entreats the Secretary himself to procure such royal licence for this version, "to be only commended in public reading in churches, to draw to one uniformity;" and that "Jugge only may have the preferment of this edition." This is not the language of one who is acting under royal command in the matter. Still more is this evident from the circumstance that the requests thus preferred were never granted. The Geneva version continued to be read in many churches, and Jugge received no licence for the exclusive printing of this one.

As far as printing editions could carry it, all justice was done to the Bishops' Bible; and backed by the influence of so many men on the Bench, personally interested, it must have been presumed that this book would at last carry the *palm* of superiority, and put not only Cranmer's version out of sight and out of mind, but the Geneva Bible also. Had not Parker completed

his task, and even his final corrections? He was now deceased, a circumstance which might be supposed to lend additional interest to his labours; and he had been succeeded by Edmund Grindal, one of the translators actually engaged in the work. The Queen, therefore, if she had any zeal, such as the Bishops desired, seemed to owe it to the Primate's *memory*, that this, and this *alone*, should be the Bible in general use; and so, it may be supposed, certain parties anticipated. Besides, to make this the more probable, there had evidently been some hindrance, if not demur, about allowing the Geneva Bible to be printed at all. We know not whether it was owing to Archbishop Parker's fixed determination to have it under *his* control; but it is certain that while he lived, no edition was printed upon English ground. After Mr. Bodley's attempt, there had, it is true, been three impressions, dated in 1568, 1569, and 1570; but all these had been printed at Geneva. Since 1570 there had been no reprint, and in 1575, the sixteenth year of the reigning Queen had come. By this time, complaint as to the long delay in printing it at home, had been publicly and strongly expressed. "If that Bible," it was said, "be such as no enemy of God could justly find fault with, then may men marvel that such a work, being so profitable, should find so small favour as not to be printed again."

In the meanwhile, her Majesty was never applied to again, to license by patent the Geneva Bible. Mr. Bodley's, of course, had expired in 1568; and it may have been on the strength of his expiring patent that the book was edged into England, as it was also into Scotland. If it was now to be printed in London, and far more frequently than any other version; if, after it begins to be so, scarcely a year is to pass without one, or two, or three editions issuing from the press, then this must be brought about in some other way. However imperative the government was, in a thousand other things, great and small, there was to be no force applied here. From the Queen—and her authority was paramount to all other—there were to be no "injunctions" that Parker's Bible was to be received into families, or alone read under the domestic roof. Nay, there had positively been none whatever *as yet*, as to its being read in public assembly. The man too, styled "her Majesty's printer," and now, moreover, he *alone*, shall continue, from year to year, to meet the choice and

wishes of the people : and though in many other things, connected with their ideas as to the supposed *form* of religion, Elizabeth be determined to have her own way, and so to *cross* their will ; one whisper of disapprobation as to *the people's* BIBLE, or its domestic use, and almost universal perusal, shall never be recorded to have escaped from her lips ! If the silence of her sister Mary, in issuing no denunciation of the English Bible by name, was remarkable, considering the general tone of Elizabeth's character, *her* silence was far more so ; for let it only be remembered that after Parker's decease in 1575, Elizabeth had yet twenty-eight years to reign, yet this shall not prevent the Geneva Version from being now printed either in folio or quarto, and being read in churches also. Parker has already told us, that they were so read in his days, and twelve years afterwards, we know they were. For the proof of this fact we are indebted to the best of all witnesses then living in the kingdom, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift himself. "Divers," says he in the year 1587, "Divers, as well Parish Churches as Chapels of Ease, are not sufficiently furnished with Bibles, but some have either none at all," (observe still !) "or such as be torn and defaced, and yet *not of the translation authorized by* THE SYNODS OF BISHOPS."³ But the preference shown, both before the sway of Whitgift, as well as under it, survived him for years. If the Queen knew of any difference between the two versions, it must have frequently met her Majesty's ear, when present at Sermons before the Court ; and it might have met her eye, if she deigned to look into what was printed around her. Thus Gervase Babington, a pupil of Whitgift's, who preached his funeral sermon, and had been successively Bishop of Ilandaff, Exeter and Worcester ; if we turn to his "Comfortable Notes on the Pentateuch," to his other expositions, or his sermons preached before the Court at Greenwich, or at Paul's Cross in 1591, we find him uniformly quote the *Geneva* Bible, as well as read his text from it. Thus George Abbot, the successor of Bancroft and predecessor of Laud, when Master of University College, Oxford, under Elizabeth and Whitgift, not only preached, but published in 1600, his sermons upon Jonah, and throughout he used the *same* version. Other instances might

³ Cardwell's Documentary Annals, ii. p. 11.

be adduced, but however striking, they would, taken altogether, prove but a feeble indication of that decided preference which began to be shown by the people at large, from the year immediately after Parker's death.

Here then we are met by a course of events, and the moving cause of that course, the most signal features of Elizabeth's reign, which after all that has been written, have been passed over by most historians, and never fully explained by any. But are they, on this account, of but inferior moment? An *extraordinary demand* for the Sacred Volume, and supplied by means not less extraordinary, can never be unimportant in the estimation of many; while at the same time the *cause of this demand* was of such a character, as to form, in the history of the English Bible, one of its brightest pages. To each of these in turn, therefore, the attention of the reader is now solicited.

This eager desire for the Word of Life, and decided preference for it, in the Geneva Version, were simultaneous, in the year 1575. There are therefore several circumstances connected with the times, as well as the character of Elizabeth's sway, which here invite notice, and will reward it. If the reader, however, will first turn for a moment to our List of Bibles at the close of this work, he cannot fail to be struck with one peculiarity in its appearance. For a period extending to fifty years, or from 1525 to 1575, he may observe what a number of *different* men had been engaged in printing the Scriptures; after which, or from 1577, *one* name alone meets his eye, from year to year. That name is *Barker*, and since the change, or rather the origin of the change, has never been explained, so that great confusion still prevails on the subject, it becomes of no little importance to understand it now.

The reign of Elizabeth was the age of patents. Jealous of her prerogatives, the granting of monopolies by patent was one of the most cherished modes of displaying it. Enriching herself and a few of her courtiers and crafty traders, the extension of this policy tended to impoverish the kingdom and fill it with discontent. It was the subject of frequent remonstrance in Parliament, where the idea thrown out, that it might be extended to *bread*, filled the members with alarm. Their expostulations had little effect, for, with a few exceptions, these patents, above

forty in number, remained unrepealed at the Queen's death in 1603. Among these, there was a class styled, by way of distinction, **PATENTS OF PRIVILEGE**, the holders of which might sell licences of that for which they held the patent to the highest bidder.

One of these patents of privilege was granted in 1575, (no doubt for a consideration,) to Sir Thomas Wilkes, Elizabeth's Ambassador to France, Holland and Germany, as "her Majesty's printer of the English tongue." The chief part of this patent was resold to John Jugge, the son of Richard, the printer of Parker's Bible. A formal complaint of this was made to the authorities by 175 members of the Stationers' Company, and 185 dealers in books, free of other companies, all of London, representing the injury inflicted on them, their families, workmen, apprentices, and the public generally by this monopoly.

John Jugge died soon after, having never once exercised his privilege; but in 1577, Wilkes again sold a patent of a far more exclusive character than the one complained of; and who was the purchaser? One of those who had so bitterly complained of the former, who changed his voice as soon as he was in possession of the coveted privilege,—one that specially included the printing of the Old and New Testament in the English language. This was Christopher Barker, who afterwards speaks of the great sum he had paid to Wilkes, as if he were a loser by the bargain. Nevertheless, in 1589, when Wilkes had fallen into disgrace, Barker, now well known to Cecil, and patronized by Walsingham, applies for and obtains a new patent from the Queen direct. For a still greater sum he now secures the privilege, for the joint lives of himself and his son Robert, who survived him for the long period of forty-six years.

The extensive patent of Christopher and Robert Barker once secured, in regard to the Scriptures, it embraced "all Bibles and Testaments whatsoever, in the English language, of whatever translation, with notes, or without notes, printed before then, or afterwards to be printed by our command." The privileges are granted, professedly, in consideration of Mr. Barker's great improvement in the art of printing. But the most singular feature of the document at such a crisis, is this, that no notice whatever is taken of any *one* translation, as preferable to another, no, nor of

any one as having been either ordered or sanctioned by the *Queen*. This too becomes more remarkable, when it is observed that the patent was granted under the sway of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, the strenuous promoter of *uniformity* in everything else, and whose decided preference of the Bishops' version had only the year before been strongly marked and enforced. Burleigh indeed, and Sir Francis Walsingham, may be presumed to have acquiesced in a licence so broad; but at all events, here, under one of the most powerful monarchs that had ever held the English sceptre, and as rigid a Primate as had occupied the See of Canterbury, since the invention of printing. if we look to what followed, it is not difficult to see there, an overruling hand once more. Whatever may be said of Queen Elizabeth, assuredly Archbishop Whitgift did not intend to promote the perusal throughout all England of any version of the Scriptures, save one, now sanctioned by "the Synod of Bishops;" but then here comes her Majesty, with open eyes, and by her sign manual, she has left the people free to choose, *in the highest sense*, when, so far as her power extended, she would on no account allow it, in *any* other.

No one will stand up now, to justify the course pursued by Barker from the beginning. It was a most mercenary affair from first to last; and yet even when a man is so influenced, the consequences, whether immediate or remote, by the hand of God may easily be overruled for good. One consequence, at all events, is here worthy of special observation. Even under an exclusive patent, granted by a Queen imperative even to trifles, since the supply was after all regulated solely by the *demand*, and only the sordid prospect of *remuneration*, we are able to see, and as clearly as we did under Edward the Sixth, what was the taste or choice of the great body of English readers.

In contemplating this long and powerful reign, with immediate reference to the Sacred Volume, there are three distinct points alike worthy of notice and recollection. The *first* is, the number of editions on the whole, so very far beyond that which has ever been observed. A *second* peculiarity is very manifest, or the number of impressions in what is usually styled the Geneva version, in comparison with others, or with Cranmer's and Parker's versions taken together. But the *third* point, as

soon as our list at the close is glanced at, cannot escape notice—the large number of *Bibles*, as compared with the editions of the *New Testament* separately.

Apprehension, approaching nearly to horror, had been expressed in Parliament, at the very idea of a patent for *bread*; but here was a commodity infinitely above it, in point of importance and value—the *Bread of Life*; and since it had been delivered into the hands of one man, to deal it out in conformity to privilege granted; this being the first movement of the kind, every reader must be curious to observe the experiment in its first operation and consequences. Here, then, he may now do so, at the distance of two hundred and forty years, and for a space of time equal to that of the entire generation first so circumstanced.

The supply on the *whole* cannot fail to occasion delightful surprise, as it so far exceeds what has ever been pointed out in history. Speaking of the Geneva version only, Lewis conjectured that there had been “above *thirty* editions in folio, quarto, and octavo, printed from the year 1560 to the year 1616.” And so very loosely has the history of our Bible been regarded, that, although the editions of Shakspeare have been scanned and counted with the most vigilant scrupulosity, this vague estimate of the Scriptures has been repeated in print, by Newcome and many others, down to the present hour! Lewis took great pains in his day, and then spoke according to the extent of his research; but had he multiplied by three, and said *ninety* editions, instead of thirty, and added *thirty* editions more of the New Testament separately, he would have been not far from the truth. We are here, however, confined to the reign of Elizabeth terminating in 1603, or thirteen years before the estimate of Lewis; and, referring to our list at the end for particulars, we can now speak only in round numbers.

From the year 1560 to that of 1603 inclusive, there had been certainly not fewer than *one hundred and thirty* distinct issues of Bibles and Testaments, or about eighty-five of the former and forty-five of the latter, which presents an average of three issues *annually* throughout the entire reign; and notwithstanding all the caution exercised for the first sixteen years. With reference to the Geneva version, out of the gross issues now stated the

number approaches to ninety editions, thus leaving only forty for all others. Or if we speak of Bibles alone, while the number of Cranmer's and Parker's version put together we state as *twenty-five*, that of the Geneva Bible had amounted at least to *sixty* editions. The very remarkable disproportion, however, between the New Testaments issued as compared with the Bible entire, demands more particular observation, and it will come before us presently.

Here, it is granted, we have a subject which previous historians have overlooked, as either below their notice, or unworthy of investigation. The imprisonment and death of Mary Queen of Scots, the invincible Spanish Armada, and the dominant power of Elizabeth, on the one hand; or the life and actions of Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, of Bacon and Leicester, Cecil and Walsingham, on the other, have so engrossed the mind, that history on this subject has been cold, nay, silent. But may we not leave it to the judgment of every unbiassed reader, whether there was any movement of the passing day to be compared to this, either in itself or in its consequences? What are the footsteps of men or monarchs, moving like shadows o'er the plain, when compared with the progress of Divine Truth in any nation? Editions of the Sacred Volume, at any given time, rise in importance infinitely above those of any human composition; but at this period especially, owing to peculiar circumstances, they formed the only unerring index to the thirst for Divine revelation, or the actual progress in Christian knowledge. This, it will be granted, is a state of mind the most vital of all others, so far as Christianity in its proper sense is concerned; while, far from being a transitory ebullition, it extended over a space of time equal to more than a generation. This was a growing and prodigious *purchase* of the Sacred Scriptures, for they were neither given away, nor sold at *reduced* prices, as in modern times. In short, the people of the day, whether in England or Scotland, PURCHASED all they read, nay, and paid *ten* times the value of the present prices.

The cause of this remarkable demand for the Word of God is a problem that cannot be solved by pointing either to the power of *party* or to the power of *preaching*.

In the days of Edward VI., there were but two parties, the

"Friends of the *Old Learning*," and the "Friends of the *New*;" and to the zeal of the latter might be ascribed the thirst for the Sacred Word that then prevailed. But under Elizabeth this party was again divided, so that there were now three great parties in the kingdom, whose struggles occasioned all the restless uneasiness of that otherwise powerful reign. But whatever desire some one or other of these might feel for the circulation of the Bible, or preference for some version of it, the patent of Christopher Barker now stands in the way. Every sheet of either version must issue from his press, and he, a man of the world, with a view to gain alone, will throw off only those which will answer the one object he has in view. The Queen has sold away *her* interest in the sale, and Barker will go with the stream, where the prospect of gain may carry him. The people are left to show their preference by their demand, and he meets this demand in the way most profitable to himself, never allowing his interests to be affected by the smallest zeal for *party*. It was his interest to lessen the cost of printing the Bible, while the price was kept up; hence, by degrees, disappear dedications, prefaces, addresses to the reader, and all that might gratify either party. To the same avarice in the patentee we must ascribe the small number of Testaments compared with Bibles printed by him. "*Testaments ALONE*," said the poor mercenary monopolist, "*are not greatly commodious, by reason the prices are so small as will scarcely bear the charges.*" They were found *commodious* enough *before* the exclusive patent was granted. But *now*, all who desired to have a New Testament must gratify it only at a great personal expense.

Nor can the large sale of the Scriptures at this time be ascribed to the power of *preaching*. The "liberty of prophesying" was under even greater restraint than the liberty of the press. The London petitioners to Parliament complained that *one half* of the City churches were without preachers, and of the remaining half "is scarce the *tenth* man to be found that maketh any conscience carefully to wait upon his charge." In vain did Archbishop Grindal plead for "the plentiful preaching of the Gospel of Christ," and approach the throne on its behalf. The Queen herself told him "that it was good for the Church to have *few* preachers; that three or four might suffice for a

county; and that the *reading* of the homilies to the people was sufficient!" Firm as a rock, she never relented, nor forgave the man who so earnestly pled for the "ministry of reconciliation," Primate of all England though he was. Under the cloud of her displeasure he closed his days. Whitgift succeeded him with a policy the reverse of his, and preaching was all but put down. But it mattered not. The demand for the Word of Life rose progressively, and the issues of edition after edition from the press of Barker continued to meet the growing demand.

In conclusion, we enter not here into the comparative merits of the Bishops' and the Geneva versions, nor should the attention at present be diverted to any such point. Both went on to be printed, and they will, therefore, come before us under the next reign. Suffice it to say, that, as translations, as instruments in the hand of God, both were all-sufficient for His purpose; but it is of more immediate consequence, that the mind should rest on the remarkable fact, that under the reign of Elizabeth not fewer than *one hundred and thirty* distinct publications of the Divine Word passed through the press, mainly to meet the desires of the people; while the disposition thus to purchase and to read must have had a *cause*.

Unable, therefore, to point out any adequate instrumental cause upon earth, why should there now be any hesitation in all England to refer immediately to Him "from whom all good counsels and all such desires proceed"? Considering the people *as a people*, far from being any disadvantage or discredit to them, that God himself should thus speak to them more *directly* than usual, and by His own Word, it only placed them in a higher state of responsibility. The number of its editions has shed quite a new light, and, in reference to the period itself, it is questionable whether any people in Europe can now produce a parallel; but certainly there was, at that period, no similar proceeding in any nation.

The Queen upon the throne might cast indignity upon the ordinance of Heaven for saving the souls of men, or care not for it. For this the Primate of all England, being of another mind, might pine for years under her frown; or, as ever after, his successor, Whitgift, might carry everything before him. The Commons' House of Parliament itself might propose to meet for

prayer, and to hear a sermon; when, being rebuked by her Majesty for their presumption in not first asking counsel of *her*, to obtain her sanction, they gave up the intention, and never heard one. One half of the buildings called churches in the capital might stand there, and no one faithful voice be heard within their walls, while only the tenth man of the remaining half possessed any conscience. All this and more might be, but the Word of Jehovah must not be bound.

Nor was it that the Almighty Redeemer undervalued the ministry of his own appointment. Far from any mind be such a thought. But HE is a Sovereign, "having no need either of His own works or of man's gifts," and for a season might suspend their operation for a higher end, even the glory and power of His *Revealed Word*. True religion revived in Babylon when Jerusalem lay in ruins, as it had prospered in the wilderness, before the Temple was built; and of that favoured people, as the depositaries of the truth, it was once said, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead,"—but a greater than Moses was here.

All this while, the nation was seen rising, confessedly, into far greater power, though often agitated; and if without were fightings, within were fears. The reign had been stained by the blood of persecution; and as liberty of conscience was understood by no party, instances of oppression occurred with a frequency which cannot be explained fully, till the State Paper Commission has done the same justice to Elizabeth which it has done to her father. But throughout all the tumultuous scene—the zeal for what was styled uniformity—the decrees of the Star Chamber, and the restrictions of the press, the "still small voice" was there. In other words, from year to year, and as with pointing finger, a benignant Providence stood above the nation, directing it to the Bible alone, as its only charter to the skies; or God's own divine grant, in the language of the people, to all the glories of life eternal.

Christianity, not an outward conventional form, being essentially a mental subject, addressing the heart and soul of man, this first and fundamental truth—"the *all-sufficiency* of the Divine record,"—it was worthy of its Divine Author to repeat,

so emphatically, in the ear of the people, from month to month, and from year to year, amidst all their wild confusion and the strife of tongues. This was a consideration, which, *historically*, had taken *precedence* of everything else, whether of the *ministry* itself, or the *form* of godliness. Nay, and it is a truth still, which if the heart and conscience of this nation were once fixed upon it, the consequences would surpass human foresight: meanwhile this, and by way of eminence, seems to be one main instruction to be drawn from all that had yet occurred. By the man of mere party, it is true, of whatever class throughout the kingdom, from Oxford all round to the sea, the monition may not even yet be heard; and that simply because the subject is one which happens to be above his customary sphere of judgment. But should the slightest hesitation remain in the mind of any reader, let him read on. Upon this subject there is no ambiguity awaiting him, in the sequel.

JAMES I. TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

MDCIIL.—MDCL.

ACCESSION OF JAMES—HIS STRANGE PROGRESS THROUGH THE COUNTRY—HIS HEEDLESS PROFUSION—CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON COURT EXPLAINED—REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES—THE REVISORS—INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN—PROGRESS MADE—REVISION OF THE WHOLE—MONEY PAID, BUT NOT BY HIS MAJESTY, NOR BY ANY BISHOP, AFTER THE KING'S APPLICATION, BUT BY THE PATENTEE—THE PRESENT VERSION PUBLISHED—NO PROCLAMATION, NO ORDER OF PRIVY COUNCIL, OR ANY ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE UPON RECORD, ON THE SUBJECT—DID NOT BECOME THE VERSION GENERALLY RECEIVED THROUGHOUT ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, TILL ABOUT FORTY YEARS AFTERWARDS—THE LAST ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE WITH THE ENGLISH BIBLE BY A COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT, REPRESENTING ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND—UTTERLY IN VAIN.



P to the present moment, the history of the English Bible had maintained a character peculiar to itself. Originating with no mere patron, whether royal or noble, the undertaking had never yet been promoted at the personal expense of any such party. But now in regard to that version of the Sacred Volume, which for two hundred and thirty years has been read with delight

from generation to generation, and proved the effectual means of knowledge, holiness, and joy to millions; it may be imagined by some, as there was now another and a final change, that our history must, at last, change, or in other words, *forfeit its character*. If, however, the accounts frequently given of our present version have been involved in as much inaccuracy of statement, as they have been with regard to all the preceding changes, there is the greater necessity for the public mind being disabused; and that, too, whether in Britain, or America, or the British foreign dependencies. This is a subject which alike concerns them all, as they all read, and prize, the same version.

If because that a dedication to James the First of England has been prefixed to many copies, though not to many others; and if because not only historians at their desks, but lawyers at the bar, and even judges on the bench, have made most singular mistakes—it has therefore been imagined by any, or many, that the present version of our Bible was either suggested by this monarch; or that he was at any personal expense in regard to the undertaking; or that he ever issued a single line of authority by way of proclamation with respect to it, it is more than time that the delusion should come to an end. The original and authentic documents of the time are so far explicit, that, just in proportion as they are sifted, and the actual circumstances placed in view, precisely the same independence of personal royal bounty, and, on the part of the people at large, the same superiority to all royal dictation, which we have beheld all along, will become apparent. James himself, however vain, is certainly not so much to be blamed for any different impression, as some others who have misrepresented his Majesty. On the other hand, his character was such that to many writers it has occasioned some exercise of patience even to refer to it. But since his name occurs in connexion with this final revision of the English Bible, it is of the more importance to ascertain the exact amount of this connexion. From the moment in which he was invited to the throne, and to be King of Great Britain, his own favourite term, down to the year in which our present version was published, his “royal progress” is forced upon our notice.

By the death of Elizabeth on the 24th of March, 1603, James succeeded to the throne of England. During the whole of the summer and autumn of that year, he gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase, the monotony of which was only interrupted by feasts and masks on the most extensive scale; occasioning the greatest anxiety to the Lord Treasurer to find means to supply the King's profusion. To avoid the plague which was then raging in London and its vicinity, as well as to find sport for James, the Court made a progress through the kingdom, but was haunted by the sickness which followed it everywhere, and infected every spot at which it halted. Before the close of the year, so exhausted were the King's resources, and so low his credit with the money-lenders both at home and abroad, that he was forced to issue his proclamation for the meeting of Parliament on the 19th of March following, to obtain supplies. It was in the midst of his heartless sports at Wilton, when the plague was carrying off its thousands weekly in London, that James summoned another meeting, known as the CONFERENCE OF HAMPTON COURT, "for the hearing, and for the determining, things pretended to be amiss in the Church." This Conference was held on the 14th, 16th, and 18th January, 1604, but did not consist of any official body of men. As Parliament had not met, James was not as yet, according to law, King of England, except by courtesy. There were present only nine Bishops, eight Deans, two Professors of Divinity from Oxford, and two from Cambridge, with the King's Chaplain, Patrick Galloway, from Scotland. Nor were these all present any one day. The only subject debated, the result of which has been of any lasting consequence to posterity, was, the *necessity for another translation of the Bible*. The proposal came from Mr. John Rainolds, a man of high character, and perhaps the most eminent individual for learning in the kingdom. His fame grew from the Greek lecture in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he was the president. Some made a few objections, especially Bancroft, Bishop of London, who muttered that, "if every man's humour were followed, there would be *no end* of translating;" but the King expressing his approbation of the scheme, there was, at present, no gainsaying. The second of the articles, as presented by Rainolds, (according to

Galloway, whose account was corrected by the King's own hand) was the following :—

“That a translation be made of the whole Bible, *as consonant as can be to the original Hebrew and Greek* ; and this to be set out and printed, *without any marginal notes*, and only to be used in all Churches of England in time of divine service.”

The Parliament met on the 19th of March, and the Convocation next day ; but the former was dissolved, and the latter rose, without a word being uttered on the subject of the new translation. Before the end of June, a list of scholars suitable for the work was presented to James for his acceptance. They were selected *for* him, and he of course approved. This was notified to the intended translators in a letter from Bancroft, dated 30th June, 1604, in which he informs them that it is “the King's pleasure that they should, with all possible speed, meet together in their University and begin the same.”

Then followed another letter dated 31st July, addressed to *all* the Bishops, enclosing one from “His most excellent Majesty,” straitly charging them to confer any prebends or parsonages in their gift, which “shall next upon any occasion happen to be void,” on some one of the learned translators who may have no ecclesiastical preferment, or one “unmeet for men of their desert,” pleading his own inability to supply them, for “*We of OURSELF, in any convenient time, cannot well remedy it.*” Cecil as Chancellor of Cambridge addressed that University to the same purport.

We give the list of translators here, with their respective tasks, to which a few particulars, from the best authorities, are subjoined :—

WESTMINSTER. *Genesis to II. Kings inclusive.*

DR. LANCELOT ANDREWS, then Dean of Westminster, who is reported to have been such a linguist that he understood fifteen. Afterwards Bishop of Chichester, 1605 ; then of Ely in 1609 ; and finally of Winchester in 1619. Died 21 Sep. 1626, aged 71.

DR. JOHN OVERALL, then Dean of St. Paul's. Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1614 ; of Norwich in 1618. Died 12 May, 1619, aged 60.

DR. ADRIAN A SARAVIA, then Canon of Westminster. Of Spanish extraction ; the friend of Hooker, and tutor of Nicholas Fuller. Afterwards Prebend of Gloucester, and Canterbury, where he died 15 January, 1613, aged 82.

DR. RICHARD CLARKE, then Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge ; Vicar of

- Minster and Monkton in the isle of Thanet. Died in 1634, and a folio volume of his sermons published in 1637.
- DR. JOHN LAIFIELD, then Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; afterwards Rector of St. Clement's Danes. A Fellow of Chelsea College, which, however, was never founded. Died in 1617.
- DR. ROBERT TIGHE, or TEIGH, (*not* Leigh as often misnamed,) then Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Rector of All-Hallows, Barking. An excellent textuary and profound linguist. He died in 1616, leaving his son £1000 a-year.
- DR. FRANCIS BURLEIGH, then Vicar of Bishop Stortford, if not of Thorley, Herts. and died in 1619 (?)
- DR. GEOFFRY or WILFRID KING, then Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. As Regius Professor of Hebrew in that University, he succeeded Robert Spalding, about to be mentioned.
- RICHARD THOMPSON, M.A. of Clare Hall, Cambridge; born in Holland of English parents; an admirable philologist, but better known in Italy, France, and Germany, than at home.
- WILLIAM BEDWELL, the best Arabic scholar of his time. The tutor of Erpenius and Pocock; (but not W. Bedell of Kilmore, as has been conjectured; he was then at Venice.) "The industrious and thrice-learned," said Lightfoot, "to whom I will rather be a scholar, than take on me to teach others."

CAMBRIDGE. *I. Chronicles to Ecclesiastes inclusive.*

- EDWARD LIVLIE, Regius Professor of Hebrew for thirty years in this University; an eminent linguist, in high esteem by Ussher and Pocock. His death, in May 1605, is supposed to have retarded the work in hand.
- DR. JOHN RICHARDSON, then Fellow of Emmanuel College; afterwards Master of Peter House, then of Trinity College. He is not to be confounded with Ussher's friend of the same name. Died in 1625.
- DR. LAURENCE CHADERTON, distinguished for Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, then *first* Master of Emmanuel College. "If you will not be Master," said Sir Walter Mildmay, "I will not be *Founder*." He was the tutor of Joseph Hall of Norwich and W. Bedell of Kilmore, who retained the highest veneration for him, and died the year after him. Chaderton, who never required the aid of spectacles, died, according to his epitaph, at the age of 103! Born in 1537, he lived to 13th November, 1640. His life, in Latin, by W. Dillingham, was published in 1700.
- FRANCIS DILLINGHAM, then Fellow of Christ's College, an eminent Grecian. He was Parson of Dean, and beneficed at Wilden, Beds. As an author, he, as well as Overall, *continued* to quote the *Geneva* version years after our present one had been published. He died a single and a wealthy man.
- THOMAS HARRISON, Vice-Chancellor of Trinity College, was eminently skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, as his own University has borne witness. Dyer ascribes to him a *Lexicon Pente Glotton*.
- DR. ROGER ANDREWS, brother of Lancelot, then Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and afterwards Master of Jesus College, and Prebendary of Chichester. Died in 1618.
- DR. ROBERT SPALDING, then Fellow of St. John's College, and afterwards the *successor* of Livlie as Regius Professor of Hebrew, a sufficient proof of his skill in that language.
- DR. ANDREW BYNG, (*not* Burge, as in Burnet and Wilkins,) then Fellow of St. Peter's College. In 1606 Sub-dean of York, and in 1618 Archdeacon of

Norwich. As Regius Professor of Hebrew, he succeeded *King*, who had succeeded Spalding, already mentioned.

OXFORD. *Isaiah to Malachi inclusive.*

DR. JOHN HARDING, then Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, and afterwards President of Magdalen College, and also Rector of Halsey in Oxfordshire.

DR. JOHN RAINOLDS, President of Corpus Christi College; or the man who moved the King for this new translation. "The memory and reading of that man," said Bishop Hall, "were near to a miracle; and all Europe at the time could not have produced three men superior to Rainolds, Jewell, and Ussher, all of this same College." At the age of 58, he died 21st May, 1607. Even during his sickness, his coadjutors met at his lodgings once a week, to compare and perfect their notes.

DR. THOMAS HOLLAND, then Fellow of Balliol College, afterwards Rector of Exeter, and Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford. "Another Apollos," says Wood, "and mighty in the Scriptures." Died 17th March, 1613, aged 73.

DR. RICHARD KILBY, the Rector of Lincoln College, highly esteemed by Isaac Walton. He was afterwards prebendary of Lincoln, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford. He left commentaries on Exodus, drawn from the Rabbins and Hebrew interpreters. Died November 1620.

DR. MILES SMITH, then Canon of Hereford. A Hebrew and Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic scholar. He is understood to have been the writer of the preface. He and Bilson we shall find to be the final examiners of the whole work. Bishop of Gloucester in 1612.

DR. RICHARD BRETT, then Fellow of Lincoln College. Eminent as a linguist in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, to which he added Chaldee, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Rector of Quainton, Bucks, where he died 15th April, 1637.

RICHARD FAIRCLOUGH of New College, Oxford (?); the Rector of Bucknell, Oxfordshire, who died there in 1638.

OXFORD. *Matthew to the Acts inclusive, and the Revelation.*

DR. THOMAS RAVIS, then Dean of Christ Church; afterwards, on the 14th March, 1605, Bishop of Gloucester, and in 1607 of London, where he died, 14th December, 1609.

DR. GEORGE ABBOT, then Dean of Winchester and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1609; of London 1610, and, Bancroft dying 2nd November, Abbot became primate in 1611. Died 4th August, 1633, aged 71.

DR. JOHN AGLIONBY, then Principal of St. Edmund's Hall and Rector of Islip, and afterwards chaplain in ordinary to the King. "Accomplished in learning and an exact linguist." Dr. Richard Eedes was indeed the first appointed, but he died 19th November, 1604; Aglionby died 6th February, 1610.

DR. GILES TOMSON, then Dean of Windsor, afterwards in March 1611 Bishop of Gloucester, but died 14th June next year. "He had taken a great deal of pains in translating."

SIR HENRY SAVILE, Greek tutor to Elizabeth, and Provost of Eton. He was knighted by James this year, and, losing his son about that period, he devoted his time and fortune to the encouragement of learning. He contributed

several rare books and MSS. to the Bodleian, besides Greek type and matrices to the Oxford press. His fine edition of *Chrysostom's Works*, in Greek, with notes by John Bois after-mentioned, and of which 1000 copies, in 8 volumes folio, were printed, is said to have cost him £8000. He died at Eton, 19th February, 1622, aged 73.

DR. JOHN PERYN, Professor of Greek, and afterwards Canon of Christ Church. Died 9th May, 1615.

DR. LEONARD HUTTEN, then Vicar of Flower, Northamptonshire; an excellent Greek scholar, and learned in other branches. He died at the age of 75, 17th May, 1632. Dr. Ravens had been first appointed, but his place vacated.

DR. JOHN HARMAR had been Professor of Greek, Warden of Winchester College. A noted Latin and Greek scholar. He published Latin translations from Chrysostom, and his translation of Beza's sermons into English bespeaks him an excellent writer of English. He died 11th October, 1613.

WESTMINSTER. *Romans to Jude inclusive.*

DR. WILLIAM BARLOW, made Dean of Chester in December 1604, Bishop of Rochester in 1605, of Lincoln, 1608. Died 7th September, 1613.

DR. RALPH HUTCHENSON, then President of St. John's College, Oxford. Wood's *Athenæ*, by Bliss, ii. p. 92.

DR. JOHN SPENCER, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and afterwards Chaplain to the King. On the death of Dr. Rainolds he succeeded him as President of Corpus Christi, and died 3rd April, 1614.

DR. ROGER FENTON, it has been supposed; if so, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; and Minister of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London.

MICHAEL RABBETT, B.D., was Rector of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, London.

DR. THOMAS SANDERSON, of Balliol College, Oxford (?) Archdeacon of Rochester in 1606.

WILLIAM DAKINS, B.D., then Greek Lecturer, Cambridge, and afterwards junior Dean in 1606. He had been chosen for his skill in the original languages, but died February 1607.¹

To these men the King is reported to have given the following Instructions or Rules:—1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. 2. The names of the Prophets and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly used. 3. *The old ecclesiastical words to be kept: as the word CHURCH not to be translated CONGREGATION, &c.* 4. When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of faith. 5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require. 6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the

¹ Wood's *Fasti* and *Athenæ*—Newcourt's *Repertorium*—Le Neve's *Fasti*—Todd's *Vindication*—Whittaker, and several other authorities compared. In addition to these forty men, engaged on the SACRED TEXT, seven more, or the second class at Cambridge, were put to the *Apocrypha*: viz. John Duport, Dr. Branthwaite, Jeremiah Radcliffe, Dr. Samuel Ward, Andrew Downes, the Greek Professor, Mr. Ward, and JOHN BOYS, who, however, afterwards was engaged on the Sacred text.

explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text. 7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another. 8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter, or chapters; and, having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand. 9. As one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously: for his Majesty is careful in this point. 10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal send their reasons: to which, if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work. 11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned man in the land, for his judgment in such a place. 12. Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand; and to move and charge as many as, being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford. 13. The Directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place; and the King's Professors in the Hebrew and Greek in each University. 14. *These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: viz., 1. Tyndale's; 2. Matthew's; 3. Coverdale's; 4. Whitchurche's (i. e. Cranmer's); 5. The Geneva.*

The accuracy of these Rules is considerably shaken by the account delivered in to the Synod of Dort on the 20th of November, 1618. They state that only seven rules were ultimately prescribed, and that after each individual had finished his task, *twelve* men (not six) assembling together revised the whole!

Most of the translators were already in independent circumstances, though some were not so, and the posts to which any of them succeeded afterwards are noted under each of their names. These appointments, however, cost his Majesty nothing. But there was another point which the King left Bancroft to explain to all his brethren. The fact was, that some *money* did appear to be requisite in the first instance, and his Majesty not choosing to signify in writing that he had none of his own to spare, or that the Lords in the Privy Council would not agree to his drawing on the public purse, he left it to another to explain the dilemma, and, through him, turned to the Bishops and Deans in the hope that they would furnish supplies. The sum specified by Bancroft was not large. It was only 1000 marks, £666 13s. 4d., the same amount he had spent in repairing his palace. The Bishop, however, being under orders, must forward his circular as to this point, which it seems he did; and from one of them yet extant, dated 31st July, 1604, we find him requiring

his brethren, with every several Dean and Chapter, in the King's name, to contribute to the work, and to send him word, as soon as they could, of the amount they would so contribute, hinting that he would "acquaint his Majesty with every man's liberality towards this most godly work."

For a reply to this pressing circular we search in vain. From the Bench entire we hear not one echo; for if there was even one reply, it has never been found, and, at least, no *money* was ever contributed. The public exchequer was empty, and nothing was to be got from that quarter. It was well that most of the translators were in good circumstances, others had to look forward to the future for their reward, while we find at least one of the most able of them all, John Boys, eating his "commons" first at one college table, and then at another, in Cambridge, during the entire period in which he was there engaged.

It is not fully ascertained *when* these men sat down to their work. The different parties might not all commence at the same moment, but, on the whole, it may be presumed that, with the Hebrew of the Old Testament, and the Greek of the New, before them all along, the first revision of the sacred text by the forty-seven, occupied about *four* years; the second examination by twelve, or two selected out of each company, *nine months* more, and the sheets passing through the press, other *two years*, when the Bible of 1611 was finished and first issued.

No money was needed while the six companies were working separately at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford. But when the selected *two* of each company met in London, pecuniary supply, to a moderate extent, had become necessary. The entire Bible as it came from the forty-seven was now before these twelve men, who met at Stationers' Hall, and were thus daily occupied in their second revision for nine months or thirty-nine weeks. They were paid weekly, and a sum of "a thousand marks," and more, is now required, and the only question is, from whence it came?

From a memoir of John Boys already mentioned, one of the twelve, and who alone took notes, we learn, that each of them, while in London, duly received thirty shillings a week; "*though BEFORE they had NOTHING.*" Upwards of £700 must have been thus expended, but with regard to the paymasters for this

service, it is evident that the Company of Stationers, in whose Hall they met, had too little interest in the affair to meet this demand. From the King nothing could be hoped for. If it was "not convenient," to use his own phrase, in 1604, it was far less so in 1608. After the twelve had performed their share of the work, the translation had to be superintended through the press under the eye of Dr. Miles Smith and Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, with their subordinates—a process which involved much additional expense for two years, yet neither was this met by any grant of public money.

To a writer in 1651 we are indebted for the information we are in quest of. Defending the patented monopoly enjoyed by Barkers for more than seventy years, he argues :—

"And forasmuch as propriety rightly considered is a legal relation of any one to a temporal good ; I conceive the sole printing of the Bible and Testament, with power of restraint in others, to be of right the propriety of one Matthew Barker, Citizen and Stationer of London, in regard that his father paid for the amended or corrected translation of the Bible £3500 : by reason whereof the translated copy did of right belong to him and his assigns."²

In perfect harmony with this payment, immediately after Robert Barker (the son of the original patentee, and now son-in-law of Day, Bishop of Winchester) had printed the Bible of 1611, in May following he obtains from the King a patent for Christopher, his *eldest* son, to hold the same after the death of his father ; with the proviso, that if the son should die first, *his* heirs were to enjoy the benefits for four years after Robert the father's death. Within five years after this the son died, and so, in February 1617, the King granted the same patent to Robert, the second son, for thirty years, to commence *after* the death of his father. The Barkers assigned their rights, in July 1627, to Bonham Norton and John Bill, which the King confirmed. In 1635, the father, Robert Barker, yet alive and unsatisfied, obtains the same patent in reversion to Charles and Matthew, his younger sons, after the expiration of all the others ! Thus, from 1577 down to 1709, during the long period of 132 years, not a single copy of the Sacred Volume had issued from the

² "A Brief Treatise concerning the Regulating of Printing, humbly submitted to the Parliament of England. By William Ball, Esquire, London. Printed in the year 1651."

press in which this *one* family, father, son and grandsons, had not a personal pecuniary interest.³

To return then for a few moments, and finally, to the Bible of 1611; after neither his Majesty, nor the Bishops, nor the Stationers' Company, had afforded *any* pecuniary aid, we have found the money furnished, and very properly, by the only party who was to receive the profits. The honour of payment for the whole concern, so often ascribed to James the First, is by no means to be taken from him, if one shred of positive evidence can be produced; but this, it is presumed, lies beyond the power of research. In this case, therefore, to speak correctly, we have come at last, *not* to an affair of government, *not* to a royal undertaking *at his Majesty's expense*, according to the popular and very erroneous historical fiction, but *simply to a transaction in the course of business*. If we inquire for any single royal grant, or look for any act of personal generosity, we search in vain.

There is, however, in conclusion, one other inquiry to be made; and this, to some minds, may be not the least important. It is this. By whose *influence or authority* was it, that our present version of the Sacred Volume came to be read, not in England alone, but in Scotland and Ireland? This, too, is a question the more interesting to millions, as it is now the Bible of so many distant climes—read not only in the Americas and Canada, but in all the wide-spread and daily extending British colonies.

The reigning King had indeed signified his approbation of the undertaking, and when the Bible was published it bore on its title-page, that the version had been “newly translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by his Majesty's special commandment.” In a separate line below, and by itself, we have these words, “Appointed to be read in churches.” Now, as the Book never was submitted to Parliament, never to any Convocation, nor, as far as it is known, ever to the Privy Council, James, by

³ In 1635, the same year in which he obtained his *last* patent, Robert Barker the elder became involved in difficulties which landed him in the King's Bench, where he lived ten years, and where he died in 1645.

this title-page, was simply following, or made to follow, in the train of certain previous editions. As for Elizabeth, his immediate predecessor, we have already seen, that under her long reign, there was another version, beside the Bishops', and that the former enjoyed the decided preponderance in public favour : so, in the present instance, that there might be no mistake or misapprehension, in regard to the influence or *authority* by which our present Bible came to be universally received, a result somewhat similar took place.

"We can assign," says Professor Lee, of Edinburgh, "no other *authority* for using the present version of the Bible, except that of the Conference at Hampton Court." But that Conference had no authority at all, in point of law. The King wrote a letter, by his Archbishop, to the Dignitaries of the Church, but after that *one* letter, so abortive in one of its objects, he spoke no more. "After this translation was published," says a writer in the *Bibliotheca Literaria*, "the others all dropt off *by degrees*, though I don't find there was any *canon, proclamation, or Act of Parliament* to enforce the use of it." "The present version," says Dr. Symonds, "appears to have made its way without the interposition of *any authority whatever* ; for it is not easy to discover any traces of a proclamation, canon, or statute published to enforce the use of it." Sometimes indeed at an episcopal visitation, the question, "Have you a large Bible of the *last* translation?" was put to the churchwardens. But such inquiries only proceeded in virtue of the King's personal authority over that Church of which he was recognised as the head, and could have too little effect to account for the growing use of the new version.

One mighty advantage, besides its general superiority as a translation to all its predecessors, consisted in its being *without note or comment*. That which sunk the Geneva Version, excellent though it was, into oblivion sooner than it otherwise would, was the dead-weight of its notes. Though it continued to be printed by Barker up to 1618 or later, and when he ceased, was printed in Holland, and imported down to 1640 into England, and much later into Scotland, it gradually gave way to the newer and better version.

Under the gradual disclosure of attested facts, in regular

succession from Henry the Eighth down to this period ; while establishing the high independence of the English Bible as a distinct undertaking, and not to be confounded with other things ; the present history may seem to have borne hard upon some men in high places ; since it has bereaved the reigning prince, as well as some of his titled advisers, of an honour and influence which have too often been falsely ascribed to them. But in never soliciting their patronage, and in no vital point admitting of their control, it becomes a very observable circumstance, that, at this crisis, when the question of our present version of the Bible came to be settled for two centuries to come, the history will effectually redeem itself from all imputations as to anything invidious towards the Crown, *as the Crown*. The course it held under *monarchical* government, will not change when this is *gone*. Let executive human power be held by whomsoever it might, if put forth here, in the shape of control, it cannot be allowed, and, like former attempts, it must come to nothing. The proposal may be hinted, but it will die away.

It happened about eight years after the death of Laud, and four after that of Charles the First, that a Bill was introduced into the Long Parliament, on the 11th of January, 1653, for “ a new English translation of the Bible out of the original tongues.” Such a Bill, it must be remembered, had never before been laid before any *previous* Parliament in England. Once upon a time indeed, under Edward VI., we have seen that a Bill was brought before the Senate referring simply to the *reading* of the Bible, which was never mentioned a second time, or heard of more ; but respecting any version, or revision of the Scriptures, as the consent of Convocation had *never* been deemed necessary, so that of Parliament had *never* been consulted. At a period, therefore, when there was no King upon the throne, no Primate in existence, nor any House of Lords, such a proposed Bill excites special notice ; while as an attempt on the part of official power to interfere, it becomes the more striking, as being of a new character. The Bill was once mentioned, and only once ; but the Parliament of the *Lord-Brethren* must no more invade the peculiar character of this cause, than the Parliament of royalty ; nor must the sovereignty of the people be flattered, any more

than the sovereignty of the Prince. This Parliament had already sat for more than twelve years, retaining the supreme authority in their hands, so that this Bill sunk into oblivion by the well-known dissolution of the House soon after. On the 20th of April, Cromwell, surrounded by some of his officers and several hundred men, repaired to the Parliament, and after hearing them for a quarter of an hour discuss the question as to the form of their own dissolution, he rose and peremptorily settled it. In the way which has been so often described, he upbraided certain members, dissolved the House, ordering the members to disperse, the mace to be taken away, and carrying the keys of the House with him, in the afternoon of the same day, he also dissolved the Council of State.

It was just at the time that the London press was occupied with the last volumes of the London Polyglot, edited by Walton, in 1657, that the final attempt to interfere with our present version occurred. Walton himself and a few others appear as though they were about to reconsider it; that is, they were deputed to do so, but as they come before us under the orders of a *parliamentary* sub-committee, they were not allowed to proceed. The existing Parliament had been summoned by Cromwell, as the Lord Protector, to represent *England, Scotland, and Ireland*. They had chosen what they were pleased to style "The grand committee for Religion," but whatever else they had done, or did after, they must not interfere in regard to the Scriptures. This Committee assembled at the house of Lord Commissioner Whitlock, who has himself recorded their fruitless attempt in the following words:—

"Jan. 16, 1656," (that is, 1657,) "ordered that it be referred to a sub-committee to send for and advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castell, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Poulk, Dr. Cudworth, and such others as they shall think fit; and to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein to this committee; and that it be specially commended to the Lord Commissioner Whitlock to take care of this business."

This Committee accordingly often met, from this date to November following, when they gave in a Report. They might say what they pleased, as to any existing impressions of the Bible, but, as an *official* body, they must not touch with the Translation itself. Accordingly they had occasion to reprobate

the incorrectness of certain editions, but particularly one, printed by John Field for the Barkers, in 1653, or twenty years after their father had been fined under Charles, for the same crime. As for the Translation itself, they made several remarks upon some mistakes ; while they agreed, that, as a whole, it was “ *the best of any translation in the world.*” In this testimony, Walton, Castell, Pocock, Seldon, and others concurred ; but official authority could not be permitted to proceed any farther.

Parliament was soon dissolved, and from about this period *the general acquiescence of the nation in that version of the Bible, which has been read and revered ever since, may be considered as having taken place.* The reader cannot fail to mark the *season* of this very important national occurrence ; but of this we must refrain from taking any farther notice, till the History of the Bible in SCOTLAND be brought down to the same period.

SCOTLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

BRIEF NOTICE OF SCOTLAND DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES—THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH BEFORE THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN PRINT WERE FIRST IMPORTED.

BEFORE the Sacred Volume in our vernacular tongue, and in a printed form, was brought into England itself, we had occasion to notice the two preceding centuries; and it would be doing injustice to the northern part of our island, were we not now to glance, however briefly, at the same period.

The early connexion of Scotland with France is distinguished by the institution of the Scots College, or "*Séminaire des Ecossais*," in Paris, founded in 1325, by the Bishop of Moray; and in the revival of literature during the fourteenth century, such as it was, individual natives of Scotland must have taken an interest, if one of her sons may be admitted in evidence. In furnishing a poetical historian, contemporary with Wickliffe and Chaucer, of whom an Englishman, even Wharton, has told us, that he "adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, far superior to the age;" Caledonia had so far already proved herself to be no unmeet "nurse for a poetic child." We refer to John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the author of "*The Bruce*"—a *soothfast* history of the life and adventures of Robert the First; for, independently of its poetical merits, it is acknowledged to be a book of good authority. "Barbour," says Dr. Irving, "was evidently skilled in such branches of knowledge as were then cultivated; and his learning was so well regulated, as to conduce to the improvement of his mind: the liberality of his views, and the humanity of his sentiments, appear occasionally to have been unconfined by the narrow boundaries of his own age." His apostrophe to Freedom, like the earliest lark of the morning, though hailing a day which he could not anticipate, has been quoted with admiration in his own country, at the distance of more than four hundred and fifty years.

"Ah! freedom is a noble thing!—
Though he that aye has lived free
May not know well the property."

This work, finished about the year 1375, was written while Wickliffe was yet busy with his translation of the Scriptures; and we notice them together,

simply for the purpose of remarking, that as there was but little difference in the phraseology of the Scottish and English writers of this period, so the prose of Wickliffe must have been as intelligible in North Britain, as the poetry of Barbour in the south. "The obscure and capricious spelling," it has been said, may, perhaps, deter some readers from a perusal of "The Bruce," (a supposition equally applicable to Wickliffe;) "but it is very remarkable, that Barbour, who was contemporary with Gower and Chaucer, is more intelligible to a modern reader, than either of these English writers." Nor was the language unfelt by those who first read it. On the contrary, so highly was the work appreciated, that, by Robert II., the author had a pension assigned to him, which was punctually paid until the day of his death in 1395.

Seventeen years, however, before that event, this man, along with the rest of his countrymen, had taken part in that great controversy, which agitated all Europe, when Scotland and England became divided in opinion, and on a point of such vital importance as the Pontificate itself. To this subject, reference has already been made, in our introduction at the commencement of the volume; but to understand it now, so far as Scotland was concerned, we know not of a shorter method, than that of exhibiting the two countries in the position which they respectively occupied for nearly half a century.

ENGLISH PONTIFF.	CHOSEN.	DEPOSED.	RESIGNED.	DIED.	SCOTTISH PONTIFF.	CHOSEN.	DIED.
Urban VI.	1378.	....	....	1389.	Clement VII.	1378.	1394.
Boniface IX.	1389.	....	....	1404.	Benedict XIII.	1394.	1424.
Innocent VII.	1404.	....	....	1406.			
Gregory XII.	1406.	1409.	1415.	1417.			
Alexander V.	1409.	....	....	1410.			
John XXII.	1410.	....	1415.	1419.			
<i>The Chair now vacant, two years and five months.</i>							
Martin V.	1417.	....	....	1431.	Clement VIII.	1424.	1429

Thus strikingly had Providence shed confusion into the counsels of Rome; and throughout the whole period, there must have been a degree of mental agitation such as the entire island had not experienced for many a day, if, indeed, ever before. During all these years, England had been bowing to seven different Pontiffs in succession; but six of these Scotland would never acknowledge. On the contrary, she abode by Clement and Benedict, two different men; and yet it was at one of the most perplexing moments of this schism, or in 1411, that the first University in Scotland was founded at St. Andrews. Then, there were three rivals before the world; Gregory, Benedict, and John; and the grand question of the day was, *which* was the true Pontiff. Two years before this, the Council of Pisa, by way of allaying all strife, had increased the confusion, by deposing Benedict, the Scottish, and Gregory, the English Pontiff; leaving both England and Scotland to make their choice of Alexander V., a poor feeble character. England acquiesced, but Scotland had taken her ground, and was never to be moved; though her Monarch, James I., was then a captive in England, unrighteously detained. The consequence was, that when the University of St. Andrews came to be founded, Henry Wardlaw, the Bishop, who must have not fewer than six bulls to confirm the appointment, obtained them from Benedict, dated at Paniscola in Arragon, 25th August, 1412. Thus the first school of learning in Scotland received its authority from Peter de Luna, then in his 80th year, but a *deposed* Pontiff; while two other men besides himself, Gregory and John, were fighting for the same chair.

Nor was this the only college established in Scotland under the fifteenth century. The breach as to Rome once more healed, the delusive idea, that the promotion of such literature would be able to secure the prolongation of spiritual and temporal power, had taken full possession of different Pontiffs, and especially of Nicholas V. By his authority, therefore, and while they were running riot at Rome, in keeping their noted Jubilee of 1450, the University of Glasgow was founded; a place then containing only about fifteen hundred inhabitants, or not the one hundred and seventieth part of its present population. A second college at St. Andrews, St. Salvator's, followed in 1455, and King's College, Aberdeen, in 1594-5. Thus, in Scotland, as well as in England, before the learning or philosophy of Greece had reached either country, what was called scholastic erudition was first permitted to put forth its powers, and prove to posterity its utter impotence for doing good. The human mind, however, in Scotland, as well as in other countries, was evidently waking up; though in all this it is not difficult to perceive only the first efforts of "the old learning," to prevent the slightest innovation, or the introduction of a better day. They were so many feeble attempts, akin to the grand exploit of Wolsey at Oxford, in the early part of the next century. Henry Wardlaw has been to Avignon, and lived in friendship with Benedict. As it was from him he had received his appointment to the See of St. Andrews, from him he returned as his Legate for Scotland, with full powers. This was in 1404, or the same year in which James the First, then on his way to France, was seized by Henry IV. of England; so that for twenty years Wardlaw was left free to pursue his own plans. The University was concocted in union with Benedict, and when first set on foot, it was through the efforts of learned men, who gratuitously afforded their services as professors, rather than from any stipendiary patronage either of a public or private character. For above sixty years the professors had no fixed salaries, and the students paid no fees, so that we have before us rather a nursery in favour of existing opinions, than a school of learning, intended for the ultimate benefit of the people at large. Thus, on the release of James in 1424, so far from any improvement in morals, to check the licentiousness of the ecclesiastics, the king had to labour in establishing schools, such as should be available to all ranks, as well as not hold the sword in vain. In short, it turned out, that the Legate of Benedict, though proverbially a hospitable man, was a far greater enemy to what he deemed heresy, than to open immorality; and the first bloodshed in Scotland for opinions held, was shed not only under his sway, but in the city where he had founded his University. Two men are well known to have suffered by his authority; and as neither of these were natives of Scotland, it only shows what a dread was felt, lest one ray of light from abroad should disturb the surrounding gloom, or existing authority. John Resby, an Englishman, was condemned in 1408; and in 1432, Paul Craw or Cwarar, a native of Germany or Bohemia, but certainly a disciple of Huss; both being burnt to ashes, as the punishment then affixed to the operations of the human mind. The death of this Bohemian, who is described, by one annalist, as having "first displayed the bright beams of the Gospel in St. Andrews," must have been regarded at the moment as a great achievement, since it stands even now in strange association with the venerable remains of Melrose Abbey. Very soon after, that monastery was given in reward to an abbot who had acted as the chief persecutor! "This year," 1433,

says Sir James Balfour, "the king, at the earnest solicitation of the clergy, but especially Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, bestowed the Abbey of Melrose upon a lubberly monk of the Cistercian order, named John Fogo, who had written a blasphemous pamphlet against Paul Craw's heresy."

The reign of superstition continued to maintain its supremacy; but though the progress of knowledge was slow, the efforts of genius in certain directions, during the latter part of the fifteenth century, and the opening of the next, were not to be repressed. The names of William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, of Kennedy and Henryson, of John Mair, Sir David Lindsay, and others, were quite sufficient to allow of Scotland taking no inferior place in the rising dawn of literature. Dunbar has been frequently styled the Scottish Chaucer: and Douglas was the first translator of a Roman classic into the English language; his own original poetry prefixed to the different books of the *Æneid* having received the warmest praise of the present day.

James IV. was decidedly in favour of the progress of letters. Witness only "The Thistle and the Rose," by Dunbar—a poem full of picturesque beauty—presented to James, in 1503, on the occasion of his marriage to Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII. By the king's sanction also, and under his own eye at Edinburgh, the art of printing itself was introduced into Scotland. The first patent was granted, in 1507, to Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar, his workman; and they set up their press accordingly in "the Southgate." But though the press was set up, the idea of applying that art to its noblest end, or the printing of the Sacred Scriptures, and in Edinburgh, was not to be cherished for seventy years to come. We are left, therefore, to inquire at what time any part of the Sacred Volume, printed in our native tongue, had first reached the shores of North Britain.

BOOK III.


SCOTLAND.

From James the Fifth to the Commonwealth.

REIGN OF JAMES V.

MDXXVI.

STATE OF SCOTLAND—THE FIRST INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE—EARLIEST ARRIVALS AT EDINBURGH AND ST. ANDREWS—SINGULAR CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY, AND ESPECIALLY OF ITS PRIMATE, AT THE MOMENT.

HE first introduction of the New Testament into England, by Tyndale, has been fully described, and it must have been felt how much the existing state of the country deepened our interest in that ever memorable event: the state of Scotland immediately before, and at the same moment, will complete the picture as to the entire island. For nearly eight years longer, it is true, the inhabitants of both countries regarded each other with no amicable feeling. Monarch and people considered the interests of the two kingdoms to be perfectly distinct, and far from being disposed to union, they viewed each other with proverbial jealousy, and fought accordingly. In the year 1526, therefore, more especially after England had gained such influence in the

north, the idea that the monarch of the inferior state would ultimately become the sovereign of the whole island, must have been treated with disdain ; but that the change, when it did take place, whatever was the character of that King personally, would be overruled for introducing, to all alike, that Sacred Volume, which has been read ever since, is a result which would then have been regarded with equal scorn by *both* parties. Yet thus early, and whatever might be the feelings entertained, or sentiments then held, on either side of the Tweed, it seems as if the Governor among the nations, regarding them as only one people, had begun to act accordingly. If it shall turn out that the highest gift which He has ever bestowed upon both countries, was conveyed to them both at the *same* period ; if the only effectual cement or remedy, for all local and petty antipathies, was then first supplied to both, however imperceptibly, and hitherto unnoticed, certainly the fact well deserves to be traced out, and will, it is presumed, fully reward attention.

In 1526, when the New Testament in English was, as far as is known, *first* introduced into Scotland, that kingdom was in a state of the greatest distraction. On looking over the criminal trials of the day, we see but one continued series of slaughter and theft, treason and deadly feud. James V. was yet a minor, and three parties had been struggling for the mastery ; *one*, under the Earl of Arran and the Queen Mother, sister to Henry VIII. ; *another*, under the Duke of Albany and James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews ; and the *third*, under the Earl of Angus and the Douglasses, *in the pay of England*. The last of these soon gained the ascendancy and seized the person of the young king, who, against his will, was kept in thralldom by this party. The other two parties united and did what they could to obtain the person of James. An appeal at length was made to the sword, but in the battle of Linlithgow, Angus was victorious, the Queen Mother had to escape in disguise, and Beaton, the counsellor of the party, was compelled to provide for his personal safety, assuming the garb of a shepherd, and remaining on the hills for several months.

The news, on reaching the English court, were hailed with joy by Henry and his Cardinal ; and from a letter of Sir Thomas More to the latter, it is evident that it was the policy of Wolsey

to get Beaton into his power, and that instructions were sent to Angus and his party to "provide and see so substantial order taken, that none *evil weed* have power to spring up too high."¹

Archbishop Beaton having exchanged his palace or castle for the hills, and his crosier for a shepherd's crook, it had been well for himself, as well as the interests of humanity, had he abode by his occupation to the day of his death. At present, however, he could do nothing, and must keep as quiet as possible; but it will not be out of place or uniustructive to observe what was doing in England at the same moment.

Wolsey, as a politician, was evidently playing one of his double games with Scotland, as well as with the Continent; a proof of his consummate talents for worldly business all round him, in every direction; but he was now also enraged at the existence of Tyndale's Testaments, recently detected in Antwerp, and straining every nerve to get them burnt; while Tunstal, Bishop of London, was not only authenticating the book for this end, but he and Warham of Canterbury, in October and November, were thundering out their injunctions against the Sacred Volume as "pestiferous poison." Now, after all that we have witnessed in England; while they were thus up in arms, and while Beaton, the grand enemy in Scotland, was laid aside—wrapped up in his shepherd's disguise, or tending his sheep on the hills—it would certainly be a curious and memorable coincidence, if the same sacred treasure was then arriving in Scotland at different ports, not excepting St. Andrews itself; if indeed the earliest copies had not secretly arrived in the course of the summer! But we shall see presently.

With regard to the first introduction into Scotland of the Sacred Volume in a printed form, the historian has never yet been able to proceed farther than a shrewd conjecture. It has been supposed that the translation of Tyndale may or must have found its way there; but when, how early, or by what means, we have never been told. If it can now be proved that the book was conveyed to Scotland as well as England, not only by the same method, but nearly about the same time, and certainly

¹ Gov. State Papers, iv. p. 458, *note*.

within the compass of the same year, the reader cannot fail to return with fresh interest to the period. This would be sufficient to render the year 1526 equally memorable in Caledonia, as in Old England.²

² There is no reason to suppose, even as to Scotland, that Wickliffe had laboured in vain, more especially as his language was equally intelligible with that of its native writers, Barbour or Dunbar. Fragments of his translation in MS. must have found their way north. We know that soon after his death, in 1390, his writings were answered by a Scotch divine, Robert Hamilton. As early as 1402, English ecclesiastics accused of "unsoundness in the faith" were sought for in Scotland; while in 1494, from twenty to thirty families, chiefly resident in Ayrshire, were reprimanded for "new opinions." George Campbell of Cesnock, Reid of Barskimming, Campbell of Newmills, Shaw of Polkemmet, with the ladies of Stair and Pokellie and other persons of distinction, were among the number. Our information in regard to the *vernacular Scriptures* themselves, hitherto has been vague and indistinct. But that the New Testament in manuscript was in existence and in the best use, under the reign of James IV., we are able to give one veritable proof, though never before presented to the English reader. Alexander Ales, addressing James V., in the year 1534, in favour of the domestic reading of the Scriptures, says—"I remember the most excellent king your father, a very brave prince, by a remarkable testimony, approved of this domestic practice. There was in your kingdom a man, not only of rank, but also distinguished for his exalted piety, John Campbell, Laird of Cesnock. His house might have been an example of Christian instruction. For he had a priest at home, who read to him and his family the New Testament in their vernacular language; and the morals both of himself and of his family corresponded with the Gospel. He also assisted the poor in all kind offices; and although he had learned from the Gospel that superstition and hypocrisy were displeasing to God, that he might not seem partial to any rank he was wont to receive also the monks into his hospitable abode. There, when at times he would familiarly converse with his guests upon Christian doctrine, certain hypocrites, as it happened, understood that he attacked some of their superstitions. At last, his mind having been often sounded, the monks, violating the law of hospitality, carried his name to the Bishop and accused him of heresy. In that suit, when, after long disputation, it appeared that both he and his wife were in danger of their lives, Campbell appealed to the King. Although the monks were grievously offended, that the King should call the cause before himself, still he thought it belonged to his good faith and humanity that to good and noble men he should not fail to do his duty. He therefore graciously heard the cause on both sides; and when the husband, from natural reserve, and not a little agitated by fear of the monks, answered with modesty, the King commanded the *wife* to plead the cause. She then, *quoting the Scriptures*, refuted the charges brought against them, so distinctly and wisely, that the King not only acquitted the defendants, Campbell with his wife and the priest, but also, rising up, he kissed the lady and extolled her diligence in Christian doctrine. Having severely reproved the monks, he threatened, that if ever they created trouble of this sort, to such honourable and innocent persons, he would punish them severely. To Campbell himself he presented

In their commercial intercourse with the Continent, Scotland and England were altogether independent of each other, and the trade of the former with the Low Countries was of equally ancient standing; but it is of importance to observe, that, by this period, and by the authority of Parliament, the Scottish merchants generally *went along with their goods*, and that none were allowed to do so, but persons "*able and of good fame*." So much the better, or more in favour of what was now to take place.

The reader can scarcely fail to remember what a battle was fought in Antwerp respecting the New Testaments of Tyndale, when first detected there, and how the Ambassador of England, John Hackett, got himself so embroiled in the business; Wolsey and Tunstal being not more fierce at home than he was abroad. Hackett's object was to "see justice done" upon all such English books as were entitled "The New Testament." By "justice done," he meant burning them; and this he said was for "the preservation of the *Christian faith*." Now it is in the very midst of this, the first onset in that long war, that we have positive information as to Scotland; and while it must be new to the reader, it happens to be fully as distinct as any we have read in the history of England, if not more so. Hackett was in busy correspondence both with Cardinal Wolsey and Brian Tuke, the Secretary of State. It was to the former he addressed a letter, dated from Mechlin, on Wednesday the 20th of February, 1526, that is, 1527; from which the following is an extract:—

"Please your Grace to understand that since my last writing to your Grace, I

certain villages, that there might remain an honourable token of his decision, and of his goodwill toward him."*

This John Campbell of Cesnock was the immediate successor of George, already mentioned. He appears to have been a son worthy of his father, and as James IV. fell at Flodden in 1513, the occurrence must have taken place at least thirteen years before the New Testament of Tyndale could have arrived in Scotland, but most probably still earlier. Such an anecdote is in perfect harmony with the character of the monarch, by no means disposed blindly to follow the priests or monks of his day; nor can we adduce an incident of deeper interest before any part of the Sacred Volume, in print, was imported into England itself.

* Alexandri Alesii Scotti Responsio ad Cochlei calumnias, 1534.

have received none of yours. I trust by this time that your Grace has ample information of such execution and justice as has been done in the towns of Antwerp and Barrow (now Bergen-op-Zoom) upon all *such* English books as we could find in these countries, similar to *three* such other books as your Grace sent unto me, with my Lord the Bishop of London's signature.

"By my last writing to Mr. Brian Tuke (4 January, 1527) I advertised him how that there *were* *DIVERS merchants of Scotland that bought many* of such like books, and took them into Scotland; a part to *Edinburgh*, and *most* part to the town of *St. Andrews*.

"For the which cause, when I was at Barrow, being advertised that the Scottish ships were in Zealand, for there the said books were laden, I went suddenly thitherward, thinking, if I had found such stuff there, that I would cause to make as good a *fire* of them, as there has been done of the remnant in Brabant; *but fortune would not that I should be in time*; for the foresaid ships were departed *a day afore my coming*. So I must take patience for all my labour, with leaving My Lady Margaret's letters, and good instructions with my Lord of Bever, and the.....Mr....off...concerning the foresaid business."³

Mons. de Bever, who was Lord of Campvere, and Admiral of Flanders, had been in London only in March 1525, as Ambassador from Lady Margaret, Regent of Flanders, and must have been fully aware of Wolsey's imperious temper, as he had then insulted himself; but it is not a little remarkable, that, at this very moment, confidence in the Court of England was failing, if not gone; the double dealing of the Cardinal on the Continent had been detected, and for some time to come, no attention will be paid to any request from *that* quarter. The Lord of Campvere was not so likely therefore to quarrel with the Scottish traders at their *own* staple port; nor is there the slightest evidence of Wolsey having conveyed the intelligence he had received to Scotland, a circumstance the more remarkable since he was so annoyed with the subject. He had, it is true, far higher game in prospect. The sack of Rome itself first, and then his own splendid embassy to France, engrossed him; but, besides, when these last ships arrived, Beaton lay under his frown, and in concealment! Hackett, however, certainly refers to importations as already past; and as more business was done in *summer* than in autumn, the probability is, that even these were not the *first* Testaments. At all events, here the channel of conveyance was opened. Besides Leith and St. Andrews, there were the ports of Dundee, Montrose, and Aberdeen, which

³ MS. Cotton, Galba, B. vi., fol. 4.

all traded with Zealand ; and as in Scotland there were no official steps taken against the *New Testament* by name, for at least five years after this, the book must have arrived, again and again, at all these ports. This is easily understood, after the scene we have witnessed in England, in the face of far greater and more vigilant opposition. But farther evidence awaits us.

Thus, although England and Scotland were washed by the same sea, the one country was to be, in no degree, dependent upon the other for the Word of Life ; either at first, or for years to come. Into both, it was to be imported, and both were to stand alike on the same humble ground, as *recipients*. Nor when first conveyed, in either case, was it to be by some one man of great mental energy rising up, and rousing the attention of his countrymen to the truth of God. Quite the reverse. But having once made of the Scottish Primate a fugitive, in terror of his life, it was the God of Providence himself finding His way into the very metropolis of superstition, as well as other sea-ports ; pouring contempt upon the crafty, and saying, in effect to the people of *Scotland*, as well as *England*, at the same moment—"From henceforth let no man glory in men ; let veneration for foreign names, or for that of any man, who shall afterwards rise in either country, never be carried to an undue or idolatrous extent."

For a number of years the same providential course of supply was steadily pursued ; so that afterwards should any boasting or vain-glory, in connexion with Christianity, ever be heard, whether in the south or the north, a most singular foundation had been laid, for replying as Paul once did to his Corinthians, "*What ! came the Word of God out from you, or came it unto you only ? For who made thee to differ ? And what hast thou which thou didst not receive ?*"—among all the other nations of Europe, by way of eminence, *receive ?* Petty or narrow-minded rivalry has too often been evinced between England and Scotland, as to priority in smaller matters ; but there was to be no room left for boasting in regard to the *greatest of all*. That such coincidence should never have been observed before, may indeed seem strange ; but once pointed out, it certainly was not intended to be simply noticed, and so forgotten. Let it rather be improved, even at this late hour, to the praise of Him, who thus,

in spite of every species of hostility, so signally conveyed His own word to the very camps of the enemy—to the north as well as the south, about the same period—to Edinburgh as well as London—to the mouth of the Eden at St. Andrews, and no doubt other places, as well as to the mouth of the Thames, or to Oxford and Cambridge! In this point of view, the year 1526 becomes by far the most remarkable in the annals of our common country. The New Testament thus conveyed to both countries, was dreaded and deprecated by both alike, and as an evil of the greatest magnitude. More than ten years passed away in England, before their greatest national blessing was accepted or allowed by the sovereign; it was seventeen years before a similar allowance occurred in Scotland. Where then, ever since, has there been any ground for boasting? It is excluded; and that by the simple and authentic history of the Sacred Volume itself.

The Scriptures, however, once introduced, one is curious to inquire after the Archbishop. To an ambitious mind no punishment could be more severe than that of retirement and disguise, and Beaton was soon thoroughly sick of both; but he was very rich, and must now therefore try what money could effect. The Queen first ventured from her concealment, and approaching to Edinburgh on Tuesday the 4th of November, or two months after the fatal battle, was met on the road at Corstorphine by her youthful son, the King, and other Lords, who conducted her to Holyrood. This so far paved the way for Beaton's release, but as Angus had all men in his power, "to fine and ransom at his pleasure," mere personal influence was not to avail, and least of all that of the Queen Mother. David Beaton, therefore, the primate's nephew, the future Cardinal, was now in Edinburgh, negotiating for the fugitive; and through the noted Sir Archibald Douglas, Provost of the city, an uncle of the Earl of Angus, he at last succeeded. To the Earl of Arran the Archbishop had to present the Abbey of Kilwinning; to Angus himself, in money, two thousand marks Scots; to George and Archibald Douglas, one thousand each, and to Hamilton, the murderer of Lennox, one thousand. Five thousand marks and an abbey was certainly no trifling ransom in those days. After all, though Beaton was released by the end of the year,

and was keeping Christmas with the Queen in Edinburgh, he was but barely forgiven, and not to be trusted. Soon after, both the Queen and he had to withdraw from the seat of the Court, and to Stirling once more.⁴ Restored, however, to his episcopal functions, we shall see, only too soon, the base and ungrateful use which he made of his power. But so ended the year 1526.

MDXXVII.—MDXXVIII.

CONSTERNATION OF THE AUTHORITIES IN SCOTLAND—THE NEW TESTAMENT SOON FOLLOWED BY ONE LIVING VOICE, THAT OF PATRICK HAMILTON—HIS MARTYRDOM—ALEXANDER SETON, THE NEXT WITNESS, PERSECUTED—HE ESCAPES TO ENGLAND—THE NEW TESTAMENT GOES ON TO BE IMPORTED.

ONCE more the analogy between England and Scotland is presented to our view. Under the English history we had occasion to observe, that as early as 1520, some alarm had been felt respecting what was called Lutheranism, the phrase of the day for any approach to Scriptural truth, even though the party molested might never have heard of Luther's name, or, at least, read a page of his writings. So Scotland was soon seized with similar alarm, and by the 17th of July, 1525, an Act of Parliament had passed, enacting, that "no manner of persons, *strangers*, that happen to arrive with their ships, within any part of this realm, *bring with them* any books or works of the said Luther, his disciples or servants," on pain of imprisonment, besides the forfeiture of their ships and goods. Now, whether what was taking place last year as to books imported was known, we have no positive evidence; but at all events, by the autumn of this year there was fresh alarm, and that not owing to *strangers*. In the month of August 1527, the Earl of Angus having got himself appointed to be Chancellor, with Dunbar, the Bishop of Aberdeen and uncle of Dunbar the Archbishop of Glasgow, to assist him; Angus and

⁴ Gov. State Papers, iv., pp. 461, 463.

the Lords of Council added the following clause to the Act of 1525 :—"And all other, *the king's lieges*, assistaries to such opinions, be punished in seemable wise, and the effect of the said Act to strike upon *them*." Thus, between July 1525 and September 1527, as it was determined to extend those penalties to natives of Scotland, we have sufficient proof that importations by *them* had been going on; but while there were, very probably, some other publications, it is not a little extraordinary, that the *only* books which can now be traced, or distinctly specified, should be those of *the New Testament itself* of Tyndale's version. Never, then, let it be overlooked, that if the provisions of this Act were followed out, there existed a time in the history of our country, when, if a vessel arrived at Leith or St. Andrews, at Dundee, Montrose, or Aberdeen, with copies of the New Testament on board, the ship and cargo were liable to confiscation, and the captain to imprisonment! A battle was now to be fought and won, in the north as well as in the south of Britain.

But again, as in England, serious and long-continued persecution did not commence till after the Scriptures had arrived; so it was in Scotland. Copies had soon found their way, and not in vain, to the canons of Cardinal College, Oxford; but so they had to the canons of St. Andrews, as well as other parties. The explosion at Oxford occurred in February 1526, and by February 1528, at the very moment when Tunstal and his vicar-general were sitting in severe judgment on the book in London, the *New Testament* will now be very pointedly referred to, and condemned, within the walls of the Metropolitan Church in Scotland.

The occasion of this, the first storm, is well known. It followed the arrival from abroad, about the autumn of 1527, and the subsequent exertions of one of the loveliest and most interesting of all characters in early Scottish history—Patrick Hamilton. Of the noble army of Martyrs on British ground, during the sixteenth century, he was to be the youthful and heroic leader.

He was born in 1504, the son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, a son of Lord Hamilton who was brother-in-law to James III. His mother was a daughter of John Duke of

Albany, brother to the same monarch, so that by both parents he was related to the royal family of Scotland. His father was killed in the High Street of Edinburgh in a feud between the Earls of Arran and Angus. Patrick, intended for the Church, was educated under the well-known John Major at St. Andrews. There receiving the knowledge of the Word of God, he could not conceal his sentiments, and had to leave with several others for the Continent. This was in 1525, and he was about two years abroad. That he visited Luther and Melancthon at Wittenburg, though not certain, is probable. But at Marburg, from which he returned direct to Scotland, he was intimate with Francis Lambert, John Fryth, and William Tyndale. Though affectionately warned by these friends, and dissuaded from rushing into certain danger, he was pressed in spirit to revisit his country, which he did in 1527. While at Marburg, he wrote his well-known treatises in Latin, "*De Lege et Evangelio*," and "*De Fide et Operibus*," called afterwards, "Patrick's Places." These, soon after his departure, Fryth translated into English, as he says, "to the profit of *my nation*; to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way which leadeth to life everlasting." He speaks of his friend as "that excellent and well-learned young man Patrick Hamilton, born in Scotland, of a noble progeny, who, to testify the truth, sought all means, that he might be admitted to preach the pure Word of God."

Hamilton, on his arrival, had proceeded first to his brother's house in Linlithgowshire, Sir James having succeeded his father as Sheriff of that county; and here, as the sequel proved, he had preached, and conversed not in vain, as well as elsewhere. On the one hand, it has been said of him, that he did not fail to lay open the corruptions of the Church, and the errors by which the souls of men were ruined; but, on the other, that he had not attacked the hierarchy as an Establishment, nor its claims to infallibility. He certainly had not commenced with denunciation, but by preaching the truth itself, by enforcing *the reading of the Scriptures, with the necessity of repentance towards God, and faith in Christ in order to good works*. His discrimination as to the Law and the Gospel, as to Faith and its fruits, was evidently of the first order, very far above the age in which

he suffered ; and as to his mode of procedure, it seems to have exactly corresponded with the counsel which Tyndale gave to Fryth himself, five years after, as already explained. The *Bellum Sacramentarium*, or the bitter strife about ordinances, had commenced on the Continent in 1524, or before Hamilton's reaching Germany, and it was still raging there ; but the zeal of our first martyr was not to be spent on the ceremonial or outward form of Christianity. His was a controversy with the heart, addressed to the soul and spirit of man within him ; and for proof we only need to observe the points which he regarded to be "*undoubtedly true*," and from which all the terrors of the stake could not, for one moment, move him. They were simply these—

"1. That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism. 2. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good. 3. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth. 4. That every Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace. 5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works ; and that an ill man doeth ill works ; yet the same ill works, truly repented of, make not an ill man. 7. That faith, hope, and love, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them, hath all ; and he that lacketh one, lacketh all." All others he denominated "*disputable points*," though such as he could not condemn ; but the above he regarded as *vital* truths.

The youth of Hamilton and his rank, his fine talents and his views of Divine truth, had all combined in producing an immediate impression ; while the power of his family, of which the Earl of Arran was the chief, and who had so resented the death of Patrick's father, must have rendered any open hostility more difficult. The recent union also of Arran with the Earl of Angus, the present possessor of all power, to say nothing of Beaton himself, so lately in disgrace, and Lord Chancellor no more, one should have imagined would have still farther increased the difficulty. These circumstances, however, clearly show the height to which alarm had been excited, or, in other words, the powerful result of this young man's exertions. After the Scriptures had come, it was like a voice crying, "Arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." The panic among the leaders of "the old learning" must have been both great and general, before decided steps were taken ; and these, at last, were accordingly distinguished, not only by deep dissimulation, but Satanic haste.

Invited to St. Andrews by a special message from the Primate, who, with solemn promises of safety, said, he only wished to converse with him, Hamilton went without hesitation. Beaton received him with a hypocritical show of kindness, assigned him a lodging in the city, and so left him to be fully ensnared by a Dominican friar, Alexander Campbell, with whom he had come in contact before his departure for the Continent. Only a very short time was required to draw from the ardent and zealous youth ample ground for accusation to the Archbishop; more especially as Campbell, who was the Prior of his order, had pretended to admit the force of all that Hamilton advanced. In fact, he had been only a few days in St. Andrews, when, under night, he was apprehended in bed and carried to the Castle; and the very next day he was before Beaton, with thirteen different articles laid to his charge, by the man who seems to have long thirsted for his blood. Though drawn into some general conversation at this moment, the youthful martyr, with the finest discrimination, separating the *truths* from the errors, had evidently resolved to die for the confession of the *former*, rather than the denial of the *latter*, and therefore he abode by the seven points already mentioned. So Fox informs us that "learned men who communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that these were the *very* articles for which he suffered." Meanwhile, with a hypocritical show of moderation, Beaton remitted the articles entire to the judgment of fourteen theologians, such as they were, not forgetting, however, to include among the number his base persecutor, Campbell. Within only a day or two more, these men returned their censure, condemning the whole articles as heretical, before a solemn meeting in the Cathedral. This happened on Saturday the 28th of February, 1528; and now, on *the same day*, the prisoner, after all that had been promised by Beaton, was to be tried, condemned, and reduced to ashes, before the sun went down! They trod in the footsteps of the Pharisees of old, for the next day was the Sabbath!

That no small sensation had been created by the youthful and heroic martyr, we only need to glance at the mighty array brought together to condemn him, after a mock trial. Beaton durst not send to the King, and say, as Amaziah the priest did

of Amos to the King of Israel, "*The land is not able to bear all his words;*" but it really seems as if he had sent round, and said something of similar import to his brethren; for here we have more than twenty judges, and all assembled to doom this young man to death. Here, there were the two Archbishops and three Bishops, two Priors and four Abbots, five Rectors and three Deans, a Sub-dean and a Canon, including friars black and friars grey.

The trial, such as it was, formed but a very summary proceeding; but we must not omit part of the brief dialogue between the Martyr and Campbell his accuser, in presence of his judges; as it forms the first evidence on record that *the New Testament* in English, by way of eminence, had become a subject of alarm; the mere reading of it, involving *all* that the hierarchy already feared and deprecated! It seems as if, this Testament having arrived, Hamilton's enforcing the *reading* of it by all, had formed the head and front of his offending; for, the articles being read over by his determined prosecutor, with this he commenced:—

Campbell.—"Heretic, thou sayest it is lawful to any man to read the Word of God, and in special the New Testament?" *Hamilton.*—"I said not so (to you) to my knowledge; but I said, and say it now, it is lawful to all men that have a soul, to read the Word of God, that they may understand the same, and specially the latter will and testament of Jesus Christ, whereby they may acknowledge their sins and repent of the same, whereby they may amend their lives by faith and repentance, and attain salvation by Christ Jesus." *Campbell.*—"Now, heretic, I see that thou affirmest the words of thy accusation." *Hamilton.*—"I affirm nothing, but the words which I have spoken in presence of this auditory."

The auditory to whom he addressed these, and other like words, all condemned him to be guilty of death; and delivering him over to the secular power, on the afternoon of the same day, he was led forth to a stake placed, *in terrorem*, before the gate of St. Salvator's College. On the scaffold, turning affectionately to the faithful servant, who had long attended him, and slept in the same apartment, having divested himself of his gown, his coat, and his bonnet—"These," said he, "will not profit in the fire; they will profit thee. After this thou canst receive no commodity from me except the example of my death, which, I pray thee, bear in mind. For, although it be

bitter to the flesh, yet is it the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess that deny Christ before this wicked generation." When bound to the stake, far from exhibiting any fear, he fixed his eyes towards heaven, commending his soul unto God. The executioners setting fire to the pile, it would not burn, but merely scorched the left side of their victim! In this excruciating state, obliged to send some distance to the Archbishop's Castle for gunpowder, as well as elsewhere for more combustible materials, an immense crowd having assembled, some of whom loudly denounced the persecutors, while others implored the martyr to recant and save his life, he thus addressed them:—

"As for my confession, I will not deny it for fear of your fire, for my confession and belief is in Jesus Christ; and therefore I will not deny it. I will rather that my body be burnt in this fire for confession of my faith in Christ, than that my soul should suffer in the unquenchable fire of hell, for denying of my faith. But as for the sentence and judgment pronounced against me *this* day, by the bishops and doctors, I here, in the presence of you all, appeal against the said sentences and judgment given against me, and betake myself to the mercy of God." Then turning to Campbell, who had acted in the threefold character of traitor, judge, and executioner, as he even now satanically assailed his victim, and reviled him as a heretic, Hamilton closed by adding, "Wicked man! thou knowest the contrary; to me thou hast confessed. I appeal thee before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ."

Amidst the noise and fury of the flames now kindled, and the tumult of the multitude, his last words were distinctly heard—"How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm! How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Thus gloriously fell, as far as we know, the first native of Scotland as an unspotted martyr for the truth, for the Word of God itself, as well as our right to read it.

The powerful consequences resulting from this martyrdom can never now be fully traced; but if we follow them out as far as they may be, it will be evident, that, hitherto, the event has been greatly underrated. The New Testament Scriptures had arrived in Scotland, and they had been reading in secret for at least a year and a quarter. These were God's own providential gift, at a period when the country was full of strife and feud, ferocity and murder. This it was which is to be regarded as the *commencement* of decided blessing from God; and now came

the bold and loud summons from the believer's lips, to rouse the dead in sin, and embolden them to read, believe, and live. A space equal to nearly three generations had passed away since anything so truly horrible had occurred in Caledonia, however stern and wild. Besides, in 1432, it was a foreigner who had suffered; but here was a native, of the most amiable character, and high birth. The report of the martyrdom speedily ran through the kingdom, promoting a spirit of inquiry into the cause, as well as the cause itself. For as truly as Antipas, the faithful martyr of old, so God's most faithful servant had now been "slain among them where Satan dwelt, even where his seat was;" and yet no place was so deeply affected as the spot where the deed was done.

Of the extent of the sensation now produced, it is impossible to judge with accuracy, but of its depth there can be but one opinion, since it actually so far changed the character of this metropolitan city, the Rome of Scotland. From being the stronghold of the Prince of Darkness, it became the seat of deep inquiry and indomitable discussion, among not a few of the students in the different colleges, the canons of the Cathedral, and even the friars. The sufferings endured will furnish the evidence of this.

Another human voice was now demanded; but where shall one be found? Campbell, the prior of the order of St. Dominic, or the Black Friars, had betrayed this heroic young man, and who so proper to speak next, as a brother of the *same* fraternity? The Friar who had been *appointed* to preach throughout Lent, in the Cathedral itself, it might seem far too much to expect, but in truth it was no other! He was the first to sound again the trumpet of truth, and that almost immediately after the Martyr had gone to receive his crown. Opening his lips, they found he was no other than what they denominated a heretic! Standing on the very spot where the murderers had sat in judgment, this, as the prophet once expressed it, was as if "the stone had cried out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber had answered it." Nor was the preacher himself, from his official character, less remarkable. The Archbishop, as well as all under his authority, were afraid to touch him, he being actually the Father Confessor of the King himself—that King whom

Beaton had not consulted, and who had therefore not consented to the counsel or deed of these bloody men. This was Friar ALEXANDER SETON, brother of Ninian Seton, or Seytoun of Touch.

In discharging his duty, and following the example of his deeply lamented predecessor, Seton now saw that in the truth itself there was enough to convict all its enemies, and produce dismay ; and that no wise man will ever *commence* his labours by merely attacking superstition, or pulling at prejudices, as he would at a cart-rope ; an egregious mistake, into which many have since fallen. Taking for his subject the law of God itself, Seton insisted much on the following points :—

“That the Law of God is the only rule of righteousness ; that if God’s Law be not violated, no sin is committed ; that it is not in man’s power to satisfy for sin ; that the forgiveness of sin is no otherwise obtained than by unfeigned repentance and true faith, apprehending the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. Of purgatory, pilgrimage, prayer to saints, of merits and miracles, the usual subjects of the friars’ sermons, not a word he spake.”¹

It is remarkable that he should have been permitted to *repeat* his sentiments ; but having been appointed to preach during Lent, this, together with his official character, may have been his safeguard, until he had given his auditory line upon line, and proof after proof. About the end of that season, however, having occasion to go northward to Dundee, he was there informed that a friar of his own order had been set up to refute his doctrine. He then returned to St. Andrews, and the King’s Confessor, not to be resisted, confirmed his former positions, adding, from Scripture, the qualifications required for a good and faithful bishop.

This last subject could not be passed over, and soon brought him before the Archbishop ; but he, knowing Seton to be of a bold spirit, dissembled his anger. Upon another martyrdom he dared not venture so soon, a negative testimony to the power of Hamilton’s death ; nor could the Primate resolve upon trying any expedient, except that of first undermining Seton’s character in the estimation of the young King. This was easily effected, and very soon after. Poor young prince ! His natural powers

¹ Spottiswood, fourth edit., p. 64.

were of no inferior order, but these men, whether nobility or clergy, had allowed him to grow up in a state of comparative ignorance, and of self-indulgence, even to licentiousness: the nobility, that they might rule him as a puppet, which his high spirit could not endure; the clergy, that he might one day fall into their hands, and move only in subservience to their designs. Now, at this very period a crisis had arrived, of the King's emancipation from the *one* party, and his falling under bondage to the *other*. His Highness had groaned from day to day under the iron yoke of the Earl of Angus, who, supported by the influence of England, was the absolute governor of the nation still, though James had been crowned in 1525. Next year the King had applied to some of his nobles to relieve him from bondage, and hence the battle of Linlithgow in 1526. On the watch ever after, at last, on the 22nd or 23rd of May, 1528, he himself dexterously succeeded, by his escape from Falkland to the castle of Stirling; soon after which Angus and the Douglas party were overcome and banished.² In part indebted for his escape to Archbishop Beaton, at this moment the young monarch must have been ready to listen to whatever he said, and hence it was no difficult task to destroy all respect for Seton; while this was rendered still more easy, not only from his having been the Confessor of his Highness in the wearisome days of his thralldom, but because Seton, much to his credit, had warned him respecting his licentiousness.

From what had happened in February, and observing the confidence or respect of the monarch to be on the decline, Seton well knew what must ultimately await him, and seeing no safety on the spot, he fled to Berwick. From thence, however, he wrote to his royal master, a faithful letter, warning him of the men under whose influence he had now fallen. He here explained that the authority of the Bishops, and by no means that of his Highness, was what he dreaded.

They behaved, he said, *as* kings, and would not allow any man of whatever state or degree, if once they pronounced him to be a heretic, to speak in his own defence. Nevertheless, if he might but have audience before the king, he now offered to return and justify his cause. Like a faithful adviser, he then informed James, that in duty he ought to see that every subject accused of his

² Gov. State Papers, vol. iv. Tytler. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

life, should be allowed to use his lawful defences; since the Prelates held that such matters did not fall under the cognizance of the Prince, and if only once heard, he would demonstrate the contrary by *their own* laws. He then besought his Highness not to be led any longer by their informations, but to use the authority committed to him by God, and not to suffer these tyrants to proceed against him, till brought to his answer. This he would not refuse to give, if once assured of the safety of his life.

At Berwick he waited for some reply, but waited in vain. Before this time Angus had been banished, and his estates forfeited; Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, had been appointed Chancellor in August, as his successor, and Beaton, though not yet in power, had been recalled to the Council by the end of November.³ Seton, therefore, retired into England, where he became chaplain to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. As if to show how equally balanced the two countries, England and Scotland, were, with regard to their progress in Divine truth; about thirteen years after, or in 1541, Seton was called before Stephen Gardiner, and examined, but denied not any point which he had formerly taught. He even continued to preach the truths with which he had been charged, and died, it has been said, next year, or 1542.

In the meanwhile, or before the close of 1528, it is pleasing to find any information whatever, bearing on the Scriptures, and their continued importation. The friars now were more busy everywhere than they had ever been, since friars were in fashion. The reader may recollect of one, under our history as to England, Friar John West. Earnestly charged, by Wolsey, with despatches to Counsellor Herman Rincke of Cologne, their united efforts were to be employed in the apprehension of Tyndale himself, and of William Royce, once his amanuensis; or, at all events, their books. With regard to the men they entirely failed, but a number of what Rincke calls "*their books*," he had found out and secured. These must have included copies of the New Testament, as well as Royce's celebrated Satyre on the Cardinal, a personal affair, which the latter so deeply resented. One short passage in Rincke's reply to Wolsey, dated the 4th of October, 1528, and sent by West, deserves to be repeated here—

"But these books, unless I had found them out and interposed, must have

³ Gov. State Papers, iv., pp. 476, 540.

been pressed together with parchment, and concealed; and enclosed in packages, artfully covered over with flax, they would in time, without any suspicion, have been transmitted by sea, into *Scotland and England, as to the same place*; and would have been sold as merely clean paper; but as yet, few or none of those, carried away and sold, have been found."

Here then we have distinct mention of a continued *traffic* going on, and of one of the asserted methods of transit, for there must have been various; nor is it less worthy of repetition, that the *Jews* are to be supposed as having had some concern in these importations, whether "to Scotland or England, as to the *same place*."

MDXXIX.—MDXXXIV.

ALL-IMPORTANT PERIOD, HITHERTO UNNOTICED—ALEXANDER ALES—CRUELLY PERSECUTED BY HEPBURN, THE PRIOR OF ST. ANDREWS—AT LAST ESCAPES BY SEA, FROM DUNDEE, FIRST TO FRANCE, AND THEN TO GERMANY—HIS EPISTLE ADDRESSED TO JAMES V.; OR THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIRST REGULAR CONTROVERSY IN BRITAIN RESPECTING THE SCRIPTURES PRINTED IN THE VULGAR TONGUE—THE ABUSIVE PUBLICATION OF COCHLÆUS IN REPLY—THE REPRESENTATIONS OF ALES CONFIRMED BY THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE SECOND MARTYRDOM—ANSWER OF ALES TO THE CALUMNIES OF COCHLÆUS—ALES PLEADS FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT TO BE READ—BUT ESPECIALLY IN FAMILIES—COCHLÆUS ADDRESSES JAMES V.—AND IS REWARDED—THE PERSECUTIONS AND MARTYRDOMS OF 1534 AGAIN CONFIRM THE STATEMENTS OF ALES—WHO IS NOW STANDING BY HIMSELF ALONE IN DEFENCE OF THE TRUTH.



E are now arrived at a very memorable period in the history of Scotland. It involves a space of five years, from the year 1529 to 1534 inclusive, and yet it has been treated by all our historians as a sort of chasm, or calm in the annals of persecution. No author has informed us that there was, at such a time, one fragment of distinct information in existence, respecting the Sacred Volume; its importation into the country; its being bought, or sold, and read by the people; or that such reading was being so bitterly opposed. This is the more surprising, since, upon this subject, it forms one of the most interesting periods in the early history of the *entire* island. Commencing

seven years before Henry the Eighth had decidedly broken off from Rome, and while both the South and North were still under the dominant power of "the old learning;" yet was it the season of the *first* regular controversy in Britain, though carried on with Scotland, respecting the Sacred Volume in our native language; as well as the undoubted right of every one, "both low and high, rich and poor together," to read the Scriptures for themselves.

The first individual who took up this argument, one of the highest which can occupy the tongue or the pen of man, was ALEXANDER ALES, whose name does occur in our histories, as an exile from his native land, and a professor at Leipsic, where he died, but his chief claim to his country's grateful remembrance seems to have been altogether overlooked. Fond recollections of his native city while in a foreign land, led him to write a description of it, which is the only work of his reprinted in modern times; but his exertions in reference to the free circulation of the Scriptures in the language of the people, call for some notice here.

He was born in Edinburgh on the 23rd of April, 1500. His father was a burghess of the city, and gave his son such education at home as fitted him for entering the University of St. Andrews. At that seat of learning, having completed the usual course of study, he took priests' orders, and became one of the Canons of the Cathedral Church in that city, then the largest in Scotland. We hear nothing more of him, however, till he had reached the twenty-eighth year of his age. Then, as a proof that the alarm of the bishops and monks in 1525 and 1527, respecting the introduction of "the new learning" into Scotland, was not without grounds, it turned out that the canons and students were, through the medium of certain books, studying the grand controversy of the times. But whatever might be the object of other young men, that of Ales was, that he might be qualified to *oppose* all innovation. When Patrick Hamilton, therefore, four years younger than himself, was "drawn unto death" at St. Andrews, and now "ready to be slain," far from disposed to "deliver" him, and confident in his own scholastic powers, Ales actually undertook to reclaim the suspected heretic. For this purpose he held several conferences with his more enlightened

junior, little dreaming that the attempt was about to change the current of his whole life. But staggered by the reasoning of that young gentleman; then hearing his noble testimony, in a full house, or within the very walls where Ales himself was accustomed to engage in services which the Martyr had so exposed; and finally, beholding the heroic constancy with which he maintained his integrity in the flames, amidst the rage, and more than savage cruelty of his enemies, the scene, as well as the sentiments, were never to be forgotten. In short, the heart of Ales was pierced by convictions, which ended in his conversion to the faith he had laboured in vain to destroy. St. Andrews was not now to sleep in quiet, after the smoke of Patrick's funeral pile had been blown upon the spectators, and scorched the Benedictine friar, his persecutor. Seton, as we have seen, was the first victim soon after, but severer trials awaited Ales, the very next year.

Almost all the inhumanity of these times has been heaped upon David Beaton, the nephew of the Archbishop and future Cardinal; but in this early stage at least, the lasting odium was largely shared by another man, of whom we are about to hear. Ales, as we have seen, had been a Canon in the Priory of St. Andrews, of which the Superior was *Patrick Hepburn*. Named after his father, the first Earl of Bothwell, and then frequently styled "*the young Prior of St. Andrews*," he had succeeded his uncle John, in 1522. He soon became one of the most wicked men of his time, as far as licentiousness and unbridled passion could go. A veteran in crime, long before the prime of life, the public registers bear testimony to his enormous profligacy. Witness the legitimization of at least eleven children, seven sons and four daughters. The man had gloried in destroying the peace of many a family. It is but an imperfect idea that can now be formed of the immorality in which these official men rioted life away, and frowned on every attempt to reform a Church that winked at such enormities in her priesthood.

In a Latin oration delivered by Ales at the command of Archbishop Beaton before the Synod of Bishops and Priests, the preacher bore hard in his strictures on the debauched clergy, but avoided all personalities. Hepburn thought himself aimed at, and as, about the same time, the whole college had com-

plained to the King of the Superior's cruelty, he rushed with armed men into the hall of the Chapter, and twice attempted to stab Ales, from which he was only held back, first by the other Canons, and then by his own guards. He then seized the whole of the Canons and threw them into prison, from which they were all, without exception, commanded by the King to be immediately released. Ales, however, was retained, and thrown into a dungeon under the Bishop's Castle in St. Andrews, among the ruins of which it is still shown. It is hewn in the solid rock in the shape of a bottle, its only entrance being from the top or mouth, from which the prisoner was let down. The orifice is 7 feet, but at the depth of 8 feet it widens to 17 feet in diameter, and is in all 23 feet deep. Here Ales might have died, had not his friends and fellow-canons raised a cry against the Superior's cruelty and disobedience to the royal mandate; then, on the twentieth day, the sufferer was brought up, and shown to the magistrates, who were assured that he would forthwith be set at liberty. He was, however, remanded to prison, and lay there for nearly a year. The Canons, during the absence of the Superior, got him out, and restored him to his office. But the infuriated man, returning one day unexpectedly, and finding him officiating at the altar, flew into a rage, and would have dragged him at once to the dungeon, had not the Canons once more interfered. That night, by the advice of his deliverers, who assured him his death was determined on, he escaped *alone* to Dundee, where he was received on board a vessel by a kind relative, and sailed next day for the Continent. Whither he went at first, it is impossible now to say, but certainly *not* to Wittenberg, since, even in 1534, he tells us that he knew not Luther, nor had acquired the German language. He had, however, "traversed part of the coast of France and many other places," and some time after he speaks of being in Cologne.

After the escape of Ales, an edict or order of the Bishops was promulgated, *prohibiting the New Testament in English from being read or sold*. The alarm of the enemy is one decided proof of progress in this cause, and the writings of Ales, still untranslated, throw much additional light on this history. Indebted to James V. for his kind interposition in favour of himself and the other Canons, Ales writes under the impression that

the royal youth is the same in 1533 that he had been in 1529, little aware how rapidly he was sinking under the baneful influence of the hierarchy, till at last they brought him to sanction, by his own *personal presence*, the burning of his subjects.

His first work was addressed "To the renowned King of Scots, James the Fifth, Duke of Albany, Prince of Ireland and the Orkneys, his most compassionate lord, Alexander Ales, S.D." It is entitled "*An Epistle of Alexander Ales, against a certain Decree of the Bishops in Scotland, which forbids to read the books of the New Testament in the vernacular tongue.*" In this he earnestly expostulates with the King for permitting this prohibition of the Divine Word to take effect, using, for the first time, all those arguments which have often been repeated since, for an unfettered Gospel, and showing how this would tend to heal many of the woes under which his unhappy country then laboured. He implores the King, as one to whom God had committed all departments of the State, to interpose,—describes the advantages which must accrue to the people, and especially the children and youth, from being trained up by such domestic reading and instruction,—that they would prove better subjects and better citizens, which otherwise they could not be. He quotes the Scripture to show that this is an imperative duty, and warns his Highness of the evils which must arise from the interdict. He reminds him of those who in former times had stood between the Message of Heaven and those to whom it was sent. Here occurs the remarkably prophetic passage:—

"When Antiochus attempted to destroy religion in Judea, he commanded the books of the prophets to be sought out everywhere, to be burned. And he suffered indeed the just punishment of his madness. *With his ruined army, he himself was consumed with grief of mind.* Nor was God satisfied with this punishment, but destroyed also his posterity, that He might set forth an example of the punishment described in the decalogue, where God says that punishment for iniquity should travel through all posterity."

How sadly parallel were the conduct and fate of unhappy James, though thus warned! Persisting in burning the best of his subjects, and closing the best of books, he, literally, "with his ruined army, was consumed with grief of mind," and died of a broken heart at the early age of thirty-one. After pleading for himself as an exile unjustly banished from his country, but

willing to endure this if the Scriptures were but free to his country, Ales concludes—

“The histories of all ages, of all nations, teach what end cruelty shall experience, especially that against the pious and the priests or ministers of a church. Wherefore, I shall not cease to beseech thee, most gracious Sovereign, that you would carefully examine these matters, and not grant this unbounded licence to the chief priests and monks, which Christ will not long endure; and surely it is opposed to your justice and clemency. This, therefore, I desire to obtain, if what I ask be equitable, just, worthy of yourself, and profitable to the Church and the State. May Christ preserve thee, and direct thy mind to the public welfare! *Anno 1533.*”

Thus it appears, at this early period, that Scotland was not behind England in point of progress made. The New Testament had been given to her in the same year.—She could already point to her proto-martyr—and an advocate rising out of his ashes, was now as earnest with *her* King, and against *her* bishops, as John Fryth now was with similar parties in London. Had Ales only been forthcoming, he had expired in the flames this year, as certainly as Fryth did in England.

In reply to this letter, as far as is yet known, there was not one man in Scotland able to move his tongue; but there was one abroad, who, though abundantly ready in *reply*, could never *answer* any argument; and who, when engaged in furious wrangling, was never so much in his element. This, the reader may anticipate, was no other than *John Cochläus*, the same who raised the alarm respecting the New Testament, at first, in 1525. Stung with disappointment, at his having no reward assigned to him by Wolsey, or Henry VIII., he now did his utmost to procure notoriety and a pension, by addressing King James V. of Scotland. The epistle of Ales could scarcely have been read in his own country, before this indefatigable opponent must have been at the press, as his tirade is dated on the 8th of June, 1533. There is nothing whatever of sound argument in the book, though professing to answer Ales, paragraph by paragraph. It abounds in different parts with virulent abuse, and in others with blasphemy. There is no lack of positive falsehood as to Luther, the writer's perpetual eye-sore; and Ales, though unknown to Cochläus personally, comes in for his full share, upon one hundred and sixty pages, in reply to twenty-six! The object in view was to mystify and alarm the

young King ; and the title is perfectly expressive of the great point in hand—" *Whether it be expedient for the Laity to read the books of the New Testament in the vernacular tongue.*"¹

At the commencement, Cochläus owns that he was shooting in the dark, not knowing whether this name of Alexander Alesius was a real, or only a fictitious one ; but though ignorant of his man, and equally so of the state of Scotland, he artfully insinuates that the representation of the country, as drawn by Ales, was altogether incredible. That the Bishops of Scotland could act towards any subject whatever, in the manner described, without the consent of his Highness, he pretends to think impossible. The exile, he asserts, must either falsely praise the King to stir him up against his Bishops, or else feign the King's wonderful clemency to himself, to render *him* suspected abroad, with regard to the *orthodox* faith. Ales, too, he insists, *must* be a Lutheran, of course, and *the epistle itself must* come from Wittenberg, the common asylum of fugitives and apostates ; while "the whole is concocted with such skill, that readers may believe that *the gospel* of Luther is already propagated to the most remote Scots, as far as *Ultima Thule*." It is here that Cochläus repeats, by way of warning, the groundless falsehood of Tyndale and his amanuensis having come to Wittenberg, acquired the German language, and then translated the New Testament *of Luther* into English ; adding, what was true, that he found them at Cologne, and forewarned Henry VIII. ; though he takes care to conceal that he had received no thanks for his pains, and now entertained a very bad opinion of the English monarch.

Not aware that the New Testament had been introduced into Scotland as early as 1526, and boasting of his own exploit of 1525, he warns the King of similar snares preparing for his kingdom, and dissuades him from reversing the Bishops' edict against the reading of the Scriptures, by dwelling on "the accumulation of evils which have sprung up among the Germans

¹ "An expediat Laicis, legere novi Testamenti libros lingua Vernacula? Ad serenissimum Scotiæ Regem Jacobum V. Disputatio inter Alexandrum Alesium Scotum et Johannem Cochläum Germanum." Dated "Ex Dresda Misniæ ad Albim. vi. Idus Junii MDXXXIII."

within a few years *from such reading*, to say nothing of the loss of property suffered from this Gospel; while for these mischievous books, the people have squandered an incalculable sum of money, for so many hundreds of thousands of copies printed and sold! From these they have got no good, but a deal of harm; artizans neglecting their shop and their work from whence they ought to procure a subsistence for their wives and children. Nor will I mention those evils which many have endured in their body through this, while, in opposition to the edicts of the magistrates, they read the prohibited books; and for this offence were shut up in prisons, confined in towers, fined, banished from their country, and suffered other bodily inconvenience."

Cochlæus then fortifies the royal youth, originally disinclined to deeds of blood, not only against all the cruelties which might ensue in Scotland, and the counter advice of any of his councilors, but against all the odium that was sure to follow. His bishops ought to *act* with just severity against a few transgressors in order to preserve the souls of many; nor was the New Testament of Luther, as he artfully calls every vernacular version, to be considered the Gospel of Christ, but of Satan! Therefore, if the King desired to preserve among his people concord in the faith and unity of the Church, agreement in piety and worship, fixedness of faith, and all the benefits of ecclesiastical discipline, let him "*desist from this business of translation, especially at this time.*" He then proceeds to inform the King that *any* translation of the New Testament, "the best and most undoubted," if it be "*in the vulgar tongue,*" must produce all imaginable evil, and closes with the warning that copies may soon be secretly transmitted, "through merchants, by the Elbe to Hamburg, which looks over to Scotland"! Such was the advice with which this persecutor sought to fill the ear of the young and thoughtless Scottish monarch. With Cochlæus abroad, and such men in power at home, both bishops and monks, a Prince once averse to all cruelty, and still given to deeds of kindness in regard to the bodies of his subjects, was driving on to ruin, by yielding to the sophistry of the hierarchy, with respect to opinions which could neither be gainsaid nor resisted. At the same time, let the chief blame rest where it actually did. Had the King, unmolested, been allowed to pursue his pastime,

humanly speaking, there had been no such cruelty as still ensued. But the ecclesiastics, led on at present by *Patrick Hepburn*, the young Prior of St. Andrews, as they were afterwards by David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, were perpetually insisting that heretical opinions, as they styled them, did not belong to the King's jurisdiction; while, in justice to the Prince himself, there is reason to believe, that he by no means yielded without a struggle, and did actually interfere again and again, as Ales has represented. The King and the ecclesiastics had formed two parties quite distinguishable in the estimation of many more than the writer of this epistle: but soon after that Ales had done his best in addressing his former benefactor, not only did Cochlaeus follow, but it so happened, that an ambassador or legate from the Pontiff had been perambulating the country in company with the King and the Queen Mother. They terminated their journey by visiting St. Andrews, where they were all entertained in style by Beaton and Prior Hepburn. In short, the year 1533 seems to have been about the turning point in James's course and character. He was even now only twenty-one years of age, but in early life, "a stranger to pride, easy of access, and fond of mingling familiarly with all classes of his subjects; with a generosity and warmth of temper, which prompted him, on all occasions, to espouse with enthusiasm the cause of the oppressed;"² what wonder that Ales should have so addressed him? The change was most melancholy not only for himself, but his kingdom. The year before this, or 1532, he had been sinking deep into the licentious course which he afterwards pursued, for to this the hierarchy had *no* objection; and now he is giving himself up to the counsel of these unprincipled, and far more licentious, ecclesiastical men.

Before the end of the year 1533, and just as if to confirm every word that Ales had so faithfully written, the second martyrdom took place at St. Andrews, and this also was but a young man. Hamilton's death was sufficient to have roused both priests and canons, which it certainly had done, but the monks had also responded to the call. Seton was the first, Ales was the second, but here was a third, who seems to have been

² Tytler.

moved by Patrick's earliest exertions on his return from abroad, as well as his subsequent death. *Henry Forrest* of Linlithgow, a Benedictine monk, had contracted such an admiration of Patrick Hamilton as he could not suppress. He thought that he had been wrongfully put to death, that the articles for which he suffered were not heretical, and might be defended. This much, however, they could not fully establish against him, till they resorted to the same base method which they had pursued with the first martyr; and one Friar Walter Laing was ready to act over again the same part which Campbell had done. Another specific charge however was, that he had in his possession a copy of *the New Testament in English*; now, of course, deemed to be a crime far more heinous after the edict or decree. There must have been considerable hesitation about proceeding to extremity, as Forrest had been for some time kept a close prisoner "in the tower" or Castle of St. Andrews; and at last the spot on which he died at the stake, was at once expressive of the truth having extended far beyond the bounds of St. Andrews, and of the fear entertained as to its further progress. "He suffered death," says the manuscript, "at the north church style of the Abbey church of St. Andrew, to the intent that *all the people of Forfar or Angus might see the fire*, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine which they call heresy." On such a mode they had at last ventured, though far from being according to the counsel previously given by one John Lindsay, a man of wit, familiar with the Archbishop. "If you burn any more of them," said he, "take my advice and burn them in cellars; for I assure you that the smoke of Patrick Hamilton has infected all upon whom it blew." The first molestation of Henry Forrest appears to have commenced about the year 1530, but his death cannot be stated earlier than 1533; a circumstance which may account for his martyrdom being ascribed to both years.

Only a very short time, however, now elapsed, before there arrived from abroad, an all-sufficient exposure of Cochlaeus, and of other men at home besides the calumniator. The slander and falsehood which had been emitted, had, it is probable, not been seen by Ales for some months, but early in 1534 he was ready with his Response. It is entitled—"The answer of Alexander

Ales, Scotsman, to the calumnies of Cochlæus."³ It is addressed to the King as before, and as it has been equally unknown to the English reader, with his first letter, no apology is necessary for giving some account of this very rare book. Among other information, it contains the full account of his own personal treatment, besides some valuable particulars with regard to the Scriptures of the New Testament, still read by stealth, and hid with anxious care. Cochlæus had questioned the veracity of Ales—had insisted that he was a Lutheran—had approved highly of the interdict as to reading of the New Testament—had tried to terrify the King by a bold endeavour to identify the translation of the New Testament into German by Luther, with the independent English version—had strongly deprecated the New Testament being presented to any man in the *vernacular* tongue, *however correct*, and represented this as the only source of all evil, national and domestic; warning his Highness to succumb, or by all means yield to the advice of his ecclesiastics, those determined enemies of Divine truth. Every one of these points was now met by this first and able advocate of the people. As Ales, even still, could not be aware of any alteration in the King's character and conduct, he writes under the impression of these being yet unchanged. Addressing the King once more, as his most gracious Sovereign, before answering the main argument of Cochlæus, he defends himself from the double charge of being an exile and a Lutheran, with which he is reproached by his adversary. He sorrowfully confesses his exiled state, in which there was more evil than could be expressed in words, calling for sympathy rather than for calumny. As for the cause of his banishment, he appeals to the King's memory to confirm the truth of the narrative which follows of the circumstances which led to his flight. He appeals to the testimony of his own college at St. Andrews, by the fidelity and constancy of whom his life was preserved; and then leaves it to the judgment of all good men, whether he had done anything worthy of punishment; for if free from blame, exile ought not to be his reproach.

³ "Alexandri Alesii Scotti, Responsio ad Cochlei calumnias." This occupies thirty-one leaves 18mo, in a smaller type than the former publication, and without any colophon.

He then comes to the charge of being a Lutheran, and of wishing to introduce Lutheranism into his country. In reply, he disclaims connexion with any sect, avowing only his covenant with the Church of Christ, and offering, either before the King, or in the presence of other good men, "simply and clearly to give a reason of my faith. I believe the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, and embrace the consent of the holy Fathers, of whom the Church approves. I also reverence the authority of the Church, and its judgment in doubtful cases, as that which chiefly I do, and will freely follow. Does Cochläus require more than this?" He disclaims undertaking the defence of Luther, but states his strong disapprobation of the dreams of the Monks, and their persecution of those who question these. He had seen the burning of Patrick Hamilton in Scotland, and subsequently the martyrdom of two very good men at Cologne, whose death afflicted him with grief for the Church, and horror at such cruelty. He had conversed with "one of the highest learning and authority," who was himself much grieved at the confusion and corruption of the Church, and whom he exhorted to interpose his opinion, and use his influence with both prince and people toward a reformation, but he could only draw from him an apologue, which seemed to intimate that the prudent should keep silence, because, on the one hand, truth is greatly disliked, and, on the other, flattery injures both the state and the flatterer.⁴

Ales proceeds to answer "those who set the title of the Church in opposition to the Word of God, who vociferate, like Cochläus, there had been no Church for ages, but for the doctrine of the Monks. For there was a Church, though the Word of God was very obscure, and there were a few who taught more correctly than did the bulk of the Monks. There exist some writings of

⁴ This was no other than the well-known Herman, Count de Wied, the Prince Archbishop of Cologne. He had denounced Lutheranism, but now, at the age of sixty, felt deeply the *causes* of the Reformation. Hence his conversation with the young Scotchman; and soon after his interviews with Melancthon and Bucer. He was timid, and shrank, like Cranmer, from an open avowal of his convictions, but in maturer age rose above all fear and earthly considerations, exposed himself to excommunication by the Pope, and deposition by the Emperor, and died in 1553 as simple Count de Wied, in the faith and hope of the Gospel.

almost all ages, which smell sweetly of the pure doctrine of the Apostles. Hence, when Cochläus adduces the authority of the Church, why should we not inquire what the *ancient* Church thought?" He then states his own views on several subjects, proving them from the Scriptures, and confirming them by quotations from Augustine, Hilary, Ambrose, Irenæus, and Epiphanius. "These men," he maintains, "never teach that Christian perfection is placed in *human* traditions; never do they sell works of supererogation." The subjects of repentance and faith; of reliance on mercy alone, and the forgiveness of sins; of supererogation, of invocation of saints, "beclouding the glory of Christ;" the Mass; public idolatry and vows,—are touched on, with a defence of the "new learning" from the charge of causing sedition. He then shrewdly concludes:

"If the causes of that tumult were to be collected, we should somewhere discover, that the minds of men were provoked by *the unrighteous cruelty of certain persons*. Then after discord once commenced on account of religion, it is very probable that many evils followed, which accompany civil commotions. Covetous men, on either side, take advantage of the public disturbance for their own purposes."

The sentiments of this writer, at this early period, and so well expressed, must occasion surprise to all those readers who have never before heard of such a man; but the chief importance of this Response, as well as of the previous Epistle, consists of this grand point, which, at this early day, and by himself alone, he urged with such zeal and ability, for the benefit of his native land. Both England and Scotland owe everything to the Bible, and if proof be still sought, we need not look far to find it, so long as we see Ireland lying, as it were, in the lap or bosom of Great Britain. The first *translator*, therefore, and the first *advocate*, though alike standing at a distance in a foreign land, and under the frown of their respective countries, occupy such high ground, that they never can be overshadowed by any other men who followed in their wake. But if the countrymen of Ales be bound to cherish his memory with becoming gratitude, as their first able intercessor for unlimited access to the Sacred Volume in their own tongue; he enjoys a second claim, which sets him before us as a man possessing wisdom or sagacity, very remarkable for his own time,

and but too uncommon still. He had evidently felt assured that, in the melancholy condition of Scotland, *personal* religion could not possibly be promoted, if the Scriptures were withheld, and for this he *first* pled, as lying at the foundation of all that he desired. What then, with him, was the next argument? What the next measure, which lay with such weight on his mind? Was it an immediate refutation of all existing errors? Was it a direct attack upon the existing hierarchy, as to the ceremonial of their false and hideous system? No; *neither the one nor the other*. Had he any *plan*, as men now speak? Any *scheme* or *platform* to propose, or lay before the King, which was to bring order out of confusion? No; *nothing of the sort*. With a shrewdness and Christian simplicity far superior to many since his time, he earnestly urged a more excellent way. For although public exercises of religion, when properly conducted, possess a happy tendency to prepare the mind for those of a more private nature, there were then *no* public exercises, save such as were pernicious in the extreme. Through them, as a regular system covering the land, Ales saw that its baneful roots had struck into the bosom of every *family* there. The ecclesiastical rulers, so called, were the very curse of society, and especially of that "only bliss of paradise, that has survived the fall,"—domestic happiness and peace. Every other social bond in which men were united, being but loose and incidental, when compared to this, the heart of this man now panted after the immortal interest of every *circle round the household fire*. Nor did he, like some in modern times, fix his eye upon children only, but upon *parents*. That venerable character in the eye of domestics, with which the *reading of the Scriptures* is sure to invest them, he regarded as sufficient to discomfit even the Prince of Darkness! If every chimney that smoked in his native land was liable to *Peter's pence*; by this time he must have felt assured, that the simple exercise of *domestic reading* would deliver from the imposition, and soon cause the smoke to ascend freely to the skies. Only grant him access to the *families* of his country, and he saw that out of these would rise the morning of a better day. And although he now pleads for that which neither the King, nor, above all, his hierarchy will allow; this was the path which an overruling Providence had

already opened and afterwards pursued, and to a far greater extent than can now be told. Evidence, indeed, presently, will not be wanting; but at all events here was the *secret hinge* on which the future well-being of the entire island was then turning. At many a fireside, therefore, Ales ought to have been not only better known, but highly respected, long before this late day. What would the Scotland, which he left with such reluctance, have been, but for the practice for which he *first* pled? He reminds his readers that the Divine Lawgiver, in Deuteronomy, requires the fathers of families to read the law themselves, that they may inculcate it upon their children; that domestic reading of the Scriptures was now the custom in Germany, even beyond the circles that favoured the Reformation, and boys and girls in almost all the more respectable families read the New Testament, and learned the Psalms; that so far from preaching setting aside the necessity for the study of the Scriptures, the best preachers greatly encouraged the practice, and only the ignorant suppressed it. Thieves, they say, hate noise. Hence the monks close the New Testament, lest comparisons should be made of their doctrines with the Gospel. He vindicates himself from the charge that he was about to translate Luther's version. "I do not know the German," says he, "and speak of *that version which now, for some time past, exists in the country, and against which that decree was made.*" Though not called on to defend Luther's New Testament, he reminds Cochläus that Emser, who first censured, afterwards published it with a few verbal alterations as his own. Difficulties there might be in the interpretation of some few texts, but not more than in any other ancient author. The general fidelity of the Scottish version, as he now calls Tyndale's, the only one then in existence that could be read in Scotland, was unimpeached. "I have heard," he adds, "even the chief among our preachers declare, that this same version gave them much more light than the commentaries of many."

Cochläus had denied that "noble men and honourable citizens were not prohibited, but only inquisitive people who read that they may bring into question received opinions." Ales replies that the edict he complains of is equally severe "against the *best* men of *all* ranks, and PROHIBITS THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM BEING

IMPORTED INTO THE ISLAND,—from being sold, and consequently from being bought by any, even the most honourable; but the Sacred Scriptures were designed for all, for ‘the wise and the unwise,’ and adapted to the capacity of either, teaching ‘all ranks of life what is great and honourable for assisting and protecting society;’ but is silent respecting those trifles which the Monks *sell* under the most specious pretences. For this cause they do not wish the Gospel to shine forth, as they are afraid both for their *character* and for their KITCHEN.” He closes with a powerful appeal to the King, reminding him of his royal father’s noble conduct, when the Monks would have deprived some of his subjects of their Bible, warning him of the sycophants, who, on account of their own lusts, cannot bear the light of the Gospel, and carry on everywhere a horrible warfare against those who are pious, and who desire to show forth the glory of Christ; concluding with a prayer that God would guide his mind to the glory of Christ, to his own salvation and that of the Church.

Naturally impetuous, and delighting in war, Cochläus was now in a perfect rage, and though evidently confounded by the talent displayed against him, as he could, at any moment, make lies his refuge, he lost no time in replying to Ales, by again addressing the King.⁵

He commences with one of his bold shifts or assumptions, which he reiterates as a fact, throughout his quarto pamphlet. It was no less than this, that Ales was not the author, either of the Epistle or the Response! He now ascribes the whole to no other than PHILIP MELANCTHON; a very plain proof of the ability displayed, and an unwilling eulogy upon our Scottish exile, then and even still so little known.

In writing his Response, however, this year, it so happened that Ales had informed his readers that he was not as yet acquainted with Luther personally; and it corroborates his state-

⁵ This is entitled —“Pro Scotiæ Regno Apologia Johannis Cochlei. Adversus personatum Alexandrum Alesium Scotum. Ad Sereniss. Scotorum regem, 1534.” At the end we have this colophon—“Ex Dresda Misnie, Idibus Augusti MDXXXIII. Excusum Lipsiæ apud Michaellem Blum.” *Leipsic* was the very city in which Ales was afterwards established as a Professor, for many years.

ment, that as for Melancthon, there is not one shadow of evidence that he had become acquainted with him, till *after* his answer to Cochlæus had been sent to Scotland. It is not at all improbable, that the calumny now raised might bring them into contact; which appears to have happened about the close of 1534, perhaps the spring of 1535. But be this as it may; formerly, Cochlæus had no idea whether Alexander Ales was a real or supposititious character: now, that this will no longer serve him, both compositions must, it seems, be the production of Melancthon, to whom, as well as to Luther, Cochlæus bore such invincible hatred! The traducer, of course, could not foresee that, in two years hence, Ales would display equal talent upon *English* ground, and before all the bishops assembled; when he was far removed from the ear of Philip Melancthon. Nor could he foresee, that seven years hence he would meet with Ales, and at the same time, apparently, be afraid even to address him.

But our German canon was equally dexterous, whether in making facts, or in feigning ignorance of what he must have known. Thus, after even the Doctors of Louvain, in a body, had made such boast, and sent such congratulations to Scotland in 1528, over her proto-martyr Jamilton, he pretends to be profoundly ignorant of the event, nay, and still of the state of Scotland, as well as of the facts now stated by Ales with regard to himself. He must therefore set himself to spy out some discrepancy between the *Epistle* of Ales to the King, and his *Response* to the calumnies already published. In this, however, he signally fails; but mentions a Scotchman, “of no small authority and trust with the King, appointed to England,” who had declared Ales’s book to be one continued lie.

No sooner than he had finished at press, Cochlæus afforded a striking proof, not only of his fury, but his thirst after some remuneration for all this gross scurrility. His book was finished on the 13th of August, and by the following month, his confidential servant was safely arrived with copies in Edinburgh itself. The man “of no small authority and trust,” of whom he had spoken, Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen and Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, had gone as Ambassador into France; but there were those under him, who were not slow to welcome

the servant with his master's production. Of this we have full evidence in the Register Office of this, the native city of Ales, or in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer himself. Thus, the indefatigable opponent of the Scriptures in our native tongue, has, at least, discovered to us, the grave importance which was then attached to the single-handed efforts of Alexander Ales.⁶

All this verbiage of Cochläus, however, goes for nothing, when compared with the melancholy facts, which were attesting at the moment, the *truth and importance* of all that Ales had written; and this the servant, if he was not as blind as his master, must have seen, immediately on reaching the end of his journey to Scotland. It was while this man was actually on the road to Edinburgh, that the flames of persecution had been kindled for the third time. The martyrdom of last year confirmed the *Epistle* of Ales; those of this year his *Response*. The flames had hitherto blazed at St. Andrews; now, for the *first* time, they had done so at Edinburgh. Those of the year 1533, in effect, told us that the truth was extending beyond the boundaries of the metropolitan city; and we shall now have proof, by the flames of 1534, that it had reached far beyond those of the capital. The former were kindled, to be seen at a distance, as a terror to the people of *Angus*; those of this year so as to be seen by the inhabitants of *Fife*. One martyr at a time had served hitherto, but now two men were consumed at the same stake, on the afternoon of Thursday the 27th of August, 1534. There were two, also, out of a nameless number, who had been summoned, from various quarters; and as if the death of the *proto-martyr*, so lamented by Ales and many others, was now to be followed up, and the family exterminated, his brother and sister had been ordered to appear. In short, here was a band of selected witnesses; and unquestionably we are to regard them as the representatives of many other individuals,

⁶ From the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, *September, 1534*—“Item, to ane Servand of Cocleus, quhilk brocht fra his Maister an buyk, intitulat To his reward—I. li.” The blank may now be filled up with “Pro Scotiæ,” &c. But such was the reward, £50 Scots, not a trifling sum in those days.

not only in Angus and Fife, Clackmannan, and Linlithgow-shires, but in Edinburgh and Leith.

On Tuesday the 7th of July, Parliament had met at Edinburgh, and by Wednesday the 26th of August, an ecclesiastical court, of unwonted solemnity, assembled in the Abbey of Holyrood. The infatuated young King, in the face of repeated warning and entreaty, from an Exile, whom he had once rescued out of the paws of the persecutor, was now about to take his first ominous step. To lend greater importance to this occasion, he had agreed to preside, and clothed in scarlet,—the judicial Scottish dress, in matters of life and death, down to the present day. A number of persons had been summoned, and among them there appears to have been more than the following:—

Belonging to *Edinburgh*—Mr. William Johnstone, Advocate, Mr. Henry Henderson, Master of the Grammar School; but the “*Diurnal*” adds, “with sundry others, baith men and women *in Edinburgh*.” From *Leith*—Henry Cairns, skipper, Adam Dayes or Deir, shipwright, John Stewart, indweller, and a married woman. From *St. Andrews*—Gavin Logie, John Fife, John M’Alpine, — M’Dougal. From *Angus-shire*—Mr. David Stratoun. From *Linlithgow-shire*—Sir James Hamilton, the hereditary Sheriff, and Katharine Hamilton, his sister, besides Norman Gourlay and William Kirk, two priests, whose residence is not mentioned by any historian. With the exception of Hamilton and his sister, all these were disposed of before the Court rose. Several had already fled, and others abjured; but *Mr. David Stratoun or Straiton* and *Norman Gourlay* were reserved for execution.

The martyrdom itself took place next day. Of Gourlay we know nothing more than that he was a man of “reasonable erudition,” having been abroad. He said there was no such state as purgatory, denied the authority of the Pontiff in Scotland, but he had also married a wife, and this was an unpardonable crime. Mr. Straiton’s was a far more interesting case. He was a gentleman of landed property, at the confluence of the North Esk with the sea, in the parish of Ecclesgreig, (*Ecclesia Gregorii*,) now called St. Cyrus, in the shire of Angus. His property included the seat of a productive fishery; and whether one refers to the present proprietor of the soil, to the present fishermen of Milton, or to the limestone quarrymen there, in the history of their predecessors above three hundred years ago, they have not a more interesting subject for remembrance than the present. Laurieston Castle, built in the tenth century, where Straiton was born, and part of which still re-

mains, had, before and after his day, continued in the same family for four hundred years. The martyr appears to have been brother to the last laird or baron of Laurieston, and uncle to the present, then a young man. The Straitons, for several generations, were equally distinguished for stature and strength, and the martyr's temper had once been both rough and imperious. In former days, he had resolutely resisted one *tythe* claimed by the vicar, Robert Lawson of Ecclesgreig; who exacted the *tenth fish* from those which his servants had taken out at sea. Straiton had said, "If he would have them, he must go and take them where the stock was taken;" and this had given great offence. "Before," says Calderwood, "he had been very stubborn, and despised all reading, specially of good purposes; now he delighted in nothing *but* reading, although he could *not* read himself, and exhorted every man to peace and concord, and contempt of the world. He frequented much the company of *John Erskine*, Laird of Dun," (the Provost of Montrose, who had recently returned from the Continent,) "a man marvellously enlightened in respect of these times." One day "when the Laird of Laurieston, being then a young man, was reading to our martyr *the New Testament*, (so much hated by many,) he chanced to read this sentence of our Master—'*He that denieth me before men, I will deny him in the presence of my Father, and before his angels.*' At these words, as one revived, he suddenly cast himself upon his knees, extending his hands, and looking constantly with his visage to the heavens a reasonable time, he burst forth at length in these words—'O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou abstract thy grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercies' sake, let me never deny Thee, nor thy truth, for fear of death, or bodily pain!'"

It becomes evident, that Straiton was fully prepared for such a time as the present. When brought before the King, on the 26th, great pains were taken to move him, and procure his recantation; but all efforts failing, he was adjudged to the fire. He then applied to his Highness, but the Bishops answered, proudly, that "the King's hands were bound, and that *he* had no grace to give to such as were by law condemned." It was after dinner next day that Mr. Straiton and his companion Gourlay were led forth to death. The spot was evidently chosen

for *effect*, whether near or afar off, on the northern brow of the Calton-hill, above the rood or cross at Greenside. The stake was planted so far up the hill as that not only the surrounding crowd from the city, whether below or above, might see; but “to the intent,” says Calderwood, “that the inhabitants of *Fife*, seeing the fire, might be stricken with terror and fear, not to fall into the like.”

Not satisfied with these flames, the ecclesiastics, with the King at their head, assembled at Holyrood once more, on the 28th or next day, and by way of conclusion to this headstrong burst of cruelty, brought forward the persons of highest rank; Sir James Hamilton and his sister, both of whom were related to the King. By advice of his Highness, however, the former had fled, so that the scene closed with the appearance of the lady, his sister. The Bishops gathering courage by their progress, neither her rank or sex could shield her. Mr. John Spens of Condry, the lawyer, and future King's Advocate, or one of the men who had sat in judgment on her brother Patrick in 1528, held a long discourse respecting *works*, telling her there were divers sorts; “works of *congruity* and works of *condignity*.” Katharine, disturbed with the length and nicety of the argument, at last out of all patience, cried out before them all, the King also sitting by—“Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no works can save me, but *the works of Christ my Saviour*.” His Highness, amused with the very brief manner in which she had disposed of the lawyer's tedious harangue, interposed, and saved her from death.

The visible and decided progress of Divine Truth is, however, to be observed, not only in those who suffered, but in the character and station of those who had fled. The teacher of the grammar-school, and the advocate, Johnstone of Edinburgh, must have been men of some talent and influence. The former died in England. His house forfeited, was given to James Bannatyne, W.S. The property of the latter, also falling to the King, was sold for a trifling consideration, chiefly to Reid, abbot of Kinloss, afterwards President of the Court of Session, and Bishop of Orkney, and partly to another individual. Johnstone, however, returned some years after, when he was permitted to

live in a single chamber of that house which had been once his own; though, at his death, his body was not allowed to be interred in any churchyard!

But the refugees from St. Andrews, the former associates of ALES, were among the most eminent for literature then in the country; and they prove that the disciples of "the new learning," far from being *weak* men, as some one has grossly asserted, were duly appreciated elsewhere. Of *Logie* we know nothing afterwards, but having been the Rector or Principal of St. Leonard's College, he had so imbued the minds of the students, that when any of them was suspected, it was said that "he had drunk of St. Leonard's well." *M'Alpine*, who changed his name to M'Bee, or Maccabæus, as he was called on the Continent, became a favourite of Christiern, King of Denmark, Professor in the University of Copenhagen, and one of the translators of the Danish Bible. He was the brother-in-law of Miles Coverdale, and to this expatriated native of Caledonia and translator of the Danish Scriptures, that of the English was indebted for his life, as already explained. *Fife* accompanied Ales to the Continent, though *not* when he first fled from Scotland, but afterwards from England, in 1539; as soon as "the bloody Statute," or that of "the six articles," had passed. At Leipsic he continued to teach as a professor for years; but he returned finally to his own country, acted as a minister, and died at St. Leonard's, soon after the year 1560, or about five years before Ales.⁷

⁷ The reader may wish to know what became of Ales, who never returned to his native land, though its welfare lay always near his heart. From Cologne he removed to Antwerp in 1534, but as Tyndale was now close prisoner in the fortress of Vilvorde, he could have no direct intercourse with him. In the spring of 1535 he was invited by Crumwell to England, and appointed to read "Lectures on Scripture" at Cambridge. The Heads of that University, however, were not yet prepared for such doctrine, and by the advice of the Vice-Chancellor he withdrew to London. There he entered on the study and practice of physic, in which he acquired some celebrity. It was while he was thus practising in London that Crumwell took him to the Convocation in June, 1536, introducing him as "the King's Scholar," and availing himself of his aid in the discussions there. (See p. 255.) Notwithstanding Crumwell's favour and his success in his profession, Ales in a few years found there was no safety for him in all England. In 1539 he went abroad, and in the July of that year we find him at Wittenberg, with his friend Melancthon, and writing a letter of thanks to Crumwell for his kindness to him when in this country. The same year the Elector of Brandenburg appointed him Professor of Divinity at Frankfort-on-

The state of Scotland and England, at the close of 1534, was, in one sense, directly opposed to each other, and in another, exhibiting precisely the same aspect. Scotland profoundly attached to the rule of the Pontiff, and England proclaiming throughout the country hostility to Rome: but amidst all the turmoil of political affairs, both governments had found time to be *alike* enraged, and for the *same* cause; both alike imagining a vain thing—that they should be able successfully to *stem* the introduction of the Divine Word. Again, both countries had furnished their respective martyrs in this single-handed struggle,

the-Oder; while Cochläus, his old antagonist, expelled from Meissen, where he was a Canon in the Cathedral, had fled to Bautzen in Lusatia, and thus became his near neighbour; too near for Cochläus, who retired farther east to Breslau in Silesia, where, as a Canon in the Church, he closed his restless life in 1553.

As deputy from the Elector of Brandenburg, Ales attended the Conference at Worms in Dec. 1540, but was not allowed to speak, the Emperor's Chancellor, who presided, knowing how well he was prepared, and dreading his power of debate. He was also a member of the Diet of Ratisbon in March, 1541, where he must have met Cochläus, also a member, face to face; but came into still closer contact with Stephen Gardiner, who was present as Henry's Ambassador to the Emperor. With him he had a long discussion in the presence of Bucer, who writes of Gardiner—"How the veins in his hands did leap and tremble, specially if he heard anything that gave him offence, spoken by that learned and truly pious divine, Alexander Ales, whom I brought with me to Bishop Gardiner at this Conference!"*

That same year, 1541, Ales was appointed by Henry, Duke of Saxony, a professor in the University of Leipsic, and there after an honourable residence of twenty-three years he died in peace, 17th March, 1565, aged 65 years. He was Melancthon's assistant in composing the divisions in Nuremberg in 1555. Camerarius, who was with him on the occasion, remarks,—“He was thoroughly versed in divinity, had an excellent talent at disputation, and was famous for his extraordinary learning and merit.”† To controversy he had a natural aversion, and the works he left behind him, twenty-three in number, when taken all in all, fully prove this. They consist mostly in Expositions of Scripture, but include another effort for his country in the form of an Address to the Government and Nobility, the Bishops and the *people entire* of the Kingdom of Scotland. It is entitled, “De Scotorum Concordia, vel Cohortatio ad Concordium pietatis, in patriam missa.”

Ales married while in England, and had three children—a son and two daughters. One only of the latter survived him. For his son, who expired at Leipsic, parental affection found a stone and an inscription to mark his grave; but as for the father, his ashes lie—no marble tells us where! Is it yet too late?

* Gratulati Bucer, p. 55.

† Camerar. in vita Melanct. 1569.

though neither of them at home could show even one open, bold, and determined advocate for the Scriptures. John Fryth, it is true, had come home from abroad, and shown the people of England how to die, rather than deny the truth; as Patrick Hamilton and others had nobly done in Scotland. But the present was distinguished as the moment when TYNDALE on behalf of *England*, and ALES on the part of *Scotland*, occupied a position all their own, and one which was singular throughout Europe. "Say not," said Tyndale upon one occasion to England, "Say not that ye be not warned;" and so might Ales have now said to his King and countrymen. With a *nation* on one side, and a *solitary exile* on the other, in reference to both countries; while the Sacred Volume had been actually reading in both, and for eight years, in spite of their respective rulers; perhaps no cause was ever more evidently exhibited to be that of God, and not of man. No exact resemblance to this was then to be found in any land.

MDXXXV.—MDXXXVII.

STATE OF SCOTLAND—PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF THE PRELATES—AGITATION—
READING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT FORBIDDEN BY PROCLAMATION—PROGRESS
OF THE CAUSE.

IN the course of our English history, these three years, from 1535 to 1537, abounded with interesting details, as including the year before and after Tyndale's martyrdom; the first being that of his imprisonment, the second that of his death, and the third so distinguished for the arrival of his Bible in London. On turning to Scotland, the interest is deepened. We there discover throughout, increasing alarm at the progress of "the new learning," and determined opposition to the Sacred Volume, as translated by Tyndale, and already so powerfully enforced by Ales.

As nations, England and Scotland were far from being on sound terms with each other, yet were they firmly united in hostility to the Word of God; while in reference to Scotland, the cruelties of last year seem to have only strengthened the determination to *obtain* the Sacred Volume. The hollow device

of representing the English New Testament to be the production of Luther or his disciples, which Cochlæus had done all in his power to promulgate, continued to be fostered by the priests for years to come: but by this year it must have been well known, both by friends and foes, in Scotland, that *Tyndale* was the author. In the Castle of Vilvorde, he was now contending for the truth with the Doctors of Louvain, who, since the days of Patrick Hamilton, had their eye on Scotland. Ales, it is true, all along, and with great propriety, had mentioned no names. But how is this to be accounted for, that we now see Dr. Buckingham, Prior of the Black Friars at Cambridge, a most determined enemy to the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue—the man whom Latimer so successfully opposed, and who had for some time been living with his brethren in the Monastery at Edinburgh—leave that city, with a brother friar as his companion, and direct for Louvain? This occurred at the close of March, 1535; and the object of this hitherto mysterious movement, we have already explained. We have seen how he wrought, in conjunction with Gabriel Dunne and Phillips, in the persecution of Tyndale, throughout this very year. Buckingham, unquestionably, would not leave his old friends, the friars in Edinburgh, ignorant of what was going on, whether at Louvain or Brussels, as to the prisoner in Vilvorde, with whom all the doctors now wrangled, though in vain.

Meanwhile, the alarm of the Scottish government shows that books were still coming into the country. The Act of Parliament in 1525, against all importation by strangers, had been strengthened in 1527, so as to apply to the *native* importers; but by the language of Ales, it seems as if there had actually been attempts at *selling* the New Testament in *book-shops*; and certainly if the Act was *now* to be repeated, and with greater severity, it lends countenance to all his remonstrances. Parliament, at all events, opening in the summer of 1535, and on the 8th of June, farther degraded itself by not only repeating the Act, but now *all* persons *having* any such books were commanded to *deliver them up* to their Ordinary within forty days, under the penalty of confiscation and imprisonment. As a decided evidence of no small progress made, even “*discussion of opinions*” was now sternly prohibited by the Parliament!

Happily, however, there was an exception, or, as some would say, a flaw in the Act, as there has often been since, in many such feats of human legislation. An exception was made in favour of *clerks in the schools*, who *might* read, in order to refute. The consequence was, that a number of these clerks, by reading and discussion, sincerely embraced the same sentiments, or the *reverse* of those which were intended by the indulgence.

In the year 1536, with regard to the Scottish monarch himself, now sinking under the power of licentious habits, and to which the clergy offered no objection, his situation was one which might well excite pity. The language of Ales has clearly shown, that, as a youth, there were generous and humane feelings within him; and the banishment of the Douglas family, with Angus at their head, was owing to a burst of emotion perfectly natural. But now the King was beset by no less than three parties. The family of Angus, though not in Scotland, were ever on the watch, having sold themselves to England. James, still unmarried, and without a direct heir, had the Hamiltons near him, not without an eye to the throne; while, as the clergy's kingdom of this world seemed to be in danger, the *guidance* of the monarch had become, with them, a subject of supreme and intense interest. The erratic course of the King's uncle, Henry VIII., had also raised Scotland in the scale of importance in the eye of Rome; so that, in conjunction with the hierarchy, James, being the man he was, had no chance of escape from vexatious thralldom.

On the one hand, Henry's eager desire to have a personal interview with his nephew, must be thwarted. The Queen-Mother, Henry's sister, in conjunction with Lord William Howard, strove for this at present, but in vain. At the same time, in the spring of 1536, the needle seemed to be still quivering in the beam, as to what course the King would pursue. In 1534, the clergy, with the concurrence of the Pontiff, Clement VII., had granted a tenth part of their revenues to James for *three* years, to encourage him, it has been supposed, in following their advice with regard to the suppression of heresy. Clement had ceased to live in September, 1534, and this grant would expire in 1537. But whatever was the cause, the monarch appears to have been dissatisfied, and especially

with the exactions of the priests at large. The clergy were in motion throughout the kingdom, and from the 11th to the 17th of March, 1536, a *provincial council of the Prelates* was held in Edinburgh. Once assembled, they received a message from the King. Of its purport, we have one account from the Earl of Angus—

“These,” he writes to his brother, “were the points of the King’s charge, as I was advertised—bidding the clergy give over the *corps-present* and the *upmost cloth* through all Scotland, that they should be no more taken; and that every man should have his own teind (tythe), paying for his tythes, such like as he pays to his landlord of his maills (rents), and no more, for his whole tythes. If they granted not that, at the King’s command, there should be a charge laid to them, that he would *ger* (make) them set all the temporals that the kirk have, to feu (fee), and to have for it, but the old rent, such as the old rentals bear. The Kirkmen of Scotland were *never so ill content*.”¹

If this intelligence was substantially correct, it was certainly indicative, thus early, of very general dissatisfaction on the part of the common people throughout the country; although the grounds of complaint were not removed for twenty-four years after this, or eighteen after James was in his grave. The King himself, however, was evidently ill at ease, and it might seem, at the moment, as if he were on the point of following his uncle’s footsteps. How he became pacified does not fully appear, though it be evident that the power of the hierarchy—the counsel of the chief priests—had prevailed. The Queen-Mother was writing to her brother in England, while these prelates were yet sitting, and she informs him on the 16th of March, that the King, her son, had got counsel of the Kirkmen to desire of him these points: That he will promise not to desire his nephew *to take his new constitutions from the Scriptures*; not to labour for the Earl of Angus; to desire the meeting-place should be Newcastle, not York.² In April, Lord Howard finds also that the *time* of the meeting had been prorogued to Michaelmas; he had had an interview with the King himself, at Stirling, on the subject, and being disgusted, wished to return home. In May, Henry expresses to his nephew his surprise at their meeting being changed, both as to place and time; when

¹ Holograph. State Papers, Scotland, in the Chapter-House, Westminster.

² Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 38.

James, on the 20th of that month, by way of prolonging the game, replies in a letter, sweet as summer. "Dearest uncle, trust firmly, that it shall not be in the power of any wicked person to make us believe anything of you, but to repute and hold you our most faithful and kind uncle, and we to be semblable, an heartful and true nephew, ever ready to do unto you all honour and humanity to us possible."³ In short, the entire communication is pregnant with hypocrisy, as it was not possible for James to be ignorant, that already John Thornton, the protonotary apostolic, had passed through England on his way to Rome, for the Pontiff's brief, charging the Scottish King to have *no* meeting whatever with the King of England. Of this fact, Henry had been informed a week before, so that on receiving his nephew's letter, he could only learn with what celerity he was following his own footsteps, in a course of perpetual dissimulation.

But we have not yet done with this council of prelates. Both *Howard* and *Barlow* were present at their discussions and sermons; and whether the latter had, or had not, been the author of the Satyre on *WOLSEY*, or "The Burial of the Mass;" his language now certainly borders on it, in point of violence. He was still Prior of his monastery, and did not resign till next year; but he had recently been made Bishop of St. David's, and was extremely anxious to try his powers for the first time in Scotland. Having alluded to the troubled state of the borders, when writing to Crumwell, he adds—

"Also, I am sure that the Council, which are only the clergy, would not willingly give such advertisement to the King, for due execution upon thieves and robbers; for then ought he first of all to begin with *them*, in the midst of his Realm, whose abominable abused fashion, so far out of frame, a Christian heart abhorreth to behold. They show themselves, in all points, to be the Pope's pestilent creatures, very limbs of the Devil, whose popish power violently to maintain, their lying friars cease not in their sermons, we being present, blasphemously to blatter against the verity, with slanderous reproach of us, which have justly renounced his wrong usurped papacy. Wherefore, in confutation of their detestable lies, if I may obtain the King's licence (otherwise shall I not be suffered) to preach, I will not spare for no bodily peril, boldly to publish

³ Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 51.—"20th day of May, the 23rd year of our regime."

the truth of God's Word among them. Whereat though the clergy shall repine, yet *many* of the lay people *will gladly give hearing.*"⁴

Such was the state of things in March, 1536, at least in Barlow's estimation, and his testimony on behalf of "the lay people" may be received as evidence that they already knew much more than such clergy had either told them, or knew themselves.

Nor was this all. In only two months more, a more important fact, because referring to the manifest progress of Divine truth, comes out, nor is the name of Luther or Lutheranism mentioned in connexion with it. *In May, 1536, the reading of the Sacred Volume in the vulgar tongue was publicly prohibited.* Lord Howard and Barlow, in their joint letter of the 13th, give this information—

"Though we have not brought to such final pass the contents of our instructions, according as we have confidence, to the King's Highness' pleasure, yet there wanted in us no diligent endeavour, which nevertheless is not so in vain, but that we have necessarily tried out the Scottish dissembling mutability; which known and mistrusted, can do little displeasure, whereas their feigned untrusty amity intendeth us no farther pleasure but their own profit: except hereafter God give them a more faithful heart, grounded on knowledge of His Word, *which, to be read in their vulgar tongue, is lately prohibited, by open proclamation.*"⁵

Now, in our English history we have already always found, that every such measure as this, within the country, was only indicative of still greater pressure from without, and so it must have been in Scotland. Thus, then, *before Tyndale expired*, so powerful had his exertions proved, that his translation had been publicly denounced by the authorities in the north, as well as in the south; while all the time it was making its way, in unknown directions, and in both countries.

Barlow must have written in this style simply to please Crumwell, and perhaps the King, though he uses language actually at the expense of both. He could scarcely be ignorant that a similar prohibition lay on the same version in England; nor was it till a full year after this that Crumwell obtained the removal of all restriction. But he was soon to hear from Latimer, in Convocation, how little the English Bench could


⁴ Holograph. Calig., b. iii., fol. 194. Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 37.

⁵ Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 48.

take credit over their brethren in the North ; and to learn from Fox of Hereford, that the Bishops of England were “in danger of being laughed to scorn by the common people (who knew more of the Scriptures than they did), as having not one spark of learning or godliness within them ;” and to witness a native of that same Edinburgh, from which he wrote, on the point of adjusting the balance more correctly between the English and the Scottish bench, putting Stokesly, Bishop of London, in a rage, though simply pleading for the authority and all-sufficiency of Scripture with a power and point which excited the fear of even Crumwell and Cranmer, who shrunk from the responsibility of allowing him to fight the battle out.⁶ These equal reminiscences show that the Clergy in both countries were equally hostile, and at the same moment, to the highest favour which Heaven had ever bestowed on them both, while “the lay people” alike in Scotland as in England were far ahead of them.

MDXXXVIII.—MDXLI.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY—BEATON A CARDINAL AND PERSECUTION REVIVED—THE MARTYRDOMS OF 1538—DEAN FORRET—THE CAUSE OF ALL THE TUMULT IN OPPOSITION TRACED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE NATIVE TONGUE—ANOTHER MARTYRDOM—MEN ESCAPING—THE CRUEL PROGRESS OF CARDINAL BEATON—DEATH OF THE KING JAMES V.—GLOOMY STATE OF THE COUNTRY AS TO ITS GOVERNMENT AT THIS MOMENT.

HROUGHOUT these five years ensuing, or from 1538 to 1542 inclusive, just as though it had been intended by Divine Providence to be the more observed by the people as such, and at all events by posterity, the only cause that looked upward was that which was most hated ; the only progress towards improvement, in any department, was in that of Divine Truth. At the close of this period the King is to die, and even now, whether in relation to himself or the country at large, every movement was from bad to worse. All things went the downward road.

⁶ See p. 256.

David Beaton, Prior of Arbroath, a nephew to the Archbishop of the same name, was now rising into power. As licentious and ambitious as Wolsey, he was far more unrelenting in his disposition. He had been sent to France to bring home the young and amiable Queen of James; but she having died within fifty days after her arrival, Beaton was sent again to France to negotiate another marriage. He returned in May, 1538, with Mary of Guise, an alliance perfectly agreeable to the clergy, but most injurious to the best interests of the country. While at the French Court, Beaton had contrived to be made Bishop of Mirepoix in Languedoc; but this was only a step to higher promotion. He applied to the Pontiff for the office and power of a Cardinal, and though but an Abbot in his own country, he succeeded at the Court of Rome, and was actually raised to that honour by Paul III., on the 20th December, 1538.

Throughout the year 1538, the "new learning" having made very manifest progress, the disposition to persecute was about to be fully gratified. The secret of Beaton's zeal for power could not long remain hid, and since James was both so married, and too far gone to profit by any warning; his character as a man must "smart for it," as Henry, his uncle, had predicted. Nothing improved by his former visit to France, gay, licentious, and thoughtless, James was as much in want of money as his uncle always was, and money he must have. In younger life he had shrunk from the shedding of blood, but now, in order to beguile him from an eye to clerical wealth and the accumulated treasures of the monasteries, the property of all who should either *die* for their opinions, or *abjure*, was held out as the base incitement to the enslaved and infatuated monarch. If, therefore, among the subjects of James there were those who would "take joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance," and if their attachment to the Word of God as such should thus become apparent, a better evidence of progress made could not be wished. At the same time, the course about to be pursued by the enemy, is worthy of notice, on another account. It was the choice plan of Stephen Gardiner in England to hunt after such as he styled "the head deer;" and as the persecutor

in Scotland is about to gratify not merely his own malice, but supply the King's necessities; the *poor* believer, who had nothing to forfeit or leave behind him, not being a subject suitable to the miserable end in view, must have been, most providentially, passed over. The *poor*, often the richest in faith, were below notice, merely because not worth the trouble and expense.

Before, however, noticing any instances of persecution, it must be remembered that "*the New Testament in the vulgar tongue*" had been pointed out since May, 1536, by public proclamation. There may have been some other English books suspected of heresy already in Scotland, but even still, no *other* book is expressly named. The presumption therefore is, that in all these proceedings, the *Scriptures* chiefly, if not solely, were now aimed at, and all opinions grounded on the Sacred Volume.

Beaton once a Cardinal, there was no farther occasion for troubling either the Lords of the Privy Council, or those of the Justiciary, in prosecution for heresy. Wherever his cross was borne before him, there he reigned as lord paramount over the conscience, and the suspected will not *now* easily escape. By the 10th of January, 1539, we find Robert Forrester, brother to the Laird of Arngibbon, William Forrester, son of John, burgess of Stirling, Walter Cousland, David Graham, and James Watson, all of Stirling, were seized for *books*, suspected to be heretical; "for breaking his Highness' proclamation, in having and using such books as are suspected of heresy, and *are prohibited by the KIRK*." Observe the altered phraseology, or how soon and slyly they were interposing their own authority. The caution at once exacted from these parties amounted to no less than 3,100 marks, so that the entire property must have been considerable. The first gentleman, we shall find die at the stake; the second and third, as well as another, a burgess of Edinburgh, Robert Cant, were all entirely forfeited in March. Similar forfeitures extended to Perth, as well as to Stirling, where John Stewart, son to Henry, Lord Methven, was among the number; and so far as the seizure of property was concerned, the persecution lay very heavy upon Dundee.

Two parties had now fully engrossed the mind of Beaton, namely, the Kirk and the King. The former was to be defended

by fire, the latter to be cajoled by fines; and this month of March served to unfold his character, as equally busy in both departments. The most fearful week was the first in this month, and Saturday the 1st its most shocking day. The country hitherto had witnessed no scene so outrageous. The trial, such as it was, and the sentence to death being all overtaken before the sun went down, it must have been intended to strike with terror, not Edinburgh alone, but every other place. Not fewer than five different men appeared; John Keillor and John Beveridge, two Benedictine monks or Black Friars, nor improbably from the same monastery in Edinburgh where Prior Buckingham had lodged till 1535, when he set off to the persecution of Tyndale; *Sir* Duncan Simpson, so called as being a priest, from Stirling; Mr. Robert Forrester, notary, a gentleman of the same place; and last, though not least, a Dean of the Kirk, Thomas Forret, canon regular in the Monastery of St. Colm's Inch, and Vicar of Dollar. Having been summoned before Beaton, and Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, men equally notorious for licentious habits and bigoted attachment to their system, no mercy was in store for any of the five, while the last was treated with characteristic reproach and barbarity. The trial soon over, the fire was prepared on the esplanade of the Castle, visible at once far and near, to two counties, Mid-Lothian and Fife.

The King, too, must proceed one step farther on the present occasion. In 1534 he had presided in a *red* dress at the trial of Straiton, but his authority on the bench was now *not* consulted. It had, in fact, been superseded by that of this Cardinal, but still his Majesty must sanction all. He must follow the footsteps of his father-in-law Francis I., in 1535, and himself be present to see the red flames on the Castle-hill, when five of his best subjects were consumed to ashes before his eyes, on the 1st of March, 1539.¹

¹ "1 March, 1538-39. *Accusatio hæreticorum et eorum combustio*, apud Edinburg *Rege* presente." *Household Book of King James V.* The King left the city, next day, for Lithgow, perhaps to escape odium; but it was in perfect keeping with the whole affair, that on the day itself, the Searcher was gone after the property! *March 1, Item.* "Delivered to Archibald Heriot, Messenger, to pass and search their goods, who were abjured and declared heretics in Edin-

From the record of Dean Forret's trial, it appears that his official accuser, John Lauder, having demanded a proof of some statement made, he produced a New Testament, which Lauder snatched out of his hand, and holding it up, cried, "*Behold, Sirs, he has the book of heresy in his sleeve, that MAKES ALL THE DIN AND PLAY IN OUR KIRK!*" "Brother," said the Dean, "God forgive you! Ye could say better, if ye pleased, nor to call the book of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, heresy!" But he was immediately interrupted by his accuser with, "Knows thou not, heretic, that it is contrary to our acts and express commands, to have a New Testament or Bible in English, which is enough to burn thee for?" Then proceeds the record, "The Council of the Clergy gave sentence on him to be burnt, for the having and using of the same book—the New Testament in English."

No attestation could be more distinct than that which was here given by those unprincipled and wicked men. No other book is once named. All the healthful and life-giving commotion is ascribed to one source, and that the Book of God. This alone, it is confessed and deplored, was that which gave such great annoyance, and, in their style, occasioned *all the din and play* throughout the country!

Not satisfied with this horrible scene, Beaton must look westward, where it seems to have been resolved there should be another martyrdom by way of terror. Here, however, he was to meet with some temporary obstruction from Gavin Dunbar, who was not only an Archbishop (of Glasgow), but at the same time possessing the highest *civil* authority, as the Lord Chancellor. The fact was that Beaton, though nominally a Cardinal, had not even yet received the "instrument of possession" to his title, nor did he do so till October; but though he had been in full power, Glasgow as well as Ross would have demurred to his authority, and objected to his cross being borne there. He will provide for all this presently, but now, being still only an Abbot in Scotland, if resolved to push his way over the head

burgh and Stirling," 16sh. *Lord Treasurer's Accounts*. Independently of the cruelty and deep depravity of persecution, it is generally accompanied by a meanness most detestable.

of Dunbar, it will only display the arrogance and fury of this man's ambition.

Two individuals—Jerome Russell, a Grey Friar, and Ninian Kennedy, a young man, only eighteen, of good education and poetic genius—were brought to trial. The Archbishop would gladly have saved them, but the Cardinal was not to be checked in his course of cruelty and ambition; Dunbar was threatened, and not liking to come into collision with this power so new to Scotland, he yielded. The martyrs died in triumph. Another suffered at Cupar-Fife. Many fled the country, and Berwick was crowded with refugees. "*Daily* cometh to me," writes Norfolk from that place to Crumwell, "some *gentlemen* and some *clerks* (priests), which do flee out of Scotland, as they say for reading of Scripture in English, saying that if they were taken they should be put to execution."

Such was the result of the influence and title, newly imported from Italy, but at the same time the storm has again cleared the moral atmosphere, giving decided proof that a great and unwanted power had been introduced into Scotland. In other words, we have before us the veritable progress of all the scriptural Christianity which has been in the country ever since; and however feeble and unpretending in its commencement, the work, since 1526, was now of thirteen years' standing.

With such a second Queen as the Cardinal had procured, and with this increase of tyrannical power to such a man, it was to be expected that James's uncle, the King of England, would take alarm. Through his own rude violence of language, however, to say nothing of his licentious character, and the undermining policy he had pursued, all influence over his nephew was now gone; but for his *own* sake, he must try the effect of warning, through his herald or ambassador, once more.

His letter, however, was too late, and he might have saved himself the trouble. James had already "smarted" in his character, by yielding to Beaton, who was by no means to be interrupted in his career after higher authority still. In the autumn of 1539, by the death of his uncle, he had become Primate, but even this, and the red hat of a cardinal to boot, would not satisfy. The western Archbishop, the Lord Chan-

cellor, still sitting, like Mordecai in the King's gate, must be fully, or without question, overruled. The Primate's mind, by this time, was soaring after all power, whether over the King or the country, as he will prove before long. Meanwhile, he felt, at this moment, that there was still a technical flaw in the authority for which he panted. He must carry his cross triumphantly over broad Scotland, and no man shall gainsay or plead exemption. In short, though both an Archbishop and a Cardinal, he must not only be Legate *a natus*, which, as Primate, he was already, but Legate *a latere*, or plenipotentiary, and enjoy as much or more power than any primate had done before him. Hence Oliphant, his most willing agent, who had been to Glasgow, was then dispatched to Rome, and by the 16th of November, 1539, we have Beaton writing from Kelso, urging him on to "diligence and to labour at his power."

"Attour," says he, or, "Besides, ye shall incontinent get us a brief, that we, as Primate of the realm, may bear our cross before us, *through the whole kingdom of Scotland, both in the diocese and province of Glasgow, and all other places whatsoever exempt.*" And again, in December from Edinburgh, he adds—"Make the best and most honourable persuasions ye can, or may, to induce his Holiness to the granting of the said legation."²

The fact was, that the Pontiff himself faltered and hesitated, but, at last, Beaton's agent was successful; and since he was the *last* individual in Scotland to be clothed in such high and shocking authority, we can now see a propriety in the Pontiff being permitted to put forth all his power, and lift his head as high as he possibly could in the person of this man, a little before his authority in Scotland was to be broken for ever. It will be remembered, that precisely the same thing had been permitted to take place in England.

Whether, however, it was infatuated policy, or rather profligate extravagance, in the Scottish King, there could be no excuse for the guilt of persecution; though still we are not to imagine that James was a true son of the Kirk. He did not care one straw for their system, and held the persons of his ecclesiastics in profound contempt. In the drollery and satire which was played off against them, he would himself indulge,

² Sadler's Letters, 4to, i. p. 14—17.

and even listen to it for hours, with the keenest pleasure. An instance had occurred at this very time, on the 6th of January, 1540, at Lithgow, where an interlude was played before the King and Queen and the whole Council, spiritual and temporal. The subject of the play, according to an eye-witness, was "the naughtiness in religion, the presumption of the Bishops, the pollution of their courts, and misusing of priests." At the close the King called on the Archbishop of Glasgow and other Bishops present to reform their manner of living, saying that, unless they so did, he would *send six of the proudest of them to his uncle of England, and as those were ordered, so he would order all the rest that would not mend.*

But then upon such an occasion as that of this play, what has become of Beaton? He was not there, and as long as he carried his cross so high, all this was nothing more than idle talk. James might amuse himself, but he must live and die, the mere shadow of a King. This scene at Lithgow, however, was not a solitary or unwonted affair. Such plays and poems and satires were repeatedly acted; and though the most eminent scholar in Scotland, George Buchanan, had to fly, there was another man who never did, and whom the Cardinal never was allowed to touch. Here was a second Mordecai, far more obnoxious than Gavin Dunbar had been, who was long to survive all the fury of this period, and write his "Tragedie of the late Cardinal," after he had gone to his account. This was no other than the Lord Lyon King at Arms, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Fifeshire. He had been the official keeper and companion of the King, in the days of his infancy; and now, the author not only of the interlude referred to, but of other satirical pieces, bearing with such force and effect on the superstition of the day, and especially on the ignorance and immorality, or vices of the Kirk, as to render its officers, both high and low, most contemptible in the eyes of many. Yet must he never be molested, nor Beaton ever wave his cross over his head. So far from it, the Queen having been lately crowned, Sir David had been not the least conspicuous figure. We find a sum of not less than a thousand marks had been actually paid to him and his wife, for their official services on that occasion.

Mary of Guise was scarcely crowned Queen, when Sir Ralph

Sadler was down once more to visit the King. He tried, but in vain, to shake the confidence of James in his Cardinal and Legate; at least so the King pretended, by the manner in which he continued to rally Sadler in reply. But in May, clothed in all his honours thick upon him, Beaton, as Legate *a latere*, proceeded in grand entrance to St. Andrews, with an unwonted array of nobility, and there delivered his first oration.

It was on the 22nd of this month, from his Abbey of St. Andrews, that the King informed Henry of his having become a father, by the birth of James his eldest son: but from this period, it may be added, the gay but enslaved monarch was hastening rapidly to his ruin. One cause of molestation or perplexity now followed the other in quick succession. By the sudden death of Thomas Scott, Lord Justice Clerk, the King had been not a little disturbed, but the execution of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, for high treason, appears to have shaken his nervous system. Jealousy of his nobility preyed on his mind, and there were those who were ever ready to promote the feeling.

In April 1541, his second son Arthur was born, but he survived only a few days, and in a few more his elder son and heir followed his brother to the grave. In December the Queen Mother, Henry's sister, died at Perth, and the reign of discord between England and Scotland began. The battle of Solway Moss, so fatal to the King's reputation and so ruinous to the kingdom, was fought in the year following. Slow fever, the result of distraction with the deepest melancholy, preyed on the vigorous constitution of the unhappy monarch. He lived only to hear of the birth of his daughter, the equally misguided and unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, and seven days after died of a broken heart. Did he remember in his last hours the warning of Ales, pointing to Antiochus, who, "*with his ruined army, himself was consumed with grief of mind*"?

Meanwhile the Word of the Lord grew and multiplied. Beaton had drawn up a list of victims for his intended Inquisition, most of them men of rank and property; and the number shows the extent to which the principles of truth were embraced. Sir Ralph Sadler, Henry's Ambassador, computes them at 360 'gentlemen, all well minded to God's Word.' But against the

horrible proscription here meditated, the mind of the King revolted, and he could not stand even the sight of the list, and the bloody intention was frustrated. Still it discovers the extent to which the Scriptures were read and prized, while Buchanan speaks of "many thousands who did not hesitate to peruse the books of the Old and New Testaments." An important question now is—*How, or by what instrumentality, had this mighty change already been effected?*

Seven years after the Scriptures of the New Testament in English had been first conveyed into Scotland, there had, indeed, been an able and well-sustained controversy, though hitherto buried in oblivion, as to the right and duty of the people to read the Scriptures for themselves, and at home in their own dwellings; but there had been no ministry of the Word, properly so called. One man, *Forret*, in a very limited district, for a short time had spoken out; but he was almost immediately silenced, and then burnt to ashes. There had been no son of thunder lifting up his voice, nor had any such means been employed as to account for this confessedly great change. Two or three men from England may come down afterwards, and make some impression; but we now speak of the past, and of what had been already effected. Putting the presumptive heir to the crown entirely out of view, as a weak and vacillating man, have so many round about him been so shaken in mind, as to involve themselves, by Beaton's casuistry, in the deadly sin of what he called heresy? Then, as far as the art of printing, or English books were concerned, nothing can be ascribed to either cause: and of books imported from abroad, we find not upon record a single title-page, *save one*. But that *one* has been proclaimed in open court, by Lauder, in 1538, as having been the great nay, the only source of annoyance. He denounced it as heresy. "God forgive you," said Forret, "that ye should call the book of the Evangel of Jesus Christ heresy." But he insisted that it was, and that it was *this* which had occasioned "*ALL the din and play in their Kirk,*" or throughout Scotland. Certainly it was intended, that posterity should observe this, and no event of the day has been more distinctly marked, if so much so.

The ministry of the Word, though of Divine appointment, has

again and again, throughout this history, been presented by God as entirely subordinate to His own Word—the living voice of man, to the voice of the living God. In the scale of human depravity, or the profanation of Divine things, besides the neglect or perversion of the ministry, there is a lower depth, or greater sin. This had been shown in Scotland as well as England, in the treatment of the Divine Record itself—in the wilful concealment of the Word of God—in the denial of it to the people—nay, in the denunciation of it by the profligate rulers of the darkness which reigned around them. This was the greatest of all crimes. The force of systematic depravity could go no farther. They had rejected the Word of Jehovah, and what wisdom was in them? The Sacred Scriptures, therefore, and more especially those of the New Testament, standing in the same relation to the Christian Church, which the law, when *lost*, did to the Jewish, and which, when found, became the means of its revival; so the Sacred Volume must now take precedence. We leave other nations to examine for themselves; but in the course pursued by Divine Providence towards this island entire, and by way of eminence, this fact is worthy of more reflection than it has ever obtained. The Word of the Lord, as an instrument in His own hands, and conveyed into the island in spite of all opposition, was to be first, and to be thus glorified. So it had happened in England, as already explained. But here, in the north, as well in the south, in Scotland as well as in England—

“Jehovah had resolved to show
What His own Sovereign Word could do.”

And yet, after all that can be said, at *this* moment, what was now to be done? nay, what to be expected? We have come to December 1542. The King is dead, and Beaton has reached the highest point of his ambition. Before his sovereign was even laid in the grave at Holyrood, *he* has usurped the government; and look wherever the people might, everything seemed to portend success in favour of such a movement. With regard to his own crafty brethren, he sits, like a sovereign Pontiff, over every one of them. The King has left for his heir only an infant, whose mother is favourable to all the intentions of


Beaton. The presumptive heir to the crown, the Earl of Arran, is not merely a weak man, but he seems to be quite indisposed for action; while, in point of talent and activity, there is no other individual to be compared with the Cardinal and Legate. As for the nobility at large, their power is broken; such of them as possessed any authoritative influence are either dead, or in exile; and the best of them have been carried out of the way, from Solway Moss to London. The neighbouring powerful monarch, elated by his victory, threatens war; and it may be one of conquest or of extermination. In short, according to Buchanan, "the considerate foresaw a tempest overhanging Scotland, dark and gloomy beyond conception; for the king had not made a will, and left a girl, scarcely eight days old, as his heir."

From all these circumstances, it must have been quite impossible for any man to see before him a single day, or to foretell what awaited either himself or his country. The only certain thing was, that Beaton had resolved to be both "king and priest" for the time being; having, it is said, caused the will of the king to be proclaimed on Monday after his death, and this, it is understood, pointed to him as the future Regent. But let what will take place, nothing shall prevent the progress of Divine truth; and, as in nature, the darkest hour precedes the daybreak, so it may be even now.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, JAMES VI. TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

MDXLIII.—MDCL.

THE YEAR 1543, A MEMORABLE ONE—CRITICAL STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT—REMARKABLY SUDDEN CHANGE—THE PRIMATE OF ST. ANDREWS IN PRISON—PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLES, AND BY A BILL AND PROCLAMATION THROUGHOUT SCOTLAND, SANCTIONS THE GENERAL PERUSAL OF THOSE SCRIPTURES—CONTRAST WITH ENGLAND AT THIS MOMENT—EXTENT TO WHICH THE SCRIPTURES HAD BEEN POSSESSED, IN SCOTLAND—THE EARL OF ARRAN, THE GOVERNOR, FALLS UNDER THE POWER OF BEATON, NOW ENLARGED—MORE MARTYRDOMS BY HANGING, DROWNING, AND THE FLAMES—THE DEATH OF BEATON—HISTORY OF THE BIBLE IN SCOTLAND FROM 1543 TO 1650—SUPPLIED BY IMPORTATION FOR MORE THAN A HUNDRED YEARS—THE PRESENT VERSION BECOMES THE ONLY ONE IN USE OVER THE ENTIRE KINGDOM.

HE year 1543 was a memorable period, whether we allude to Scotland or England. In relation to both countries, it was a crisis; but as viewed in conjunction, we are furnished with matter well worthy of notice, and in close connexion with the Sacred Scriptures. In Scotland, the opening of the year will discover how insignificant is the power of any human party, however ably led, when the moment arrives in which the Supreme Ruler begins to deal with it. Beaton we have just left, in great power, and fondly anticipating a higher place than Wolsey himself had ever reached. He may be allowed, for a few days, to dream of reigning over the kingdom, at the head of a regency, of which the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Murray were to be chief men; and as for the presumptive heir to the crown, the Earl of Arran, he must be neutralized or overruled. If we can rely on the deliberate testimony of Arran himself, BEATON exhibited a will of the King, appointing *him to be guardian of the infant Queen, as well as Regent, or Governor of the realm.*

Henry VIII., his determined enemy, was now dreaming also, as well as Beaton, though in very different strain. The death of James V. instantaneously gave fresh impulse to his ambition. If possible, and immediately, he is to reign over Scotland. He is to get possession of Beaton, as well as the infant Queen Mary, who, as he now proposed, should in due time be married to his

son Edward. Once awake, however, both the King and the Cardinal must, like other men, follow with the tide of events; but the question between them at this moment being one of time, the sequel will explain which of them gained his object. No sooner had Henry been informed of his nephew's death, than he sent for the Scottish lords and gentlemen, the prisoners from Solway, who, only a few days before, had been marched, as in disgrace, through London, and then they had been only upbraided. The King now sounded them, with a view to his intentions, when, without exception, they bowed to his terms, and without gainsaying! Henry exacted pledges, which they left behind them; and they engaged, that when Queen Mary came to be ten years of age, she should marry Prince Edward. On Friday the 29th of December, the prisoners were allowed to depart, and coming down by way of Darlington, they had reached home by Wednesday the 24th of January.¹ Arran now found himself in circumstances to act with decision; and no sooner do we turn to Scotland, than we find, that not one day had been lost by the Governor.

Upon Monday the 8th of January, the King had been interred; but on Wednesday the 10th, not more than forty-eight hours having elapsed, the Earl of Arran was proclaimed Protector and Governor of the kingdom.² Thus far successful, still the Governor was not sufficiently strong to take any step against Beaton. On the contrary, slow to forego all secular power, it appears that Beaton actually snatched at the chancellorship, and obtained it, for one solitary week! With such an office in addition to those he possessed, if he had effectually ousted Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, he no doubt intended ultimately to overrule the Governor according to his pleasure.

Here, then, at last, it becomes evident, that Henry VIII. had overreached his greatest opponent in the North; for though already in possession of the great seal, by Friday the 26th of this month, the Chancellor and Cardinal, though Legate, was in safe keeping at Dalkeith; only two days after the arrival of the

¹ Gov. State Papers, vol. v., pp. 234, 242, notes.

² "Diurnal of Occurrents."

Scottish barons from England! The will exhibited, pronounced a forgery, had been of no avail. But whatever obscurity still hangs over the precise charges against Beaton, he was put in prison on the day now mentioned. From Dalkeith he was removed to Seton House; from thence, under the charge of Lord Seton, to Blackness Castle on the Forth; and finally, to St. Andrews, from whence he was not released till April, or more than a fortnight after Parliament had transacted all their business.³ Thus are we left free to inquire what this business included.

In the meanwhile, however, was the arrestment of such a man as this to pass without notice? So far from it, all the disciples of "the old learning" were immediately in mourning, and struck with horror. "The public services," says Mr. Tytler, "were instantly suspended; the priests refused to administer either baptism or burial; *the churches were closed*: an universal gloom overspread the countenances of the people, and the country presented the melancholy appearance of a land excommunicated for some awful crime. The days, indeed, were *past* when the full terrors of such a state of spiritual proscription could be felt, yet the Catholic party were still strong in Scotland; they loudly exclaimed against their opponents for so daring an act of sacrilege and injustice; and the people began, in some degree, to identify the cause of Beaton with the independence of the country." The barons also were far from being unanimous on the subject. Four days only after the imprisonment, or on Tuesday the 30th of January, the Earl of Argyle had left Edinburgh for his estate in the west, where, gathering his clan, he might stand ready for any future emergency. The Earls of Huntly, Murray, and Bothwell, had offered to be sureties for the Cardinal's liberty, but in vain. Mass might be suspended, while the priests and monks, having little or nothing to do, had more time for politics and intimidation; but still there was no enlargement of their Cardinal. At this early period, and in reference to the clergy, such an instance of inflexibility was analogous to that of the Venetian government; and it becomes the more observable, when the two *cousins* are

³ Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 242, note.

viewed in contrast. Between the Earl of Arran and Beaton there was the greatest possible distinction, in point of strength of mind and firmness of purpose. It was therefore fit, that at this peculiar crisis, the weakest individual in authority, or the most vacillating, not to say treacherous, should be instrumental in putting aside by far the most acute and powerful man in the kingdom. All that the Pontiff could possibly convey to him from Rome, had previously been bestowed : and if any words are about to be spoken in Parliament regarding the SACRED VOLUME ; if anything was about to be done, which was *never to be undone* ; it was certainly something to say in future years, that all this power had gone for nothing !

Parliament having been summoned to meet on Monday the 12th of March, throughout the month of February, the Earls of Argyle and Huntly, Bothwell and Murray, were straining every nerve to rally and invigorate their adherents ; so that the week immediately before the opening of Parliament exhibited two parties in hostile array, one assembled at Perth, the other in Edinburgh. At the former, besides the earls already mentioned, there were other noblemen, with a great number of bishops, abbots, and knights. They commenced with negotiation, sending certain articles to the Governor and his council. The very first of these stipulated, that *the Cardinal should be set at liberty* ; the second, that *the New Testament in the native tongue should NOT GO ABROAD*. They then requested that the Governor should be counselled by *them* in all the affairs of the realm, and that other ambassadors to Henry VIII., than those which were intended, should be sent to England !

There was not a moment's delay at Edinburgh in returning a most decided answer. The Governor and council would listen to no such terms. On the contrary, they immediately dispatched a herald of arms, charging all these lords at Perth, under pain of treason, to repair to the capital and serve the Governor, according to their allegiance. At the same time, or upon Friday the 9th of March, by way of making their intentions doubly sure, Archibald Beaton of Capildra was committed to ward at Dalkeith, as his relative the Cardinal had been in January, he being now in safe keeping at a greater distance. The party at Edinburgh was now ready for business.

The appearance of the herald at Perth had proved quite sufficient. The Earl of Huntly immediately gave in. As for the clergy, while they could not extricate the Cardinal, if they had anything to say against the Scriptures, it was proper that they should be mustered on the spot. Since Beaton only is put out of the way, let the fraternity assemble and put forth all its strength. As a body, therefore, whether bishops or abbots, they now followed Huntly's example; and they all arrived in Edinburgh on Sunday, or the day before Parliament was opened. By Monday, the Earl of Murray, and on Tuesday, the Earl of Bothwell, sent, craving that they might serve the Governor. The only baron absent was the Earl of Argyle, who pled sickness; but on Thursday he sent his procurator and his two uncles to make his excuse. In short, and on the same day, the Earl of Angus and his brother, Sir George, in their joint letter to Lord Lisle, describe the assembly as "the most substantial Parliament that ever was seen in Scotland in any man's remembrance, and best furnished with all the three estates; the multitude, including their serving-men, being as much as Edinburgh and Leith could lodge."⁴

This "substantial" Parliament having assembled on Monday the 12th, on Tuesday they proceeded to business, and in three days only dispatched the whole; for though it did not rise till Saturday, after Thursday there is nothing recorded. On Tuesday, as James, the Earl of Arran, had been chosen by an inferior number of Lords only, he was now ratified and confirmed by all the three estates, as Governor and second person in the realm. On the same day, Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and as Lord Chancellor, made a motion as to the treaty of peace with England, and the marriage of Mary to Edward. By Wednesday they had reinstated the Earl of Angus and his brother, Sir George Douglas, in their honours and estates, after having been kept in banishment by the late King for fifteen years. But Thursday, the 15th, was reserved for by far the most memorable transaction, or rather the only one, worthy of our notice.

On that day a Bill having been presented by Lord Maxwell

⁴ State Papers, vol. v., p. 264.

for allowing *the Scriptures to be read by all without any limitation*, the Lords of the Articles found, because there was no law shown or produced to the contrary, that the same may be used by *all the lieges of this realm in our vulgar tongue*; and therefore in full Parliament allowed the Bill to be read.⁵ The proposer of this measure was the same man who had been so disappointed of command at Solway Moss, through the folly or infatuation of the late King. He was one of those described by Arran as "well minded towards God's word," which, under the sway of Beaton, he "durst not avow;" but little could he have imagined that in less than three months, his Sovereign in the grave, and the mighty Cardinal in prison, his next, or first important step, would be to move in Parliament on such a subject. Maxwell's visit to England has been loosely conjectured to have had some influence on his mind; but his mind, as well as that of many others with him, had been influenced for years before they had seen England; and at all events, his present movement could not have been in obedience to any previous instructions received there, much less any engagement. No, when he departed from London, leaving pledge for his return, if called for, Beaton was in full force as chief ruler of the country, and no such speedy result could have been either foreseen or conjectured. The truth is, that many others in Parliament were of Maxwell's opinion, and hence his success.

But was such a proposal as this to pass, and grow into the shape of an Act of Parliament, without any opposition? Certainly not; and this, at the moment, formed part of its value, as a memorable occurrence. It was not within the power of these men, though they had been unanimous, either to retard or greatly further this cause. That cause was now nearly *seventeen years* old, independently alike of their aid or opposition; and it will go on, when this pusillanimous and unprincipled cousin of Beaton's, the Governor, has turned his coat, and is sanctioning the bloody deeds of the Cardinal again ruling over him. But in the meanwhile, the opposition was well fitted to instruct the people at large, as to who *were not*, and who *were*, the determined enemies of the will of God being made known

⁵ Scottish Acts, vol. ii.

to His creatures. There was therefore a select band of men in Parliament now in alarm, though only one, but that one unanimously. We need scarcely name the Bishops and their brethren ; for though the body of the Cardinal and Legate had been placed at a convenient distance, the *animus* of his party was present, and in its full strength.

Accordingly up rose Dunbar, the Archbishop and Lord Chancellor, "in his own name, and in name of *all* the prelates of the realm that were present, and dissented *simpliciter*." They now opposed the measure at least "unto the time that a provincial council might be had of all the clergy of this realm, to *advise and conclude* thereupon, *if* the same be necessary to be had in vulgar tongue, to be used among the Queen's lieges *or not* ; and thereafter to show the utter determination what *shall* be done in that behalf ; and thereupon he craved instruments." Thus spake one of the three estates in Parliament to a man, but upon this day altogether in vain, as the Bill was immediately passed into a law, and in these terms :—

"It is statute and ordained, that it shall be lawful to *all our Sovereign LADY's lieges* to have the *Holy Writ*, both the *New Testament* and the *Old*, in the vulgar tongue, in the *English* or *Scottish*, of a good and true translation, and that they shall incur no crimes for the having or reading of the same ; providing always that no man dispute or hold opinions, under the pains contained in the *Acts of Parliament*."

The party in opposition might complain, and still decline to say mass, nay even refuse to bury the dead ; but as soon as Parliament had risen on Saturday, no time was lost in proclaiming to all the people what had been done. On Monday an order came from the Governor to the Clerk-Register, Mr. James Fowles, of Colinton, and proclamation was made at the market-cross of *Edinburgh* ; but this was not sufficient. Letters were sent off by special messengers, ordaining the Act to be proclaimed within the jurisdiction of the protesting Archbishop, in the *west*—also in *Dundee* and *Aberdeen* ; in *Elgin*, *Forres*, and *Inverness* ; in *Dumfermline* and *Perth* ; in *Lanark* and *Dumfries*, *Kirkeudbright* and *Wigton*.⁶

⁶ Lord Treasurer's Accounts.

There was certainly no ambiguity in this parliamentary decision, nor any want of vigorous despatch in sounding it out, through the length and breadth of the land. All of a sudden, the trumpet had given a certain sound, from Wigton to Inverness, nor should it pass unnoticed that the voice of the Scottish senate *never* was recalled. The Act was never repealed, nor was there any haggling with the subject in Parliament, amidst all the turmoil of many subsequent years. The step taken, however, considered as a parliamentary one, becomes doubly striking, as soon as we observe what was doing in England at the same moment. In the northern part of the island, in one single day, they had discussed and settled a subject, on which Henry's obsequious Parliament were deliberating and disputing for weeks, if not months, together. If the Bishops of "the old learning" were discomfited and down in Scotland, at the same precious moment they were up and doing in England. The English Convocation had, it is true, been made to feel and confess its own impotence again and again, before this period; but at last, having, through its organs in Parliament, for once got the subject before the Senate, they succeeded effectually in befooling it. All their proceedings, however, it is freely granted, recoiled on the head of Henry himself, who did what he pleased, in a Parliament prostrate at his feet; nor in referring to him, as the sovereign agent, is it possible to forget his course of intrigue, in Scotland, year after year. Had he not been prompting his nephew, James V., for the last seven years to compliance? Nay, teasing him to admit the Scriptures to be read in his kingdom? How often he had anxiously felt his pulse on this subject, we need not recount; but now the Scottish monarch is gone, and the very first Parliament after his decease has thus determined, and so promptly. And what is the still surviving uncle, Henry VIII., now doing, or what does he say? Why, his Parliament, after abundance of wrangling between Gardiner and Cranmer, have only now discovered that "the Lord Chancellor of England, the Captains of the wars, and the King's Justices *may* read the Bible!—That any nobleman, or gentlewoman, or merchantman, being a householder, *may* follow the example! But that *no* woman-servant, *no* artificer, *no* apprentice, *no* journeyman, *no* husbandman, *no* labourer, was to read

either the New Testament or the Old, by themselves, or to any other, privately or openly, on pain of one month's imprisonment!!"

And were these two Parliaments within the compass of the same island, thus acting, and at the same moment? They certainly were; and for additional proof, the reader has only to refer to the preceding history, under the year 1543. But from the singular coincidence in point of time and theme, with the striking contrast in regard to treatment; if it was intended that posterity should learn a lesson ever after, as to the folly of parliamentary interference on such a subject, we ask if it be possible to conceive of one more decisive? Nor does the lesson terminate here. Henry the Eighth has an ambassador on the road to Scotland, and in proceeding with our narrative, we find him arrive on the evening of Sunday, the 18th of March, or the day after the Scottish Parliament had risen. It was Sir Ralph Sadler once more. That evening he saw the Governor at Holyrood, and heard of all the doings of the preceding eventful week. Next day, when proclamation was made, he had his first deliberate interview, and on Tuesday commenced his first and long letter. By his correspondence, so far as *the reading of the Sacred Volume* was concerned, he will certainly not add to the consistency of his Royal Master's character. For whatever they were deciding in his English Parliament, as a part of the best news Sadler could convey, he informs his Royal Majesty personally, not indeed one syllable respecting the distinction now making in the south, between gentlewomen and maid-servants, between noblemen and labourers, or captains of the wars and husbandmen; but that in Scotland, "the gospel was now set forth in English, and *open proclamations made that it shall be lawful for all men to read the Bible or Testament in the mother tongue*, and special charge that no man preach to the *contrary on pain of death!*" And by the 10th of April, that same Monarch, who was on the point of endeavouring to *restrain* the Bible, threatening to punish every soul among the useful or working classes in his kingdom for daring to look between its leaves, was, in order to accomplish his ambitious designs upon Scotland, urging his ambassador there, respecting "the setting forth of the Scriptures!" Nor was this newly-appointed Governor in Scotland

far behind the English King. His fickleness had, by this month, excited the suspicions of Sadler ; but we shall hear of him presently.

These gentlemen, however, having now chosen to say that it was lawful for "all men to *have* the Holy Writ, and to *read* it, whether in the New Testament or the Old ;" the only question is, *where* were copies, either of the one or the other, to be found, sufficient to satisfy the demand ? Not a single edition was ordered to be put to press, nor was there any Bible to be printed in Scotland for fully thirty-five years to come. Sadler, it is true, had written, at the Governor's request, for certain copies to be sent, but this was not till a fortnight after Parliament had risen, nor can this render the proclamation intelligible. The Governor had ordered open proclamation to be made, not in Edinburgh alone, but in all the principal towns of the kingdom ; but was this to be regarded as no more than a liberty to read what was *nowhere* to be found ? This would have been nothing short of a piece of mockery. Here, therefore, at last we meet with a sudden, but certainly no slight or ambiguous confirmation of our previous history. Long before these parliamentary men had thus spoken, human authority for such liberty had never been consulted. It was now above sixteen years since the English New Testament at least had been in Edinburgh and Leith, as well as St. Andrews and Dundee. Maxwell, who had spoken in Parliament, was then a much younger man ; and it is curious enough that *at that time*, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the uncle of Beaton, should have been a fugitive tending sheep, under the disguise of a shepherd ; while, at *the present moment*, the nephew, though clothed with the highest pontifical authority, was now a prisoner in safe custody.

At the same time, it should be observed, that but for what has just occurred, no one could have imagined that the importation of the Scriptures had been going on to such *extent* ; and, in a historical point of view, it is this which lends any importance to the step taken in Parliament. It was like the drawing aside of a curtain, to let us see what had been accomplished, without any human sanction, either asked or given ; and without the agency of even one conspicuous character, to be known in future years. These proclamations were like so many invita-

tions for the Sacred Volume to be *produced*, if it was already in the country. The precious book which for so many years had been read in secret, or at midnight over the household lamp, might now be held up in noon-day.

In such a history as the present, therefore, nothing could be more desirable than to ascertain the precise extent of the circulation of the Sacred Volume, or by whom, at this early period, it was actually and already possessed. Our authority for this is one which will not here be disputed, although he was a man of whom, till now, we have had no occasion to speak. Even at the present moment, indeed, he had not yet declared himself to be in favour of the Scriptures. About seventeen years must elapse before he will take up his abode in Edinburgh, and at least a few more before he described the fame of 1543; for though born in the year 1505, he had nearly reached his fortieth year before his mind was ripe for any decisive step. It has been conjectured, indeed, that about the year 1535, some favourable change in his sentiments had commenced; but whatever these were, he had not possessed sufficient fortitude openly to profess them, nor to act with decision till about ten years after that period. We now allude, it may be anticipated, to the well-known John Knox.

If it has hitherto been imagined by many, that there had been no vital and important movements in Scotland before his appearance, the previous history is left in explanation, and Knox himself will now so far draw aside the curtain. The positive importation of the Sacred Volume in the language of the people, for at least seventeen years past, and that till the men in power were constrained to bow and acknowledge it; or its importation for about seventeen years more before his settlement in Scotland, he has not interpreted; but when sitting down to review the past, he had a distinct and lively remembrance of the memorable occurrence in 1543. Indeed, such an event was well fitted to stimulate even the timid and the wavering mind.

About six or eight years had elapsed after Knox's settlement before he commenced that history, the whole of which passes under his name; and since by the year 1543, though not yet decided in his views of Divine truth, he must have become no unobservant spectator of his country, no man was more able to

narrate with fidelity what had been so visible to many eyes. Looking back, therefore, about twenty-five years, and speaking of the freedom, then at last proclaimed, for all to read the Scriptures, he says:—"This was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of His verity; not small comfort to such as *before* were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, nor articles of their faith, in the English tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. *THEN might have been seen the Bible lying upon almost every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands!*"⁷

Now, these volumes, of course, had been in Scotland before, and most of them long before this period; otherwise such a display could not have been made, for a very considerable time to come; so that, up to this period, the progress of Divine truth had been entirely independent of human approbation, or rather in spite of human authority; and the cause will now proceed as it had done, whatever should occur, or whatever men in power may yet either say or do to the contrary.

The present crisis had served to show that Beaton was nothing more than as "clay in the hands of the potter;" but, after all, the triumph in its full extent was little more than a gleam of sunshine. The parliamentary "liberty" granted, was very much akin to the present *Russian* idea of that term. There was unlimited freedom to *have* and to *read* the Sacred text, but none whatever to form any opinion, or, at least, *express* it! In strict propriety of speech, the terms of the Act were a mixture of presumption and cruelty, or of profanity and persecution: of presumption in any men taking it upon them to legislate on a subject so sacred; of cruelty, in resolving to punish their fellow-subjects for their opinions, and, according to the report of Sadler, with death itself.

The most memorable circumstance however was, what we have already hinted, that the Act never was repealed. As it was therefore "lawful for all men to *have* the Holy Writ," it

⁷ Knox's History; the first book of which was written by himself, the second, third, and fourth from his papers, by Richard Bannatyne, and the fifth by Mr. David Buchanan.

never could be illegal to *import* it, and we have to witness presently the extent to which this importation must have gone. Meanwhile, and just as if to render all future progress only the more observable, the Regent of Scotland, the selfsame governor who had sent out these proclamations, in less than six months had entirely changed his politics! Indeed, the very next month after Parliament rose, he had begun to betray symptoms of wavering; and though he, and some others, had sold their country for English gold, since Beaton was once more at liberty, as well as in great wrath at what had been done while he was in confinement, it will not be long before the Earl of Arran will be entirely at his command. In short, the Lords of the “substantial” Parliament were soon at variance, and though the treaties both of peace and marriage with England, concluded at Greenwich on the 1st of July, were ratified by Arran on Friday the 25th of August, and at the same time he proclaimed Beaton a *traitor*; in ten days after, or Sunday the 3rd of September, he threw himself into the arms of the Archbishop! They met at Callender House, went together to Stirling, where, in the Franciscan convent, the Governor abjured in favour of “the old learning,” and from the man he had imprisoned in January, received absolution in September for all that he had done!

Beaton, once more in possession of unlimited power, was sure to take advantage of the word *opinions*, so strangely inserted like a sting in the tail of the late Act of Parliament; and with this precious Governor at his feet, he took him forth in 1545, as he had formerly done James V., to witness and sanction his murders. To say nothing of those who were banished, these amounted to at least seven in number, and through the Cardinal’s influence, it is worthy of remark, partook of a new character. It had been the practice of that community to which he belonged, to *burn* people to ashes for their opinions; but whether it was cowardice in Beaton that he durst not do this, or rather cunning, that he might *identify the State* with what he did; yet so it was, that of five persons put to death at Perth, four were hanged, and one was drowned. The last was a female, the first and only martyr of that sex of which we read. She was the wife of one of the sufferers, with an infant at her

breast, who, before she was thrown into the water, gave the infant to another, and expressed great joy in following her husband to a better world.⁸ A sixth individual, a priest, John Rogers, is said to have been dispatched within the Castle of St. Andrews, or thrown over the wall, so as to occasion his death; but the *only* instance of death by *fire* was, conspicuously, Beaton's own act, shortly before his own death. This was George Wishart, whose martyrdom, on the 1st of March, 1546, is to be found in our general histories, taken in connexion with the Government state papers and manuscripts, but recently published.

One point only is deserving of notice here, as illustrative of the pinnacle on which Beaton stood, just before he was thrown down or slain within his own strong castle, while in the act of rendering it stronger still. This is to be seen in the insolence with which he trampled on his victim, the Governor, and now treated his authority. Arran had advised delay, and that the cause of Wishart should be thoroughly examined, intimating that if the Cardinal acted with precipitation, the blood of this man would be required at his hands. However deeply chagrined at this message, Beaton coolly replied, "that he had not written to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be *any way dependent* upon his authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of heretics might have a *show* of public consent! But since he could not obtain it, he would proceed in that way which to *him* appeared to be most proper!" He did proceed, and shortly after followed to his own judgment in another world. His death by violence, which took place on the morning of the 29th of May, 1546, may be traced to the long-cherished desire of Henry VIII., so well known by his agents at the time; or to the violent existing quarrel between Norman Lesly, Master of Rothes, and the Cardinal, respecting a piece of land, heightened, no doubt, by his treatment of Wishart; but the event was nothing more than might have been expected, while it is impossible to overlook the cir-

⁸ The names of these worthy citizens of Perth were—William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Finlayson, and his wife Helen, formerly named Stark.

cumstance, that the man who would not allow another to be deliberately and legally tried, was himself put to death, without trial or ceremony of any kind.

From the year 1543, and for more than three successive generations, the history of the English Bible north of the Tweed, is of a very marked or memorable character, and peculiar to Scotland among all the other nations of Europe. Certainly not one of them has the same story to tell. Throughout, it forms a remarkable continuation of that independence of human patronage, which has been so steadily repudiated from the beginning; while no country has been more signally indebted to the gracious providence of God.

In 1543, when it was first proclaimed to be lawful to peruse the Scriptures, although they had been reading in secret for fully sixteen years, it is to be observed that no edition of the Bible entire, or of the New Testament separately, was ordered to be printed. Cardinal Beaton having immediately regained his authority, such a proposal was not to be whispered for a moment. But as he was removed by death only three years after, this will not account for its being, not three, or five, but *thirty-five* years, before any Bible was issued from the Scottish press! This, too, was in folio, nor did a second edition follow, and of the same unwieldy character, till 1610, or above thirty years more had passed away. Nay, only the third edition, and at last in the octavo size, did not appear till the year 1633; or ninety years from the day on which it was said to be lawful *to have and to read* the Bible in English! There was then also a fourth edition, in 1637, and one in duodecimo next year. Thus it was, that for more than a hundred years, or a space of time equal to that of three generations, there were no more than five editions of the Bible issued from the printing-presses *in the country*; not to say that two of these were in folio, no size even approaching to that which the people required having made its appearance till so late as 1633. The first pocket Bible was not printed till 1638.

Such then was the condition of our Scottish ancestors, so far as their own *native* press was concerned. No Bible, even so convenient as that of an *octavo* size, had been printed in Scot-

land, for the use of the community, till one hundred and seven years after the New Testament of Tyndale had been first conveyed to Edinburgh and St. Andrews, as well as other ports. What then had become of the people at large? Had they been left destitute of the Book of Life to such an extent as this, and for an entire century after it first reached their shores? Far, very far from it. In proportion to its population, perhaps in no other country had it been more generally possessed, if not eagerly perused; and the explanation will afford us now in review, one of the most signal displays of the goodness of God to our northern ancestors. Once pointed out, it certainly will be difficult for the present generation to escape from the obligation to send the Sacred Volume *over sea and land* to other nations.

The very commencement of this long period was auspicious for Scotland. It should not be forgotten, that, as soon as the Earl of Arran was overruled to make his proclamations throughout the country, no trifling display was given of the Scriptures having been already there, and to an extent which could not have been imagined. But at the same moment, Henry in England had frowned on the *general* perusal of the Sacred Volume, because, as it has been said, "he being now to go abroad, upon a weighty expedition to France, thought it convenient to leave his subjects at home as *easy* as might be." This frown, though it was disregarded by many, even in England, must have been quite in favour of *Scottish* usage. Whatever supernumerary copies there were, might have been sent down to the North, where Henry had no objection that the subjects should be as *little at ease* as possible. The printers in England must have been perfectly aware of the crooked policy of their Sovereign, and, from self-interest, would act accordingly. Not only the Bible, but what Sadler styles "his Majesty's books of religion," Henry was eager should now be read in the North; and by the month of August, or just before the Regent had turned his coat, his Majesty had been personally anxious to know *how* they were "liked" there. The distinction drawn, in reply, between them and *the Scriptures*, should not be overlooked. Although the gentlemen of the old learning were, says Sadler, "well pleased with the *restraint* of the Scriptures in England, and yet would have liked it much better, if it had been

generally restrained from *all* sorts," there was another class "*much offended with the same*;" while, at the same moment, the "books of religion," so called, the ambassador confesses were "not much liked by *any* party," and as for the Governor or Regent, he did not desire "to have any more of them."

Beaton, it is granted, might prevail with the Regent to discountenance the circulation of the Scriptures, but Providence soon found him enough to do, whether in maintaining his seat, or providing for his own safety. Besides, he died in the short space of three years; and as the first Bible printed on Scottish ground was not published till the year 1579, or seven years after the death of Knox: not to say that this was in folio, and appointed to be sold for the sum of £4 13s. 4d., or seven marks; how, all this time, had it fared with the people, or the thousands who, even now, could afford no such sum? It may indeed appear scarcely credible, but by even this early period it comes out, that the Sacred Volume in the vulgar tongue was *almost in every house*! A better testimony to the truth of this fact could not be desired, since it is to be found in the Dedication to James VI., of this first Bible. After acknowledging the "great occasion" they had "to glorify the goodness of God towards their country," the Assembly addressing the King exclaims—

"O what difference may be seen between *these* days of light, when *almost in every private house the Book of God's Law is read, and understood in our vulgar tongue*, and that age of darkness when scarcely in a whole city (without the cloisters of monks and friars) could the Book of God once be found, and that in a strange tongue of Latin, not good, but mixed with barbarity; used and read by few, and almost understood or expounded by none; and when the false named clergy of this realm, abusing the gentle nature of your Highness' most noble goodsire, of worthy memory, made it a capital crime, to be punished with the fire, to have or read the New Testament in the vulgar language; and to make them to all men more odious, as if it had been the detestable name of a pernicious sect, they were named **NEW TESTAMENTERS**."

The fact was, that the *folio* Bible now published was intended chiefly "to the end, that in every parish kirk there should be at least one kept, to be called 'the common book of the kirk,' as a most meet ornament for such a place, and a perpetual *register* of the Word of God, the fountain of all true doctrine, to be made patent to all the people of every congregation, as the **ONLY right rule** to direct and govern them in matters of religion, as

also to confirm them in the truth received, and to reform and redress corruptions, whensoever they may creep in."

But still the question returns—How had the Sacred Volume found its way into so many private families? There was no word of command from rulers, no voice of human authority, and yet, still from the beginning, or for fifty years past, from time to time, the Word of God had, it is evident, come into the country. There was no such thing once thought of *then* as gratuitous distribution. The people desired to have the Book of God, and must have gladly paid the price, but it came to them actually *terrá marique*, over land and sea. They were supplied not only from *England*, but from the printing-presses of *Holland*, as they continued to be from both countries, for more than half a century to come. Hence the next edition executed in Scotland was still a folio, and not printed till 1610, or only a few months before our present version; the first edition of *that* version not appearing till 1633, and the first pocket Bible not till five years later. In this point of view, certainly no other people in Europe can look back to such a century.⁹

After this we need not repeat that the course pursued by an indulgent Providence was one, in no sense relying on the patronage or power of the authorities in Scotland; but this fact will become still more striking if we now glance at the history of these two folio Bibles, printed in the country itself.

The first licence to publish any part of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue was granted to Robert Lekprevik on the 22nd of March, 1564, and a special licence to print the Geneva Bible was added in April 1568; but although thus licensed and

⁹ How many editions of the English Bible were thus printed beyond seas, whether for South or North Britain, it is impossible to say, as, with a few exceptions, they had the *London* imprint, and can only be detected by an experienced eye, but that there were many thousands is well known. At first some of these editions may have been undertaken with the concurrence of the Patentee, but in the end the Dutch were reading a severe lecture to this country on the superiority of *competition* to *monopoly*. The workmanship in Holland had become of a superior character, and threatened to carry the printing of Bibles out of the kingdom. Hence the language of Archbishop Laud when he wished foreign prints excluded for the protection of the English printer, "The books which come from thence are better print, better bound, better paper, and for all the charges of bringing, sold better cheap." A free press at home would have effectually met this grievance.

constituted “King’s Printer,” and printing books in Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Stirling, he never printed a Bible at all. The first Bible, however, appeared in 1579, a reprint of the Geneva translation of 1561, but more correct. Thomas Bassandyne, a native of Scotland, having acquired the art of printing in Paris and Leyden, returned to his own country and began business in Edinburgh. He had finished the New Testament in 1576, but delayed publishing it till the Old was completed in 1579; dying that year, the book came out with the name of Arbuthnot, who had likely been at the charge of the undertaking. Having applied to the Privy Council for the licence which was necessary for all books, he obtained one, and at the same time the title of “King’s Printer,” which Lekprevik had forfeited. It is entitled,—

“The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and Newe Testament. Printed at Edinburgh be Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the King’s Majestie, dwelling at the Kirk of Field. 1579. Cum gratia et privilegio regie Majestatis.”

This was a Bible not for general use, but for the “Kirk.” The whole expense was defrayed by the parishioners through their ministers or superintendents, and, in many instances, the money was advanced before the book was delivered.

The second Bible printed in Scotland did not appear till thirty-one years after the first, in 1610. This much admired folio was from the press of Andrew Hart, who had never been King’s Printer; while Charteris, who held that appointment, never printed one solitary edition. Hart’s Old Testament was a reprint of Bassandyne’s, but the New was the same as that printed in England by Lawrence Tomson, with Beza’s notes in the margin. No licence for printing this book has been found, but next year, 1611, when our present version first came out in England, we find the following enactment by the *diocesan* Synod of St. Andrews:—

“For as much as it was thought expedient that there be in every Kirk a common Bible, it was concluded that every brother shall urge his parishioners to buy one of the Bibles *lately printed by Andro Hart*; and the brother failing either to cause buy one, as said is, or else to give in his exact diligence, shall pay at the next Synod 6 lib. money.”

In the year following, 1612, Finlason succeeded Charteris as King’s Printer, with licence to print “the books of Holy Scripture, containing the Old and New Testament, in *all* lan-

guages;" but he never printed the Scriptures in any language whatever. In this very licence there is a clause rendering it perfectly legal for "ANY printer, bookseller, or other, to print, or cause to be printed, the Bible, New Testament, and the Psalm Book," at home or abroad. A licence indeed was necessary, but this was open to every one; and importation was never prohibited. *This entire freedom was unlike anything done in England from the days of Edward VI. up to the present hour.* What the motive for this was no one can tell, for none is assigned. The wisdom of non-interference is, however, obvious.

In reference to Scotland, that her sons should have been supplied, and so richly, with the Book of God, in a way altogether independent of her native press, not to say her reigning government, and for more than a hundred years, is one of the most singular points in her history. From the year 1526 down to 1633, and even later, the people at large had been supplied entirely from without. The *New Testamenters* acquired their honourable distinction from reading an *imported* book. Their Bibles, after this, were prepared for them at a distance, with paper and types foreign to their country, and yet as early as 1579, the book was "almost in every house." The tide of importation, however, was then only setting in with a stronger current, for after that it rose to a far greater height.¹⁰

¹⁰ So spirited was the importation, and so numerous the editions of some other books, that the *disposition to read* could scarcely have been stronger in any other country at the time. This becomes very evident through the last thirty years of the sixteenth century, during the whole of which, Elizabeth of England was so apprehensive of the power of the press, that at last, books were printed in Edinburgh, which the printers upon English ground were afraid to risk. We find licences granted in 1573 and 1580 to carry books from England to Scotland in the way of regular business. In 1587, Norton of London, in conjunction with Hart of Edinburgh, was bringing books from Germany to Scotland equally with England, "from whence Edinburgh was supplied with better books than heretofore, as *cheap* as they were sold in London." To effect this, Hart applied for and obtained, both for himself and others, the privilege of importing books *duty free*. Books were printed abroad expressly for the Scottish market, and also for Scottish authors, to an extent now but little known. Thirty-one editions of Buchanan's Psalms were printed in Paris, Antwerp, and London between 1566 and 1610. Four editions of his History were printed between 1582 and 1594. There were fourteen editions of the entire works of Sir David Lindsay, besides many of his separate pieces, between 1558 and 1614. Nine of these were printed in Scotland. Sixteen volumes of the works of Rollock, who died in 1598, were published before 1605, and went rapidly through several editions.

After these statements, it cannot but appear passing strange that it should have been supposed, nay asserted, and in print, even in our own day, that from the time when the people of Scotland (in 1543) *obtained leave* to read the Bible, very few people in those days *could* read at all!! And that *very few* copies were introduced into Scotland, till after the year 1560!! Such is the ignorance still betrayed respecting one of the most heart-stirring periods of her history, and which, *as* the earliest, ought to have been regarded with the deeper interest. These, however, are only like the assertions of a man, who never all his lifetime inquired what was then doing, or done. Why, for sixteen years, without asking *leave*, the people had been reading the New Testament, at least to this extent, that, their enemies themselves being judges, they declared, it was *this* that occasioned *all* the din *throughout the land*. Before 1543 also, or before one word was spoken about *leave*, they had been reading the Bible entire; only they could then carry in their hand, what formerly they had read in concealment. Nay, after leave was proclaimed, and after the man by whose orders this was done had changed his tone, reading went on as before, and to an extent not only as to the Sacred Scriptures, but even as to other books, with which many in the present day are but little acquainted, and but too few have ever observed.

After the opening of the seventeenth century, not only importation of books from abroad, but printing of books at home having proceeded with accelerated progress, we have the surest index to the art of reading having advanced with equal steps. Indeed, some time after this, it is by no means difficult to prove that anxious attention had been bestowed upon education down to the humblest rank, and the art of reading had become very general. It may be thought by some a picture too highly coloured; but according to Kirkton the historian, by the time that our present version of the Bible was prevailing throughout the kingdom, or before the restoration of Charles II., he affirms that "every village in Scotland had a school, every family almost had a Bible; yea, in most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided with Bibles either by their parents or the ministers." Whatever deductions from this statement can be proved, may be freely allowed; but after

all, we presume that a very remarkable degree of moral cultivation had certainly been attained, and beyond this period we do not at present proceed.

Thus the history of the Bible in Scotland has been brought down to the same point of time with the previous detail respecting England. Since the commencement, in 1525, or of the Scriptures entire, in 1537, there had been a fivefold revision of the original translation, an advantage altogether peculiar to itself, and doubly valuable from that circumstance. Consequently, there had been *five* different versions printed, and these had proved in succession the means of salvation, and the source of comfort, to four successive generations; but now there came to be but *one* version. Entertaining no superstitious reverence for that one, as though it were already perfect, or never destined to be yet improved and corrected, we cannot but pause over this *general consent*, as a very memorable historical event. The last rival competitor for general acceptance had been the Geneva book, a version in several passages preferable to our own, and especially in translating "*love*," not "*charity*;" but it had been generally encumbered with *notes* or glosses; and it is observable, that so late as the year 1649, an attempt was made to saddle our *present* version with those *notes*, but it was in vain. One or two editions of the Bible were thus printed, but such additions to the Sacred Text must not continue. *Notes and comments* must be withdrawn. Since the year 1611, however, these two versions of the Sacred Volume had been before the people in both countries; our present translation, from the beginning *without notes*, the other very generally *with* them; so, at last, and about the middle of the seventeenth century, our present venerated Bible had nearly arrived at that state of prevalence which it has ever since maintained. Whatever opinions have since prevailed, or died away, from that time to the present, and in any part of the United Kingdom, the same version, without a single interruption, has continued to be the Bible of Great Britain and Ireland, or wherever the language is spoken.

In looking back, however, from the commencement, even down to this period, it must be very evident, that no space whatever is left for self-complacency. No inhabitant of Britain can

now say, that the Revelation of the Divine Will was received by his forefathers generally, with any ready or cordial concurrence. On the contrary, the point to which the Sovereign Disposer of all events had now brought our country, was precisely that with which He had begun so long before. It was the Bible, but *without note and comment*, which was now at last received, whether in England or Scotland; but, then, such had been the original movement of Divine Providence. This it was, which Tyndale had laid down to Henry the Eighth, as the sole or exclusive terms of combat, above one hundred and twenty years ago! Through the medium of His Word, the Almighty had been striving with the nation ever since, and "*the long-suffering of God had waited, and long it had waited, as in the days of Noah.*"

The season and circumstances, therefore, in which this *general consent* took place, it would be criminal to overlook, or ever forget. The event was one of moment to unborn generations, and every one must be eager to mark the time. Both the season and circumstances, it is true, may be humbling to our national vanity, but for this we have been fully prepared; after having had such frequent occasion to observe, that independence of human authority, patronage, or power, has been one distinguishing feature of this history throughout. By far the most remarkable display of this, however, was reserved to the *close*. There was a moral significance, others will say sublimity, in the season chosen. It was at a crisis altogether *sui generis*, when God, by His providence, as all agree, was speaking loudly to every corner in Great Britain and Ireland.

It was at a period when there was *no earthly throne in the island to invoke; no King in Britain to enjoin such consent*. It was when there was *no primate of Canterbury or St. Andrews, to enforce it, or any House of Lords in being*. Even the office of "*Licencer of the press*" had been abolished, nor must the existing legislature of the day for once interfere. *No voice of human authority was raised*, when a nation, in other respects greatly divided, became of one consent, and a consent unbroken to the present hour; nor did any one thing in which man was then engaged, concur to produce an effect, then first felt by the whole kingdom, and since enjoyed for nearly two hundred years!

In those unprecedented and tumultuous times, certainly the main consolation of those who feared God, and loved the Scriptures, must have run in very much the same channel; and perhaps at no preceding era in this country, had they more frequently closed their mutual communications in the same expressive terms—THE LORD REIGNETH. But we who live, though at such a distance, can now see this event in greater perfection, as by far the most conspicuous proof that He did reign, as still He does. It was the solitary eminent public occurrence, which was to admit of no mutation for two centuries to come.

The kingdom itself may yet be moved, from its centre to its shores, and be greatly agitated. The civil power may change its aspect. The monarchy may be restored, only to be dealt with providentially, as the Pontiff had been. The line of succession may be broken, and the existing dynasty even be banished from the soil. Yet better days are coming, and no weapon, though employed by a future Sovereign, shall prosper against the Bible of his subjects: though among the causes of removal from his crown and kingdom, should hostility to the Sacred Volume be discovered, this is not to be buried in oblivion amongst other provocations.


BOOK IV.
GREAT BRITAIN.

From the Commonwealth to Queen Victoria.

THE COMMONWEALTH TO GEORGE III.

MDCL.—MDCCLXXX.

BRIEF SURVEY—THE REVOLUTION OF 1688-9—PRECEDING OPPOSITION TO THE SCRIPTURES BY JAMES II., AN ADHERENT OF THE OLD LEARNING—CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION—STATE OF THE BIBLE PRESS IN ENGLAND—CANNE'S BIBLE—BASKERVILLE'S—BLAYNEY'S BIBLE—STATE OF THE BIBLE PRESS IN SCOTLAND—JAMES II. EQUALLY BUSY IN OPPOSITION THERE—THE NUMBER OF BIBLES NOW PASS ALL HUMAN COMPUTATION—THE RESULTS.

 HIS period, extending to one hundred and thirty years, from 1650 to the twentieth year of the reign of George the Third, or 1780, involved many changes in the sovereignty of the kingdom, namely—

The Commonwealth,	1649-1660.	Queen Anne,	. 1702-1714.
Charles II. . . .	1660-1685.	George I. . . .	1714-1727.
James II. . . .	1685-1688.	George II. . . .	1727-1760.
WILLIAM and MARY,	1689-1702.	George III. . . .	1760-1780.

Glancing back for a moment at the commencement of the Stuart dynasty, though there was some expression of apparent momentary interest by James I., in reference to the Scriptures, as this was never followed up by any substantial or recorded

proof of continued zeal, it was ominous of all that followed in the times of his son and grandsons. That King, it is notorious, in his latter years, had discovered a decided leaning towards the gentlemen of "the old learning;" and, at all events under the successive reigns of his descendants, we witness such neglect in the printing and publishing of the Sacred Volume, not to say open contempt, that if the eye has once fixed on this history throughout, one cannot help anticipating the approach of some great national crisis. What were dignified with the title of "public affairs" had frequently in this kingdom, before now, been treated as subordinate to one other. Among the elements of our national changes, it is true, any reference to the Sacred Oracles, though first given to us after such an extraordinary manner, has seldom, if ever, found a place. And yet, in reference to the Scriptures in the language of the people, a contrast is forced upon us between the house of Tudor and that of Stuart. The princes of the former, from Henry to Elizabeth, had been overruled, and to this they submitted—those of the latter were at last banished from the soil. Among the impelling causes of this final step, the treatment of the Divine Record may have had more to do than has hitherto been observed.

It may be inquired—What possible connexion can ever be traced between that great national change, the Revolution of 1688, and the possession of the Divine Record in the language of the people? It is true, that many instances might be adduced of the very slovenly manner in which the privileged printers had been executing their task. This, however, the long-suffering of God had endured, and will continue to do, so that it may be glanced at afterwards. But now the supreme authority of the Sacred Volume having been unblushingly impugned under the immediate sanction of the Crown, there must be a change. The very *first* year of the reign of James II. was marked by several noted events, indicative of direct hostility to Divine Truth, as affecting its devoted adherents at home and abroad. From the year 1670, indeed, the sentiments of this Prince had created uneasiness, agitating Parliament again and again, and his doings in Scotland from 1679 were known to all. But once crowned, in February 1685, he then pledged himself to be a

disciple and adherent of "the old learning." In June, Charles the Elector Palatine dying without issue, was succeeded by the house of Newburgh, no less ardently devoted to Rome. In October, Louis the Fourteenth revoked the edict of Nantes; and in December, threatened by the Court of France, the Duke of Savoy had recalled the edict that his father had granted in favour of the Vaudois. All these were indications of some general storm, and the King of England will hasten its approach. Ere long a select junto of persons in favour of the old learning and its re-establishment, with Father Edward Petre, the King's confessor, as a privy councillor at their head, took the management of many affairs, the too evident proof of some concerted scheme being in progress.

And now when the King was down at Oxford, for the last time in 1687, he might "be presented in the name of the University with a rich BIBLE, printed there," which his Majesty, as a blind, said he would accept; and he might afterwards talk of establishing toleration by an Act of Parliament; but it is of far more importance to observe, both before and after this, how he had been acting elsewhere, both at London and in his former abode at Edinburgh.

The reader has already heard much of the Barkers, as the printers of the Bible, but long before their rights expired, Charles II. had granted a reversionary patent to Thomas Newcome and one *Henry Hills*. Sooner or later this last man, whose moral character seems to have been far from correct, had actually been employed in printing the Scriptures, and, according to report, shamefully incorrect.¹ But no sooner was James upon the throne, than Hills had come into closer confidential contact. He then styled himself openly, "Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for his Household and Chapel." This might serve for whatsoever was to be done in London, but there was another man sustaining the same office and title down at Edinburgh, and the question will be, how were they engaged? Was the press about to be employed in hostility to the Word of God, and by printed sanction of the King? In both capitals the

¹ See "The London Printer's Lamentation, or the Press Opprest and Overprest," 1660. Or the reprint in the Harleian Miscellany.

design was the same. So early as October 1685, the servile Privy Council in Edinburgh had issued orders to every printer and bookseller, forbidding the printing or selling any books which reflected on the faith of the King. Among these, however, there was at least one bookseller of some spirit and conscience, named James Glen. He explicitly stated that he had *one* book which he was resolved to sell at all hazards, though it was the worst enemy the Church of Rome had ever seen; and that one book was *the BIBLE*. But still the progress downwards went on. The King's yacht had arrived at Leith from London in November 1686, with an altar and vestments, images and priests, to be accommodated in no other place than Holyrood. A college of Jesuits was there established—a printing press was set up, and among its fruits we need only to mention one production :—

“The Catholic Scripturist, third edition, more correct, by Joseph Mumford, priest of the Society of Jesus, Holyrood House. Printed by James Watson, printer to his Most Excellent Majestie's Royal Family and Household, 1687. *Permissu superiorum*.”

In this book the reader was told in so many words—“*Scripture alone cannot be the rule of faith.*”² So determined was the opposition shown to all this, that ere long blood had been shed, and cruelties inflicted; though these doings in Scotland were merely a branch of the same wild design, which was driving with unblushing vigour in London itself. Hence from the press of *Hills*, who had just served the office of Master of the Stationers' Company, we have more than one publication, full of monstrous and daring profanity in reference to the Sacred Scriptures. Witness the following :—

“*The Question of Questions*, which, rightly interpreted, resolves all other questions. By James Mumford, priest of the Society of Jesus. *Permissu superiorum*. London, printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for his Household and Chapel, 1686.” There was also another edition in 1688, said to be by “*Optatus Ductor*,” but, slyly, without either place or printer's name.

² To this man James II. had actually assigned a salary of £100 annually; nor was he the only man employed with the same title. No sooner had Watson died in 1687, than Peter Bruce or Bruschii, a German, was appointed as printer “to his Majesty's Household, Chapel and College.” What salary the King assigned in London we have not ascertained.

Now in this book the running title for more than 260 pages was in these words—THE BIBLE IS NOT OUR JUDGE. And as many more were employed in telling the reader that “*The Roman Church is our INFALLIBLE Judge.*” The false and violent abuse of our Translators, commencing with Tyndale, we cannot pollute the page by quoting. But enough has been stated to show the propriety of such impiety on the part of the Crown being no longer permitted on British ground. James might now call secretly for the Great Seal, and throw it, as he did, into the Thames, and at last retiring to France, he may, in little trifles, faintly imitate the style of Louis the Fourteenth, or visit the monks of La Trappe; but he must no more conduct himself towards the Word of God in the way which, through his printers, he had so presumptuously, or, by the laws of his country, treasonably done. The displeasure of the God of Truth he had brought upon himself, and in the great change so remarkably wrought in favour of Britain, the indignity thrown upon the Sacred Volume was avenged.

To enter with any minuteness into the history of the English Bible throughout this long period, from 1650 to 1780, could answer no valuable or present practical purpose; but this work would, confessedly, be incomplete, did we not put upon record certain particulars, in reference both to the Scriptures themselves, and the vast number of editions printed.³

³ It will be remembered that to her exiles for conscientious opinion, from Tyndale downward, Britain had been all along under far greater obligations than to any of her subjects living at home. About the middle of this century, she was indebted to another, who was living at Amsterdam. The first English Bible, with Scriptural references on the margin throughout, was prepared and printed in that city, by JOHN CANNE. He proceeded on the principle, that “Scripture was the best interpreter of Scripture,” and his parallels, therefore, are parallels of *sense* and not of sound, as too many have been since his day. Of this Bible there were various editions, at home as well as abroad, viz. :—

1644. Amsterdam, 4to.	1682. Amsterdam, London title, 12mo.
1647. London, 2 vols., 8vo.	1698. London, Bill and Newcomb.
1662. London, 12mo.	1700. London, ditto, in quarto.
1664. London, 2 vols., 8vo.	1720. Cambridge, Basket, quarto.
1671. London.	1727, 1754. Edinburgh editions.

Several of these books are but too incorrect, and many of the latter have been corrupted by *additional* texts. After a careful collation of these preceding editions, a good reprint would prove a very valuable and saleable book.

After the Revolution, the very first monarch who took any cognizance of the

With regard to the Bibles themselves, and especially their style of execution, the history is too often so very unwelcome, that we have no disposition to go into more detail than is necessary. Classics, and almost every species of mere human composition, not only beautiful, but sometimes almost faultless, were teeming from the press, or at least in the best manner which could then be executed; while the Sacred Record, in the most miserable style, both as to paper and printing, was issued by printers, who, to crown all, were proclaimed to the nation as *privileged* to do so. This, however, let it be ever remembered, was *man's* department in the affair; and the slovenly, the penurious manner, in which he too frequently and so long performed his task, left to his posterity nothing whatever save the blush of shame. There were, it is granted, many most creditable editions, and the English Bible considered as an *instrument* of

carelessness of the privileged printers of the Bible belonged to the House of Hanover. George I. having informed himself on the subject, issued the following orders to the patentees:—1. That all Bibles printed hereafter shall be upon as good paper at least as the specimens they exhibited. 2. That they forthwith lodge four copies in the two Secretaries' offices, in the registry of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. 3. That they shall employ such correctors of the press as shall be approved of by these two bishops. 4. That they print in the title-page the exact price at which each book is to be sold to the booksellers. These orders, dated 24th April, 1724, must have had some effect, though they could not possibly reach the root of the inaccuracy.

There was, however, considerable improvement, and in the reign of George II., a folio Bible was produced, said to be the most beautiful ever yet printed. This was by John Baskerville of Birmingham, the printer and typesetter, in 1763; though once more the country had been indebted, as it had often been before, not to any privileged or incorporate body, but to individual genius and enterprise. Baskerville, indeed, had to pay a considerable *premium* to the University of Cambridge for permission to print his Bibles, and after his death his types, which lay a dead weight for want of a purchaser, were carried out of the country. The reign of George II. was also distinguished by one of the most careful revisions of the Scriptures which had yet been made. In 1769, a Bible in folio and quarto was edited by Dr. Blayney, the subsequent Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. Professedly, in this edition, the *punctuation* was thoroughly revised; the words in *italic* were examined and corrected by the Hebrew and Greek; the *proper names* were translated and entered on the margin; the *heads and running titles* were corrected; errors in *chronology* were rectified; and *marginal references* were corrected and considerably increased. This has been referred to often since as the *standard* edition. Yet even then, there had not been sufficient vigilance in superintendence, as more than a hundred errors have been detected since, and it was reserved for our own age to make a nearer approach to an immaculate volume.

infinite good, still continued, by the favour of God, to be sufficient for its purpose, or intended end; but a minute detail of the incorrect manner in which it so often came from the press, would serve to illustrate only the forbearance and long-suffering patience of Heaven.

With reference to Scotland, were it not that the inhabitants had been constantly receiving the Scriptures both from England and Holland, their condition would have been deplorable, so far as their native press was concerned. During the Commonwealth, and down as far as the twenty-fourth year of Charles II., or from 1649 to 1672, there is understood to have been no Bible printed in Scotland, and perhaps the people had better have remained dependent on foreign supply for forty years longer.

It was in the year 1671, that a privilege was obtained by one Andrew Anderson from Charles II., which continued for forty years, to the great disadvantage and molestation of the country, and most dishonourable to the King. At his very outset, Anderson had been convicted by the Privy Council of gross inaccuracy in printing a New Testament. His Svo Bible in 1679 was indeed very well executed, but all the subsequent editions, down to 1712, waxed worse and worse. The privilege thus granted by Charles II. was of such shameful extent, that it has been said of it by one who felt its effects—"By this gift the art of printing in this kingdom (of Scotland) got a dead stroke; for by it, no printer could print anything from a Bible to a ballad, without Anderson's licence." Bibles the most illegible and incorrect that ever were printed in the world came from this press; the patentee persecuted all the other printers in Scotland, and at last went so far as to seize a number of Bibles brought from London by the booksellers. Under Queen Anne such an avaricious pest was no longer to be endured. Watson, from whose history we have quoted, became printer under Freebairn, the patentee, and a better day succeeded. For ten years, from 1713, he printed a number of most excellent editions in folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, and twenty-fours. His editions of small size in 1715, 1716, 1719, and 1722, as well as his folio of 1722, are still deservedly esteemed. The assignees of Watson were not so careful, but by this time the Scriptures were printing in Edinburgh by two or three other houses. One merciful peculiarity, however, in regard to Scotland, and during the whole period under review, must not be forgotten. It was this: *importation* was never interdicted, and the consequence was, that long before 1650, and beyond 1780, the Scriptures had been imported during the run of all the home patents. Such Bibles are still in existence, and to be found there, ranging in point of dates throughout a period of above two hundred years. More than half the Bibles used in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century, are supposed to have been printed in England or Holland.

But we must not omit to glance at the *number* of Bibles and New Testaments printed in England, Holland, and Scotland on the whole. At the very threshold of this period, and so forward,

we meet with one circumstance, which, to every reflecting mind, must immediately convey an idea of personal, and, of course, national responsibility, rising to a height beyond all accurate calculation. It is simply this—*The books cannot be numbered!* Hitherto, we have numbered the editions printed. This is now *impossible*. From the commencement of this period to its close, no one can say how many *editions* of the English Bible have been published, much less inform us how many copies on the whole. On attempting this, one is soon lost, as in a wilderness; but it is one unknown to any other part of the world, or any other language upon earth; and all is vague conjecture. The printers themselves have left no data, nor can those now living lend any assistance. Both in England and Scotland, it is long since they have left off numbering even the editions.

That there should be one ever-watchful eye, and only One, who knows this secret, and the number of them all, is a consideration of no light import; the amount of which will only be known, when another book is opened, which is “the book of life.” But we have noticed this circumstance here, chiefly in order to point out its bearing upon everything else *printed* in the English tongue. Even long before 1780, no *other* book, in the annals of printing, occupied such a place. Of no *other* book, in the history of our country and its literature, can anything approaching to this be asserted. As far as the English language and the art of printing were concerned, everything else in the form of human composition, or in the shape of a book, was reduced to a thing of comparative insignificance. Even before the close of the last century, notwithstanding the countless multitude of publications by men issued from the press, how triumphantly had the *Sacred Volume* redeemed itself altogether out of the usual category of *books!* This it has already done, by our simply following out only its history. Nor is this all. From the place it *thus* occupied even then in this land, it never will be, never can be, superseded as to its number, by any book of *human* composition in the shape of print. With all safety, at the present moment, we assert as much, not blind to all the approaching wonders of the steam-press itself.

It is, however, with the times that passed over Britain during these one hundred and thirty years, that we have now to do;

and the all-important inquiry remains to be answered—What were the results? To record all these, would, of course, demand a volume. The days of burning the Sacred Volume, or those who possessed it, had long since passed away. And whatever the beneficial consequences now were, while, we repeat, that there had been many most estimable editions of the Divine Word, the slovenly and imperfect style in which man had too often fulfilled his part, only render the results so much the more observable. On the whole, however, at home, or within the shores of Britain, it must be confessed, there was by far too much ground for the genuine patriot to hang down his head. Thus, in finishing his well-known “History of the Translations of the Bible,” in 1738, one cannot but observe, that good John Lewis seems to have been in but very low spirits indeed with reference to the subject on which he had bestowed unprecedented research.

“This is the account,” says he, “which I have been able to give of the several translations of the Bible and New Testament into the ancient and modern English tongue, and of their most remarkable editions in print. From whence, I suppose, any one will infer the great honour and esteem that these holy books were always held in by our Christian ancestors: since they were so very desirous to have them, and to know and understand their contents, as to spare no cost or pains, but to run the hazard of even their lives and fortunes, and not to count them dear, so that they might but procure the free use of these books, and have the advantage of perusing them. The great number of the copies of them in manuscript, before printing was invented, and the many editions of them since printing came into use, is a demonstration of the great value put on them by the Christians here in England; and that every one who could read took care to purchase a Bible or Testament in the tongue wherein he was born. This, no doubt, will be thought a very great reproach to the professed Christians of the present age, and but too good an argument of their having lost their first love, and being nowise earnest for the faith delivered to the saints in these holy books. Since—to our shame be it spoken—whatever reputation the Holy Bible *has* been had in, it is *now* treated with the utmost slight and neglect, and is scarce anywhere read but in our churches! So far, too, are many of our modern Christians here in England, from reading this book, meditating on it, and letting the sense of it dwell richly or abundantly in them; that, everybody knows, the writings of the most silly and trifling authors are often preferred, and read with greater pleasure and delight. What surer sign can be given, that we have a name that we live, and are dead? And, consequently, that unless we remember from whence we are fallen, and repent, and do the first works, the great Author and Finisher of our faith will come unto us quickly, and will remove our candlestick out of his place. *Sed Deus avertat omen.*”

Mr. Lewis, no doubt, spake as he felt at the moment, and must have had too much reason for all that he expressed. Yet

such is the history of our English Bible, when *fully* followed out, that it will be sure to raise any man far above his own vicinity, his own community, or connexions. From the beginning to the then existing moment, our Sacred Volume had been the counsellor of all departments throughout this nation, the partisan of none; and immediately after the author had penned these lines, by many who had never read them, considerably revived attention was given to the Scriptures of truth. But as we have now to raise our head, and survey a century and a half, we shall obtain a more enlarged view of the progress made; and it is not for us to present so sombre a picture of the times as that of Lewis. True, indeed, we have been accustomed all along to look to our own favoured island only, as embracing the soil where the seed was sown; but we have come to another, and more advanced stage of this stupendous cause; and in tracing it out, if we simply follow the Sacred Volume, we are invited to depart, or to look far beyond the shores of either England or Scotland.

NORTH AMERICA.

NEW MOVEMENT IN REFERENCE TO THE ENGLISH SCRIPTURES—THE BIBLE FIRST BEHELD BY THE NATIVES IN AMERICA, AN ENGLISH ONE—COPIES CARRIED AWAY TO NEW ENGLAND BY THE REFUGEES AND FOLLOWING SETTLERS—COPIES SENT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC OCEAN FOR ABOVE A HUNDRED AND SIXTY YEARS!—RESULTS DURING THIS LONG PERIOD—THE RESTRICTIVE AND UNNATURAL POLICY OF BRITAIN—SHE MUST BE OVERRULED, AS HER MONARCHS HAD BEEN IN ENGLAND—THE ENGLISH BIBLE IS AT LAST PRINTED IN AMERICA—NO CONSULTATION OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY—THE FIRST EDITION ONLY IN 1782—THE FIRST BIBLE IN OCTAVO, QUARTO, AND FOLIO, PRINTED THERE IN 1791—THE SECOND IN DUODECIMO NOT TILL 1797.



P to this period, or the middle of the seventeenth century, the history of the English Bible, in comparison with that of the Sacred Volume into every other European tongue, had sustained a character all its own. This peculiarity may now undergo a change in its general appearance; but the singular distinction of character will remain, nay, and be more strongly marked than ever before.

In the opening of the seventeenth century, England and Scotland, once united under the same crown, had received the appellation of *Great Britain* from her overjoyed monarch, James the First—a title peculiarly flattering to his personal vanity. In connexion with the Sacred Volume, his kingdom exhibited the aspect of an island which had been invaded from without, and which, after long resistance at first, had been ultimately subdued by the Word of God. The Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, which were now happily printing both in England and Scotland, had, from the beginning, been often also *imported*, nay, and from Holland copies were importing afterwards. But if perfect liberty not only to read, but also to judge of their contents, is not to be here obtained, Divine Providence has now another, and a greater lesson in reserve. The inestimable gift, or deposit, is not to be always, or even long, confined within the shores of Britain.

Of course, it could not then have crossed the imagination of any man, that the same unseen hand, which we have observed all along, was already in motion, and actually preparing for the population of a *new* world, where a freer life and a fresher nature were to be enjoyed; and even at the present day, few individuals may, at first, be disposed to trace the populating of the American wilderness, in any degree, to the consequences of *reading the English Bible in Britain*. At all events, the time had arrived, when, as it was carried out of England to the European Continent in the reign of Queen Mary, so under that of James, nay, and of *seven* sovereigns in succession, it was to be carried farther still. If the liberty to form opinion of its dictates was a blessing denied to many under the Tudor family, so it happened under that of the Stuarts; and the same cause produced the same effect, only to a far greater extent. Under Queen Mary I., all that had occurred was an affair of little more than five years' duration. It might be compared to the migration of those birds, who, in summer, return again to gladden the land, for at that time many returned; but now, from the American "Pilgrim Fathers," and so onward, the people in general who hurried across the Atlantic, like the passengers to eternity, were to return no more. For this singular movement of the British people, in the *civil* department of the British constitution, there

was not to be found even the shadow of a cause ; but if the existing government of the mother country, generally speaking, was either so framed, or to be so conducted, as to charge itself with the vain task of regulating the mind, as well as that of ruling the bodies of its subjects, then was there no relief or remedy, but in another arrangement beyond seas. Hitherto, we have long, and not unfrequently, seen the Almighty overruling *individuals* of the highest authority within this kingdom ; but, if necessary, it was as nothing with Him to overrule the *realm* itself. The only question will be, What connexion had all this with the perusal of the Sacred Volume in our native language, and in our native land ?

The very first Bible that was ever beheld by the Indians of North America, was, unquestionably, an *English* one, and so early as the year 1585. That part of the Continent then visited, Queen Elizabeth had just named Virginia, and, in the expedition sent out, there happened to be one Heriot, an eminent mathematician, and apparently a kind-hearted Christian. Feeling deeply interested in the artless and hospitable Indian natives, he took advantage of the impressions made by the sight of his instruments, whether marine or mathematical, perspective and burning glasses, clocks and books. This led many of them to give credit to what he said respecting God. "In all places," says he, "where I came, I did my best to make his immortal glory known, and told them, though the *Bible* I showed them contained *all*, yet of itself it was not of any such virtue as I thought they did conceive. Notwithstanding, many would be glad to touch it, to kiss and embrace it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke all their body over with it."¹

These merely mercantile and scientific adventurers, however, did not succeed. Twenty years after Sir Walter Raleigh had planted the first colony in Virginia, not a single Englishman remained alive, and the colonization of America had to await the energy of a widely different impulse, to be followed by far other results.

Although America had been discovered to England, by Cabot, in 1497, under Henry VII., the first permanent colony on the coast of Virginia did not arrive till 1607, while our present version of the Bible was preparing ; but this was still nothing more than a mercantile adventure under James I. It was in the year 1620 that the refugees from England to Holland embarked on board the *Mayflower*, and touching, by way of farewell, at the land of their birth, proceeded across the ocean. On the 12th of November that year, these "*Pilgrim Fathers*," as they have been ever since styled, having their Bibles with them, kept their first Sabbath on the shores of *New England*. The name thus given, by Prince Charles, a few years before, seemed to send its echo back to the country which they had left for ever. The Sacred Volume in their native tongue, which these people prized above life itself, was now within the shores of a new Continent ; but this was in the year 1620, whereas the *first Bible with*

¹ Smith's *Virginia*, p. 11.

an American imprint was not published till the year 1782 ; that is, above a hundred and sixty years afterwards, or little more than only sixty years ago ! Yes, such is the remarkable fact.

From the first reception of the English New Testament by Britain, it was about a hundred years before the Bible, so singularly conveyed to the island at first, began to be carried away, never to return. But what must now appear in retrospect far more extraordinary, for a *hundred and sixty* years the authorities at home would never permit of a single edition being printed, except within this island ! The British authorities, in fact, *never did* give any permission, but at the end of this long period, the English Bible was then printed, four thousand miles distant, *without* authority or liberty being either asked or granted by any man. As if the singular history of this version *must* still retain the integrity of its character, down to our own day, and exhibit to the world, once more, the same independence with which it was first presented to us at home, the American edition was printed in defiance of all British restrictions, in the year 1782.

The simple announcement of this fact, though never pointed out or contemplated, as it has deserved to be, at once gives birth to a crowd of remarkable associations. Here was a period of more than a century and a half, in all which time no man, or set of men, is represented in history as particularly zealous in the business. Nothing similar to a society, confederacy, or association, was formed ; the idea of either *cheap* or *gratuitous* circulation had never once entered the human mind, to any known extent ; and yet, by the good providence of God, through the usual channels of commerce, *from the reign of James the First, down to that of the eighth sovereign in succession, or the 22nd year of George III., was the Divine Record in English uniformly carried all the way across the Atlantic !* It belongs to the Christians throughout America at present, along with those now living in Britain, devoutly to mark this as by far the most remarkable SIGN OF THOSE TIMES. It was the zeal and long-suffering patience of God which thus ministered His Word to those who lived and died at such a distance from the spot where it was prepared ! Odious, indeed, and humiliating must this spirit of restriction or monopoly now appear ; but as to the event itself, never were any people upon earth so singularly supplied, and for so long a period, with the Word of Life. As one step in the path of Providence, it even still suggests the idea that something far more powerful and extensive is intended, through the medium of *this* version, than it has ever yet accomplished.

The greatness and importance of this movement, however, can only be estimated, by observing its results ; or, in other words, by adverting to the men who lived and died in America, throughout these years, and this would require a volume. But for our present purpose a very few names may suffice, and these are mentioned simply in the order of time, as they come before us.

ROGER WILLIAMS, a native of Wales, born in 1599, was the founder of Rhode Island, in 1644, and the first legislator in the world who established a government of free, full, and absolute liberty of conscience. JOHN ELIOT, born in 1604, was the

translator of the Bible into the language of the Indians, to whom he was the first Missionary. COTTON MATHER, born in 1663 and dying in 1728, left his "Essays to do good," still doing good; to say nothing of his three hundred and eighty other publications! JONATHAN EDWARDS, born 1703, the greatest metaphysician and divine America has produced. DAVID BRAINERD, born 1718, dying 1747, that prince of Missionaries to the Indians, whose example has been of such value ever since. But time would now fail to tell of many other venerable, laborious, and useful characters; still though they were all before us, or all mentioned by name individually, one of the most notable circumstances in their lives was this—that *not one of these men ever possessed any other than an IMPORTED English Bible!* And all who ever heard them, all who read the book from which they preached, were using volumes which had come to them, thousands of miles, across the sea, from the land of their ancestors! A similar track, or lengthened train of proceeding, of course cannot be pointed out, with relation to any other European version of the Scriptures; and, with reference to any Bible in any language whatever, we may safely say, that the same remarkable course will never *again* occur in the history of future times. Meanwhile, if the path pursued has lent additional emphasis to the history of the English Bible, so it ought, assuredly, to the obligations of those millions, far and near, who now all read the same version.

To return, however, to the history itself: the first proper American imprint, as already stated, was not before 1782; though in the course of this long extended period, there was one attempt at what has been styled piracy, in a small edition of only 800 copies of the Bible, in quarto, by Kneeland and Green of Boston. But it certainly casts no honourable reflection on the monopoly so long maintained in England, that this was done only by an evasion of the patent. Carried through the press as privately as possible, about the year 1752, it bore this imprint—"London: Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty." A similar expedient was resorted to with a solitary edition of the New Testament, by Rogers and Fowle of the same place. The principal man concerned in both, was Daniel Henchman a spirited bookseller,

who had built one of the first paper mills in New England. The fact is, that the printing-press had been set up as early as 1639, and its noblest fruit had been the Indian Bible for the natives; *other* books they were at liberty to print; they had a newspaper as early as 1704, and were making paper from one generation to another; but owing to their connexion with Britain, they must *not* print the *English Bible*! The very few Scriptures now mentioned—such was the humiliating apology—were thus put forth, “in order to prevent a prosecution from those in England and Scotland who published the Bible by a patent from the Crown, or ‘*cum privilegio*,’ as did the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.” Nor, alas! for Old England, was the liberty EVER granted! At last it was wrested from her, *volens volens*, so that the first English Bible, with an American imprint, was not published till the year already specified. In connexion with this fact, one should have imagined there could scarcely have been another more humiliating to national vanity; and yet there was one, which must not be suppressed, as it may be of some value even still. During this long period, no other nation in Europe had so treated its vernacular Bible. There never was any monopoly of the Sacred Scriptures, as to printing them, in Germany, similar to that in England; no patents from the beginning, to compare with British policy. And therefore the first Bible in any European language, printed in *our own* America, was in *German*. This was in 1743, after having been three years in the press, by Christopher Sauer at Germantown, near Philadelphia. He printed a second edition in 1762, and a third in 1776. It was only her *own* Bible, as already stated, that England held in chains.

Still, however, and as if to link the two countries, even *then*, more closely than ever in Christian bonds, this first American Bible is the more worthy of notice, as not having been the work of a native American. It was a year equally memorable in both countries. Political ties might be snapped asunder; not so those of Christianity; and at the very moment in which American independence was acknowledged by Britain, there had been printed, by a native of Scotland, on the American shore, and in the city of Philadelphia, a practical acknowledg-

ment, that we were still the readers of one common Bible, and equally bound by the same Divine authority.

ROBERT AITKEN, born in 1734 at Dalkeith, had served a regular apprenticeship to some bookbinder in Edinburgh, and afterwards perfecting himself in the knowledge of the book trade, at the age of thirty-five he sailed for America. Having seen the country, he came home, and in 1771, with a stock of books, embarked for Philadelphia. Three years after this, having commenced printer, and in 1775, a magazine, it was in 1782 that he published, in small duodecimo, his edition of the Bible in brevier type—"Philadelphia, printed and sold by R. Aitken, &c., MDCCLXXXII." Mr. Aitken died only in 1802, having survived his son, but he left a *daughter*, who continued the business; and she has had the honour of printing the *only* edition of the *Septuagint* that ever had been translated into English.²

Into the history of the printing of the English Scriptures by native Americans, we here enter no farther than to mention, that the *first* English Bible, in *folio*, was published at Worcester, Massachusetts, by Isaiah Thomas, in 1791; and the first, in *quarto*, with a Concordance, also that year. At the same period, the *first* edition of the English version in *octavo*, was printed at Trenton, in New Jersey, by Isaac Collins. The *second*, in *duodecimo*, was not published till 1797, by Thomas at Worcester, Massachusetts, which seems to prove that Bibles of this size, at least, if not others, were still importing from Britain. Farther than this we need not now proceed, under this head.

Thus, as far as we have come, we may be permitted to assert, it has been demonstrated, that for more than two hundred and fifty years, or from 1526 to 1782, the Sovereign Disposer of all events had proceeded invariably, and with infinite long-suffering, after the *same* manner, whether in England or Scotland, or finally in America. The same mysterious and unwearied footsteps are now visible throughout. First, in braving all the hostility of the authorities in succession, at home, as in Britain, and then abroad, as in America; thus overruling the narrow policy of England towards her distant colonies, with regard to that blessed book which had been so undeservedly bestowed upon herself. Conveyance from a *distance* had been adopted, first in the one case, and then in the other. There was printing in *one* country, and reading in *another*; first for a hundred, and then for above a hundred and sixty years! Importation was ever and anon pursued, and for so long a period. As if to


² "The Old Covenant, commonly called the Old Testament, translated from the Septuagint, by Charles Thomson, late Secretary to the Congress of the United States. Philadelphia, printed by Jane Aitken, 71, North Third Street. 1808." Forming, with the New Covenant, or Testament, four volumes 8vo.

elevate every mind conversant with this language, to a higher tone of veneration for the Divine will and record, than it has ever yet obtained; it was in this lofty and independent manner, that Divine Providence had now proceeded throughout the space of two centuries and a half! No other nation upon earth had been so visited at first—no other people so favoured and followed ever since—no race of Adam so frequently addressed.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. TO QUEEN VICTORIA.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF A GREATER MOVEMENT THAN EVER BEFORE—THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN FRANCE—NEITHER BRITAIN NOR HER COLONIES REMAIN UNSCATHED—ACTION IS CALLED FOR—BUT THE OBSTACLES TO UNITED ACTION APPEAR TO BE INSUPERABLE—THE FIRST FEEBLE MOVEMENT TAKING ITS NAME FROM THE BIBLE—THE SECOND—ITS ENTIRE FAILURE NO GROUND FOR DISCOURAGEMENT—THE EFFORTS OF CAREY AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN INDIA MUCH IMPRESS A FEW POWERFUL MINDS AT HOME—THE BIBLE WITHOUT EITHER NOTE OR COMMENT DRAWS MORE ATTENTION—THE DESTITUTION OF IT IN WALES—THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY WITH ITS AUXILIARIES—THEIR EXERTIONS UP TO THE PRESENT DAY—AN EXTRAORDINARY AND UNPRECEDENTED FALL IN THE PRICE OF THE SACRED VOLUME.

BRITAIN AT THE HEIGHT OF HER RESPONSIBILITY—THE PRESENT HISTORY INDICATES A COURSE OF ACTION WHICH INVOLVES HER FUTURE WELFARE AND STABILITY—A PATH OF DUTY WHICH CANNOT, WITH IMPUNITY, BE EVADED.

N the first year of this period, or 1780, we discover the first feeble symptom of a great movement, and one with regard to the Sacred Volume, more especially the *English Bible*, greater than this nation, or even the world, had ever witnessed. But it cannot be duly appreciated, nor its true bearing understood, if we at once begin here.

While the Scriptures were in the course of translation into English, when they were first printing abroad, and importing into our native land, the state of the Continent, as well as that of Britain, invited our attention, and that, alternately, for a series of years. And now, in the last division of this history,

now that these Scriptures had been read and enjoyed for so many generations; now that they, and they *alone*, are to be regarded as the means, under God, of having given to Britain her distinguishing character among the European nations, we are constrained to look across the Channel once more, but only once. It is to France.

The history of Britain, in connexion with the Scriptures, we have already given; and, in this comparison, let all justice be done to her potent neighbour. There *was* a time, in the sixteenth century, when France bade fair to have followed in the same career. Like England, and especially Scotland, she was highly favoured from *without*. In the course of only fifty years, or from 1550 to 1600, there were printed not fewer than ninety-eight editions of the French Bible, and fifty-nine of the New Testament separately. Again, when in 1600 Lertourt had printed his edition in folio, it was followed by thirty-five editions in various sizes, besides fifty-six separate editions of the New Testament. To these we may add thirty-six editions of the Catholic version, and seventy-four of the New Testament, from 1600 to 1700. Here, then, of the Scriptures in the French tongue, we have not fewer than *three hundred and fifty-eight* distinct issues from the press!¹ Of these 358 editions, not fewer than 205 had been printed, not in France, but chiefly at Geneva, on the one hand, and at Amsterdam, on the other. Then came the reign of Louis XIV., with a brilliancy of a far different character. Were any one to take the hundred years which preceded his being declared of age in 1651, and compare it with the century which followed his death in 1715, few historical contrasts would be more striking. In the former, we should see the truth of God combating superstition, and promising, if only let alone, to make the vine-covered hills of France rejoice in the possession of the true vine; in the latter would be seen but little or nothing else save infidelity, undisguised and unblushing, in frantic rage against Divine Truth itself.

During the seventeenth century in France, but more especially from the year when Louis the Fourteenth was declared of age, all eyes were fixed on the Crown, and for sixty years despotic monarchy was the order of the day. This long reign has not unfrequently been compared to that of Augustus. Poets and orators, philosophers and lawyers, painters and architects, were not merely allowed to play their several parts, but they were fostered and stimulated by the royal bounty, while at the same time arts and commerce were brought into a flourishing condition. But was this all? Not to mention the licentiousness of this Monarch and his Court, how did he conduct himself towards the human mind and the Sacred Volume? After hearing Massillon on more occasions than one, well might he go away, as he confessed, "very much displeased with himself;" but he was the slave of his own passions, and so died. It was the same man who persecuted the Port-Royal of which Pascal was the head, who banished Fénelon, but, to crown all, revoked the Edict of Nantes, in 1685! And what then? More than fifty thousand families, nay, it has been said eight hundred thousand individuals fled the kingdom, and they are not in this history to be called by any mere nickname. Correctly speaking, they were

¹ See Le Long, "Biblia Gallica Genevens." &c., although he has not marked all the editions.

the people who pled for the *Scriptures*, or possessed them; and prizing them from principle, above life itself, left all behind. They were the salt of the land, as the pestilential exhalations which followed, most fully proved. No, the condition in which a Monarch *leaves* his country, has been well described as the key to his character and to his reign; and in what condition was France when Louis the XIV. died in September 1715? Dying at the age of seventy-seven, after a reign, in full sovereignty, of more than sixty years, several provinces were left less powerful than they were even at the beginning. The insatiable thirst for splendour at Court had beggared the kingdom, and another Versailles would have completed its ruin. The people possessed no rights; the royal authority was restrained by no limits. And how did the people behave, when their King died? They insulted his funeral procession, and the Parliament cancelled his will. He had carried despotism to its utmost height, violating laws both human and divine; but the eyes of Louis *Le Grand* once closed in death, his entire system was levelled to the ground. Such was the termination of brilliant despotic monarchy in France.

But the eighteenth century was to prove of a far more serious or searching character. A storm which had been long gathering, amidst the elegant gaiety or external polish which reigned at Paris and Versailles, was, in the end, to break over the country at large; and occasion not a few, even in Britain, to stand in doubt whether she should be able to weather it. Properly speaking, this was a question, not respecting *government* of any kind, but *society* at large. It was not any single monarch which now filled the eye, all over Europe, but the people of France, in full resolve to throw off every restraint, human and divine. It was a development of what was styled “public opinion,” working for unlimited display, and for many years. The closing ten years of the eighteenth century only interpreted a process which had been in constant operation, ever since the days of the Grand Monarch. The death of Louis the Fourteenth had been the signal for action. In patronizing genius, he had been all along inviting intelligence and opinion, and the next century was to explain to all Europe, as had been done in ancient times, “that science may flourish amidst the decay of humanity, and that the utmost barbarity may be blended with the utmost refinement.”

A powerful confederacy was formed, at the head of which all historians agree in placing VOLTAIRE. His disciples or associates are known to all. There was Toussaint and Helvetius, D’Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and many others of the same school. The vain design, which was carried on for many years, with great subtilty, was to sap the foundations of Christianity, and destroy the authority of *Scripture*. Before these men, there was nothing so inviting in their own apprehension as the triumph of Reason, the perfectibility of the human race. By this time, the mind of man, they said, sighed for its *native home*, and well it might; but they fearfully mistook their way, when they confounded Christianity with superstition, and cast away the word of Jehovah. There was, however, to be no Temple, save the Temple of Reason. As it were, in the inner court of this structure, the league had been formed against all who looked higher than *Nature*, for the object of their veneration and confidence. They had banded together, and their *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* contained the entire poison of the sect—Scepticism, Materialism, Deism, and unblushing Atheism. Carefully enlisting the lusts and passions on their side, against every species of restraint they had vowed vengeance; but, above all, the Sacred Volume excited their implacable hatred. Voltaire, their hoary ringleader, was

born in 1694, and at the age of 81 was full of the hope of success. Upon Louis the Sixteenth ascending the throne, in 1775, when writing to Frederick of Prussia, the *philosopher* King, for such was the title in which they gloried :—" I know not," said he, " whether our young King will imitate your example, but I know that, with the exception of one, who is a bigot, he has taken *philosophers* for his ministers ; one of them, M. Turgot, is worthy of your Majesty's conversation. The priests are in despair. *This is the beginning of a great revolution.*"

Amidst a storm, so peculiar in its character, and certainly unknown to any former age, while France was driving on in misery, neither Britain, nor even her colonies, remained unmoved. To say nothing of older sceptics, from Herbert to Hobbes, England had now her Edward Gibbon ; Scotland, her David Hume, who by the way had first lighted his taper in France, with a view to his own country ; and then finally came home, an Apostle to the *common* people, Thomas Paine from America. In Britain the sentiments of Gibbon and Hume had infected the higher classes, and it is well if many of them be not infected still ; but for the people at large, Paine, though obliged to leave his native land, sent into it fourteen thousand of his deistical publications, and these were followed by large and cheap editions printed on British ground, and most industriously circulated.

Such a state of things Europe had never before witnessed ; so that if the dormant energies of all who believed in Divine Revelation had not been awakened, never could they have said that burning zeal had not been displayed by the enemy—zeal sufficient to have roused the soul of every one in this country, who rested all his hope for time and eternity on the Sacred Volume *alone*. To this, therefore, and to this *alone, and without note or comment*, must they not finally turn ?

In these circumstances, however, and only thus far, we may be permitted to remark one notable distinction between France and Britain. Both countries, it will be said, had produced their respective infidels, and where then lay any difference ? In France had they not enjoyed elegant writers in Fénélon and Pascal ? Ecclesiastical and civil historians, as in Dupin, Fleury, and Rollin ? Nay, celebrated preachers, as in Bourdaloue and Massillon ? True, but still, throughout the eighteenth century, there had risen not one French mind, of sufficient power and skill to gainsay and resist, so as to check the tide of infidelity. No, it spread over the people, and swept all before it into one common ruin. And why ? The *people in France* HAD NOT READ THE SCRIPTURES FOR THEMSELVES. A *ceremonial* religion, though supported by immense wealth, had proved to be no barrier. On British ground there was a difference. Her sceptics in succession, had, every one of them, been looked hard in the face. From Herbert down to Hume and Paine, they had been fully met, exposed, and overthrown ; while Deism, false philosophy, and boasted human reason were not only tried by appeal to the oracles of God, but scrutinized as to their moral tendency, and found wanting. But why all this, or rather why successful, to whatever degree ? We hesitate not to reply, that there is but one answer. The *people in Britain* HAD LONG READ THE SCRIPTURES FOR THEMSELVES.

In the year 1780, while England was in a state of warfare not only with America and France, but with Spain and Holland, the first association of individuals known by a title taken from

the Scriptures themselves, without note or comment, took its rise. "*The Bible Society*," and nothing more, was the name chosen. With whom the idea originated, has never been clearly stated; but at such a period it was the more singular, as being intended solely for the benefit of *soldiers* and *sailors*. It had been resolved to put into their hands the words of Him of whom it is said, "He shall judge among the nations, and rebuke many people, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks—neither shall they learn war any more." It appears to have been simply the idea of their frequent exposure to death, whether by land or sea, that suggested the movement. This Society was supported by "voluntary individual subscriptions, and collections at different places of worship." Within two years they had expended upwards of £1500, having distributed more than eleven thousand Bibles among different regiments and ships' crews. At subsequent periods we read of many thousands of the Sacred Volume having been distributed; for it need scarcely be mentioned that this is the same institution which exists at the present day, under the title of the Naval and Military Bible Society.

It was not till ten years later, or May 1792, that we hear of another kindred association. A certain number of individuals in England, chiefly in London, had met, and assumed the title of "*The French Bible Society*." Their object was to furnish those persons in the French nation who were destitute, with copies of the Scriptures in their native tongue. A printer at Paris had been engaged, and four thousand livres remitted in advance, while they in England recommended the formation of societies in different parts of this country. But all this was in vain: it was all too late, whether on this side of the Channel or on that. Over France there was louring nothing save the sulkiness of a thunder-storm before it opens, and the Revolutionary war put a period to all communication between the countries. The funds remitted were lost; while the money collected in England had to be spent in circulating English Bibles in *Ireland*, and the Society was then *dissolved*!

Nor, in this failure was there anything to discourage the historian of the times. No work of any magnitude *ever* took its

first rise from an assemblage, or confederacy, whether large or small. Of this fact we have abundant illustration in Scripture itself; it is reiterated with great power, especially in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews; and our previous history from the beginning throughout forms a running attestation to the same effect. An association of any kind, involved *too many* for God to begin with. At all events, we do not hear one word more of a Bible Society, nor was one spoken of, for more than ten years to come.

It was in the spring of 1794 that CAREY, the Tyndale of India, sat down to translate the New Testament into the language of Bengal. In 1797, it was finished and ready for the press, but types were yet to be cast and a press procured. Far from all Christian society, alone in the midst of the most ancient idolatry in the world, meeting only with Europeans more than tinged with infidelity, and having to superintend an indigo factory at Mudnabatty in North Bengal, for his family's support, the first and greatest of translators into the languages of the East finished his first version. But it was not till May 1800, that this was put to the press. As in 1523 there was not a place in all England where the Scriptures could be translated, so in 1800 there was not a place in all British India where the same blessed book could be printed. But Marshman and Ward having arrived in India in 1799, Carey met them, gave up his situation in the North, and sat down with his associates on Danish ground at Serampore, when the New Testament was put to press and finished in February 1801. From this version they passed on to others, and such was the rapidity of their progress that in 1803 Carey writes, "We have it in our power, if our means would do for it, in the space of about fifteen years, to have the Word of God translated and printed in *all* the languages of the East. Our situation is such as to furnish us with the best assistance from natives of the different countries. We can have types of all the different characters cast here, and about 700 rupees per month, part of which I hope *we* shall be able to furnish, would complete the work."

An undertaking of such growing magnitude as this in the Eastern World, but in correspondence with, and warmly supported by, friends to the cause at home, could not fail to have a

powerful *reflective influence* on the mother country, and more especially on the healthiest minds throughout Britain, who founded their chief hope of permanent good on the Sacred Volume alone. It not merely affected but vastly enlarged the mind. It induced a habit of feeling for the *masses*, of pity for *nations*; a feeling which expressed itself in language lofty as the Scriptures alone could furnish. The inclination to look far beyond the limits of our own Island had shown itself for ten years, in the formation of one institution after another, wearing a *foreign* aspect. But still the honour of an amount of UNION, and of union at home throughout, such as Britain had never witnessed, or any other nation known, was reserved for *the Bible alone without note or comment*. We turn therefore to that movement which marked the earlier years of the present century.

The BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY had been contemplated, and spoken of, by a few individuals, for above fifteen months before any step was taken. Its origin may be viewed in one simple incident; but this incident occurring within the kingdom, it becomes more worthy of observation. Had the first proposal of this institution referred to the Bible in *English* only, it is impossible to conceive how such warmth could have been immediately displayed. It was understood by all, that no country upon earth was already so richly supplied, and certainly not one had more uninterruptedly enjoyed, the free perusal of the Sacred Volume. It had even been supposed, that the English Scriptures then in existence, were equal, if not superior in point of number, to that in all the other languages of the world put together.

How then was it possible to make out a case in 1804, which should lead to any great result? It could not have been by immediate reference to the *English* Bible only, if at all. Certainly it was not. But then, within the shores of this kingdom, there had been spoken, from time immemorial, not fewer than four languages, very different from English. They all belonged to the Celtic or Iberian tribe, viz., the Welsh and Manx, the Gaelic and Irish. And what then? From the days of Henry VIII., had they not all been regarded as so many barriers to improvement, nay, as so many nuisances, to be swept away before the reigning power of our own English tongue?

So they certainly had, by some men, not over-wise ; but could any event have been more unlikely, not to say more humiliating, than that three hundred years after they had been so regarded, the *English* Bible should owe any collateral benefit to them ? Had not two of these dialects, the Gaelic and the Irish, been denounced by the ruling power ? And the whole regarded with feelings of contempt, as altogether unworthy of consideration ? Not one of these vernacular dialects had ever been included in any one of the calculations of government, moral, political, or professedly religious ; and as mediums of intercourse, they had long remained among “the things that were despised” throughout the kingdom. What then was to be expected, from the partiality, however natural and enlightened, of any one Welshman for his mother tongue ; and though he should happen to meet with another man in London, of Welsh extraction, what could possibly ever come out of that ? Meanwhile, there is to be no consultation of any human authority on the subject ; nor did this signify. All these circumstances were now to form no objection, or any obstacle before an all-wise and invincible Providence. Quite the reverse. Among “the things that are despised” had been often found, “the hiding of his power,” and so it happened here. One of these very dialects shall prove the occasion of more *English* Bibles being printed than there had ever been from the day that any Englishman had first beheld one ; or, in other words, far more issued from the press in about thirty years only, than there had been for above two centuries and a half before ! A striking proof, by the way, to all Englishmen especially, whether at home or abroad, whether in India, in Britain, or Ireland, that no *language*, though spoken by only half a million of people, is a proper or profitable subject of contempt. Let the gentlemen, wherever they dwell, who, without due observation of the past, happen to be smitten with the *Anglo-mania*, never overlook, or slightly regard, this memorable occurrence on their native soil.

The language alluded to was the *Welsh*, for it is generally known as an established fact, that the institution of the British and Foreign Bible Society grew out of this one incident—the scarcity of Welsh Bibles throughout the Principality. It is curious enough, that it was not the Celtic tribe which had been,

all along, so grievously neglected, which now at last engaged notice. The destitution of the native Irish, was almost like the destitution of life itself. They had then no one to speak for them, and Britain, like the hard-hearted Levite of old, had ever passed by on the other side. On the other hand, the scarcity so complained of by the Welsh, was actually the result of previous supplies. But upon inquiry respecting these, we are led back, not to any authoritative or national movement, but simply, as in other cases, to *individual* benevolent exertion.²

² There had been a scarcity of the Sacred Volume in the vernacular tongue of Wales, deeply felt and long lamented; but if any one search for the cause of this feeling, he will soon find himself, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, among the hills and dales of the Principality. During that period there had been dispersed one hundred and two thousand copies of the Welsh Bible entire, chiefly in octavo, and at least eighteen thousand five hundred of the New Testament; but in accounting for this dispersion, three or four instances of individual exertion chiefly engage notice.

The New Testament in Welsh was first given to his countrymen by William Salisbury in 1567; the Bible entire in 1588 by Dr. Davies and others; the Standard Version in 1620 by Drs. Richard Parry and John Davies; for the multiplication of copies, there was first, the well-known THOMAS GOUGE of London. Once ejected from his pulpit in the Metropolis, he betook himself to works of benevolence and mercy. Though possessed of independent property, or a good estate of his own, after he had lost much by the great fire in 1666, had settled his children in the world, and been bereaved of his wife, he had but one hundred and fifty pounds a year left. Thus circumstanced, and now about sixty-five years of age, it was then that he began to compassionate the condition of Wales. For the next ten years of his life, he visited that country annually. His objects were to preach the truth, to educate the children, and disperse the Scriptures in their mother tongue. He preached till they persecuted him from place to place, and at last he was excommunicated from the Church of which he had been so long a minister; but nothing could prevent his travels in Wales, nor his spending regularly, *two-thirds* of his annual income, and living on the remaining *fifty* pounds! To his bounty and personal solicitations, the editions of 2000 of the Welsh New Testament in 1672, of 8000 of the Welsh Bible in 1678, if not also that of 1690, are chiefly to be ascribed. But he had to die before justice was done to his character, when a funeral sermon was preached for him by no other than Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

Then there was GRIFFITH JONES of Llandourer, with his delicate state of health, who in the next century, from 1737 to 1760, was the superintendent in teaching at various schools, above one hundred and fifty thousand of his countrymen to read their native tongue, when more than thirty thousand of the Welsh Bible were printed and circulated. And then, at last, after a long interval, came THOMAS CHARLES of Bala; or three men whose memories are still ragrant throughout the Principality. Thus it is, that in reviewing the past, relative proportion in the way of *individual* effort should never be forgotten. These were labours of which subscribers to a Bible Society, in these easy days, know little or nothing.

It was in December 1802, that Thomas Charles, of Bala, happened to be in London, lamenting, as he had often done, the scarcity of Welsh Bibles throughout the country. On Tuesday, the 7th of that month, at a meeting of the Tract Society, of which the Rev. Joseph Hughes of Battersea was Secretary, Mr. Charles was present, and the subject was introduced. Mr. Hughes, a member of the same community with Carey, had been acquainted with every step of his progress from the beginning, ten years before. After a long conversation, he stood up, and suggested whether it would not be desirable to awaken the public mind towards a general dispersion of the Sacred Scriptures in all languages, or throughout the world. The proposal was warmly greeted, and at the request of all present, Mr. Hughes drew up his tract or pamphlet of thirty pages, on "The excellence of the Holy Scriptures, an argument for their more general dispersion." Of this tract, two editions were circulated throughout 1803, and, after various consultations, the result was, that on the 7th March, 1804, that institution was formed, with whose title not a few are perfectly familiar in the four quarters of the globe.

In the first instance, it will be understood that it is mainly in its connexion with the *English* Scriptures that we are now called to notice the operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society; while, at the same time, the reader need scarcely be apprised, that the field now opening before him, in the history of the English Bible, embraces a *far larger surface*. Before and since the formation of that Society, the printing of the Sacred Volume in our vernacular tongue has proceeded to an extent which was never foreseen, never once contemplated, and that extent has now reached a point, of which but very few persons are at all aware. This extent, indeed, may, at first, be viewed by some with astonishment, but, unlike many other events, it never can be with regret; not only as having been ordered by more than human wisdom, but because in conclusion, we shall find there is a *moral* involved, which will be found to demand the notice of the Christian community, individually and entire; and in the present day especially, more than *any* other to which it *can* be directed. The sphere occupied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the ENGLISH department, has been deligh-

fully large, and this has been dwelt upon in a variety of ways so frequently, that it is in danger of diminishing the rate or pace of exertion, if not of filling the whole field of vision. But as it regards the English Scriptures printed within the last forty-four years, the field we now contemplate is far greater. Independently of whatever number of English Bibles and Testaments may have been dispersed through that one medium, we have to include those which have been printed in Scotland, and the general sale throughout the kingdom from 1800 to 1844. From these three sources we come to the following aggregate of English Bibles and New Testaments separately :—

The British and Foreign Bible Society have issued	9,400,000
There have been printed in Scotland, independently, <i>above</i>	4,000,000
The general sales, besides these, have been considered to be more, but cannot have been less, than	9,000,000

or above *twenty-two millions* in round numbers ! Now, wherever these volumes have gone,—whether throughout England, Scotland, or Ireland, or to the British dependencies at the ends of the earth,—we have here to do at first simply with the remarkable fact, and it may well serve to regulate exertion for years to come. But having once pointed it out, we are the better prepared to take up the institution referred to, as not merely an important subject of review, but as forming one index to the plain path, or the special course of *future duty*.³

To those who are old enough to remember, with any interest, the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and its

³ According to its last Report (57th) the British and Foreign Bible Society had issued of the English Scriptures from its commencement to March 30, 1861 :—

Bibles	11,254,854
New Testaments	11,315,532
	<u>22,570,386</u>

Besides 602,629 Psalms and 5,918 Gospels and Acts.

The issues of Bibles and Testaments from the Scottish Press, as well as those from the Patentees' and University Presses, for independent Societies and general sale, must have been greater in proportion after 1844 than before that date ; but assuming them to have been the same, upwards of FIFTY MILLIONS of the English Scriptures must have gone into circulation through this country and its dependencies since 1805.—*Editor*.

immediate effects, the recollection must ever prove one of the most pleasing in their past lives. Its simple or exclusive object being to circulate the Sacred Volume ; “ the Bible, without note or comment,” being its only motto, the effect was such as should be pondered still. Well does it deserve, and in *these* days demand, *reconsideration* ; for no proposal on British ground had ever gone so directly to the heart, nor to the hearts of so many, throughout the empire. Founded on a principle so simple, so intelligible, so unexceptionable, the formation of the Society produced an effect altogether unprecedented ; indeed the mere announcement ran through every denomination in the kingdom, and conveyed an impulse, at once the most *powerful* and the most *extensive* under which the Christians of this country had *ever* come.

Unquestionably it was the most *powerful*, in its visibly drawing to itself parties who, ever since their origin, had lived in estrangement from each other, if not in a degree of prejudice ; though in their apprehension, of conscientious or consecrated separation. Many wondered why the proposal had never been before made, since it was one to which there was but one response. The most estimable and useful members of every community discovered the same cordiality, and vied with each other only in their zeal to advance a cause, which they all alike felt to be their privilege and duty. Upon British ground there never had been an association of greater moral power. There might, indeed, be many others drawn in, as by a vortex ; but still they were Christians, and these the most eminent and consistent, who led the van and formed the strength of the institution. No combination ever so earned for itself the title of *British*, for although the proposal first emanated from London, the Bible Society has never been a local, or merely a metropolitan institution, up to the present hour, and less now than ever it was. Its resources have been drawn from every corner of the empire ; its strength has ever lain in its auxiliaries ; forming, on the whole, the largest Christian circle that had ever existed in this country. To that circle, its single but sublime object conveyed a degree of invigorating warmth, which, as separate bodies, the Christians thus united had scarcely, if ever, before enjoyed. It was the discovery of a *new* influence. It was as if a finer sun had risen.

Nor was this all. The institution had assumed the name of "The British and *Foreign* Bible Society;" and this one word, charged as it was with more disinterested feeling, brought with it a degree of animation greater still; and one beyond anything of the kind, ever since Christianity had an existence within the shores of this favoured Island. But for *this* word, which, at that time, came like a refreshing breeze over the whole land, the number of contributors, the collections made, and the sums subscribed, had never been what they were, then or since. Hence it was that the most powerful impulse became the most *extensive*.

The title assumed was, in short, tantamount to this,—that the Sacred text, the Divine Record, standing by itself, as it always ought to have done from the beginning, and ought in due reverence to do, in all time to come; or, in other words, that THE BIBLE, WITHOUT NOTE OR COMMENT, was not only *all-sufficient for the people of Britain, but for every OTHER nation under heaven, or for all the world, far as the curse was found*. British Christians had seized at last, upon a simple principle, of imperative and infinite value to our common humanity, in all its dialects; and in these days, by solemn, public, and often repeated acknowledgments, *they were never to stop short of its UNIVERSAL application*.

The men who then lived are now rapidly passing away, but those early friends who yet survive certainly owe it to themselves, in connexion with the generation they are so soon to leave, to inform it fully of the deep sensation then felt, and the joy with which this simple proposal respecting the Sacred Volume was then hailed throughout the kingdom. They can explain to their families to what extent this proposal was felt by every denomination of British Christians, as conveying life to themselves and sympathy for the world; how it smoothed the asperity of discordant sentiment, and absorbed the best feelings of the heart in favour of the Oracles of God. They can tell them, that no sooner were the terms simply announced, than they were felt as a summons from on high, far above the regions or spirit of party; for all right-hearted men came out to obey the call. But why need we thus speak? The palpable results are now before us, and with these the existing generation of Christians have to do. They speak in language which our countrymen, less than forty years ago, would have regarded but as some visionary

prospect or pleasing dream. Of these results *then*, they had no more expectation than they had of those of steam-power, or of the benefits about to spring from the atmosphere around them, by the discovery of gaslight. We repeat, therefore, that there is *no subject to which the attention of ALL Christians* can be more profitably RECALLED; none upon which, in the present state of our country, and of the world, it can be more *profitably fixed*.

To give any history of the British and Foreign, or of any other Bible Society, is here altogether unnecessary; but there are several statements which are now essential to our knowing with some degree of accuracy the present position of this cause, whether in relation to this Island, or its very singular connexion with the rest of the world. Independently of the general sales, as there has been already expended in money, even by these Bible Societies, considerably more than *three millions* sterling, it is time to report progress, and far more than time to mark the relative proportion, or rather disproportion, between home and abroad; or between the Scriptures printed merely in the languages of Britain or Ireland, and those in the languages of all other nations put together.

There has been received by the British and Foreign Bible Society, from every source of supply, up to May 1844, the total sum of £3,083,436 18s. 8½d.; of this amount, not less than £3,036,698 0s. 3d. have been expended, according to the last or Fortieth Report, leaving a balance, upon which the Committee were under engagements to the amount of £41,469 12s. 7d.⁴

For all the purposes of comparison, the entire receipt may, we presume, with sufficient accuracy, be thus stated, viz. :⁵—

Received by the Parent Society	.	.	.	£537,831	5	5½
„ from Auxiliary Societies	.	.	.	2,432,948	0	0
„ from abroad, chiefly Europe	.	.	.	112,657	13	3
				<hr/>		
				£3,083,436 18 8½		

⁴ The receipts of the British and Foreign Bible Society from every source of supply from its commencement to 30th March, 1861, amounted to the sum of nearly £5,272,000. The expenditure up to the same date was £5,149,738.

The Society possessed at the closing of its Account, March 1861, £120,000, belonging mostly to the Jubilee and Chinese New Testament Funds. The Society was also under engagements at home and abroad amounting to £72,270.—*Editor*.

⁵ The proportion of the whole receipts arising from these three sources is

But whatever else might be said respecting the amount received, it is to the declared *expenditure* that every one must look as to the guide for all future operations. Gathered as the supplies have been from the kingdom at large, it may be supposed, that not only in the character, but the direction of their outlay, the contributors at large will now be interested.

The entire expenditure, according to the last or Fortieth Report, has been £3,036,698 0s. 3d. Naturally enough, one of the first questions will be; “how much has been spent in the *British* and how much in the *Foreign* department?” Or, in other words, “How much has been spent upon the Scriptures in the languages of Great Britain and Ireland *only*, and how much on the Sacred Volume in the languages of all Foreign nations, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America?” To these questions the following may be received as the first reply:—

Expenditure in the <i>British</i> department, on the languages spoken within Great Britain and Ireland	{	£2,004,726 12 10
Expenditure in the <i>Foreign</i> department, upon languages spoken throughout all the rest of the world, no more than		
		1,031,971 7 5
		<hr/>
		£3,036,698 0 3

At an early stage in these exertions, a cry was heard, not unfrequently, as to the *folly of collecting and sending such large sums OUT OF THE COUNTRY*, and that more attention ought to be paid to our own. But it must now be confessed by all, that the

somewhat altered now, if we may judge from the Cash Account in the Report for 1861.

Received by the Parent Society:—

In Legacies, Subscriptions, Collections, &c.	£30,373	
By Sales	7,660	
By Dividends and Drawbacks	3,935	
	<hr/>	41,968

Received from Auxiliary Societies:—

Free Contributions	£52,165	
For Bibles and Testaments	46,322	
	<hr/>	98,487
From abroad, for Scriptures		27,488
		<hr/>
		£167,943

—Editor.

British Lion has, all along, enjoyed the Lion's share. Such a disparity as this, however, courts inquiry, and, for futurity's sake, it may be supposed to interest the great body of contributors.

It is not then to be supposed that these two sums entire have been spent upon the Scriptures themselves. The expenses of management and distribution, of course, remain to be deducted, and these involve a material reduction of the total amount.

For if the whole amount of expenditure has been . . .	£3,036,698	0	3
The expenses referred to, turn out to have been . . .	433,284	8	7½
<hr/>			
Leaving for the Scriptures, whether at home or abroad, not more to be accounted for than	} £2,603,413 11 7½		
<hr/>			

The positive expenditure on the SCRIPTURES themselves, as now reduced, and to be explained, is, therefore, £2,603,413 11s. 7½d. ; of which there appears to have been spent

On languages spoken in Great Britain and Ireland . . .	£1,691,940	14	7½
On all others spoken throughout the world, only . . .	911,472	17	0

As soon as this is observed, the extraordinary disproportion will probably excite regret in those who are truly interested, that so very little, comparatively, has *yet* been done, for destitute foreign nations, or the world at large. But, at this moment, the eye must on no account be diverted from the history of the *English* Bible. Let that subject, above all, be here *first* fully understood, and then no mystery will remain as to the imperative obligations of British Christians for many years to come.

Before, however, looking at the broad surface of England and Wales, it would be doing injustice to LONDON and its immediate vicinity, as the centre of action, were we to pass unnoticed the sum spent upon the Scriptures by the auxiliary societies even there. What share have they enjoyed in this general expenditure? It is only twenty-eight years since the distinction was drawn between money contributed, and Bibles received in return, but since then more than seventy-six thousand pounds, or £76,704 15s. 8d., have been expended by them, in the distribution of the Sacred Volume, and at the reduced prices. And all within the compass of London and Middlesex alone! What a

contrast is presented here to PARIS, VIENNA, MADRID, or indeed any other city in Europe!

If we now turn from the Parent Society and these London auxiliaries, to the kindred Societies throughout England and Wales, we find that, independently of their free contributions, or £1,128,762 7s. 8d., they have spent on the Sacred Scriptures, in their various localities, not less than £962,863 3s. 8d. Additional supplies for England, Scotland, Ireland, and the British Colonies, will account for the entire amount defrayed by the parent institution, in its British or home department.

But the general reader must be perfectly aware, that there are many Bible institutions, in Scotland and Ireland, which, during almost all these years, have been exerting themselves independently of the British and Foreign; while, at the same time, their main strength has been spent upon our native land and colonies, through the medium of the English Scriptures; so that, look wherever we may, in regard to money spent, precisely the same echo is heard.

And even still, justice is not yet done to the subject before us, except we turn from pounds sterling, to the *Scriptures* themselves. Confining the statement, therefore, to this British and Foreign Society; in their Report for 1844, they tell us that they have issued fifteen millions, nine hundred and sixty-five thousand, and twenty-five volumes of Bibles and Testaments. But then of these, how many have been in the languages of our own diminutive country alone? More than *ten millions and a half*; or 10,523,157! Thus leaving for all the world besides, not equal to *five millions and a half*; or 5,441,868! And even with regard to the *home* department, or the languages spoken within this kingdom, what proportion of these Scriptures have been in the *English tongue* alone? Not fewer than nine millions, seven hundred and thirteen thousand, seven hundred and sixteen Bibles, Testaments, Psalms, and Gospels.

In addition, moreover, to the disparity exhibited by these millions, as compared with the scanty and inferior supply yet sent to all other nations; it is greatly heightened by another consideration. Every one must be aware that an English Bible or New Testament has never *cost* so much, as almost all in foreign languages; and that, consequently, every single pound

has gone much further at *home*, than it could by possibility have ever done *abroad*.⁶

⁶ It would be difficult to analyse the Cash Accounts of the British and Foreign Bible Society from its commencement to the present year, as the author has done up to 1844, so as to ascertain the exact amount of what has been expended solely on the translation and printing of the Scriptures, apart from the expenses of management and those incurred in raising funds and circulating the Book by agents and colporteurs. By the last Report there seems to have been expended on the printing and binding of the Scriptures during the year:—

In the languages of Great Britain	£67,089	8	0
In foreign tongues	59,480	8	1
	<hr/>		
	£126,569	16	7
Expenses of management, agents, colporteurs, travelling, and annual and monthly reports	38,892	15	7
	<hr/>		
The total expenditure of the year	£165,462	12	2

The amount spent on foreign objects compared with that laid out on the Scriptures at home appears to have been increasing since the author wrote in 1844, when England certainly enjoyed the lion's share. The more liberal policy of the Society further appears if we look at the sum total of copies of the Scriptures printed directly by it up to 30th March, 1861, and those in the languages of the British Isles.

Total issues of the Society	39,315,226
Of these 1,718,629 were only portions of the Old or New Testament.	
English Bibles and Testaments	22,570,386
Psalms and portions	593,827
	<hr/>
	23,164,213
Welsh Scriptures	1,162,681
Gaelic Scriptures	154,725
Irish Scriptures	99,523
Portions	18,020
	<hr/>
	117,543
Manx Scriptures	7,250
	<hr/>
	24,606,412
Scriptures in eighty-six of the languages of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia	13,602,042
Portions of Scriptures	1,106,772
	<hr/>
	14,708,814
	<hr/>
	39,315,226

Thus, while in 1844, 66 per cent. of the total issues were in the languages of the British Isles, in the year 1861, this proportion has been reduced to 62 per

Thus, at the distance of not less than forty years from its commencement, or more than the space of an entire generation, it is now evident, that the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with that of all its auxiliaries, as well as all the kindred institutions in Scotland and Ireland, was a movement, not so much with regard to *foreign* lands. It was one, up to the present hour, mainly, though not foreseen, with reference to the Scriptures in the *English* language, throughout the United Kingdom and its colonies. It was, in truth, the same gracious Being, whom we have beheld from the beginning, still pursuing his own wondrous way towards this country, which he had pursued so long ; and stirring up a part of the population to accomplish that of which *not one among them had the slightest intention at the outset !* So entirely providential, because above the purpose of the original movers, has the result been, that if any one man, in the room at London, on the 7th of May, 1804, had *proposed* to do, what has actually been done ; whatever might have been thought of the state of his judgment or reason at the moment, the proposal must have been viewed, as not only the height of extravagance, or selfish policy, but altogether absurd. Had any person risen and said—

“Gentlemen, you have met to make a commencement indeed, but it is mainly in order that you should print the Scriptures in your own *English* tongue, and that not for sale at their original cost only, which they *never* have been before, but for distribution at a reduced price, and to the extent of more than *nine millions* of Bibles and Testaments.”

Would not such an announcement have been fatal to this, the very first meeting, and consequently to the design of the secret mover of them all ? Is it to be imagined, that the speaker would have found any person present ready to second him, since no one there or elsewhere had any such purpose in view ? Meanwhile, all were unanimous, cordially unanimous, as under one impulse, and they obeyed it, having no conception whither it would lead them, and thousands more. They began, but least

cent.—still sufficiently high, especially when the numbers issued for general sale and by independent societies are considered. When the United States of North America are taken into the account, it is evident that there ARE THREE TIMES AS MANY COPIES OF OUR ENGLISH BIBLE IN EXISTENCE AS THERE ARE IN ALL THE LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD PUT TOGETHER !—*Editor.*

of all imagining that they had combined to do more for their native land *only*, than for all the world beside!

Such an amount however having been expended on the whole, it is evident that the proportion of Scripture in the English tongue has been immense; and yet though many may wish that a larger share had fallen to nations in far greater need, let this only operate the more powerfully *after we have done*; but in the meanwhile actually no room is left for *regret* as to the English proportion, when the entire subject, or field of operation, comes into view. This money is gone, it is true; it has been so spent, and yet considered as an event past, perhaps its most extraordinary feature is this, that it is an event, for which, as no particular person is to be blamed, so no one can be applauded, since not a single individual either foresaw, or ever intended it! It may be true, that there is absolutely nothing precisely similar to this in the history of British expenditure, during the last forty years, if ever before; for certainly it is not usual for an institution to work in a direction, by no means originally contemplated; and more especially to such an extent as to swallow up the great proportion of its funds. This, however, should only win for the event itself now, the more deliberate consideration.

In relation to the Scriptures in English, therefore, let it now be specially observed, that, in the operation of these Bible institutions, there has been actually nothing which can, correctly speaking, be denominated *excess*; since, all along, in the usual current of national affairs, Divine Providence has been going far beyond it, and effecting far more by men *separately* than by men *combined*. The latter, it is true, have issued above nine millions of English Bibles and Testaments, but the former, without its being *annually* noted in any way, have produced a larger number. The men combined may have spent a million and a half sterling, and in the English tongue alone, but this is far from approaching even the *half* of what has actually been expended on the whole. Besides, in the latter case, the Scriptures have been sold, they have been purchased at a price, yielding to the bookseller his profit; in the former, they have been dispersed at reduced rates; but when both methods are combined, they form a retrospect,

certainly of the most commanding character. The Divine blessing has, without doubt, rested on these united voluntary efforts; but still the hand of Him who “instructs the ploughman to discretion,” has been upon the printer, and the purchaser also, and even to greater extent all the time! There is a vast difference between even ten or eleven millions of volumes issued according to the former method, and above twenty-two millions on the whole, as already explained. In conclusion, if we look at this subject with reference to money, how few persons throughout the kingdom have ever observed, or been aware of the fact, that since the present century commenced, an amount equal, at the least, to *four millions sterling* has been spent upon the *Sacred Volume in the English tongue*?

Such might have been the conclusion of the present work, and, but little more than four years ago (1841), probably must have been, but for an event, altogether unprecedented, which then took place. Happening without any previous intimation, it took every man by surprise; though now it forms, if not the top-stone to the present history, that which, in a few years hence, will be regarded as the stone *next* to it. But even now, or rather every moment since it took place, it has added more than double emphasis to all that has been stated, respecting that immense mass of *English* Scripture printed and circulated in our day. The event conveys a meaning, from which there is no possibility for any Christian, or even the nation, to escape.

Long before this time, the reader is perfectly aware, that for many generations back, the English Bible has been printed by the authority of what has been styled a Patent from the Crown. Now, whatever may be said respecting the merits or demerits of patents in general, or of the benefit or injury resulting from such royal grants; it will certainly be singular enough, if, on looking back, it should be found that all these *Bible* Patents have taken their rise from what was once distinctly understood, and pronounced to be *illegal*; in other words, if it shall be found that these Patents actually rest upon one granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1577, and then styled a PATENT OF PRI-

VILEGE. It was upon the strength of this that Christopher Barker first printed the Bible for nearly twelve years. But that was a description of patents, which, when submitted to the Attorney-General of the day, he distinctly ruled that they *could not stand with the laws and statutes of the realm*. Various such patents, therefore, fared accordingly. They became null and void, though, by way of marvellous exception, this of Barker's remained untouched! But more strange still, Elizabeth, either not recollecting, or not adverting to, the distinction already drawn, but quoting the patent of *privilege* by way of *precedent*, granted another with her own hand in 1589. Thus, the course began, which has been discussed, and re-discussed, in courts of law, not unfrequently, at great expensé, both in England and Scotland, again and again.

It is something to be able to record, at the close of such a history as the past, that her Majesty's printer, in the spring of 1841, came forward and reduced the value of his patent, to such a degree as to create astonishment. It would be saying too much, that it became of no more value than waste paper, or a piece of old parchment; for still he is secure of certain advantages, with relation to the Scriptures, in large size. But in regard to many smaller editions, as it appears now that as he could, so he actually did, nearly merge the trade in the nation, by placing them almost on the same footing.

There is no occasion for any minute detail here, in proof of a fact so very well known to many. But by way of brief illustration, it may be stated, that in the close of 1840, the patentee advertising five different sizes of the Bible, viz., twenty-fourmo, duodecimo, octavo, quarto, and folio; and thus presenting a Bible in *twenty-four* distinct editions, the united price charged was £20 1s. 6d. Early in 1841, he came forward, and by a list of prices, offered the whole for £9 14s. 5d.! The largest, or folio Bible, for which before he charged £4, he had now reduced to £1 10s.! The smallest, formerly charged 8s., was now only 3s. That which before cost 5s. 6d., was now to be no more than 1s. 2d.! A similar reduction was advertised upon nineteen editions of the New Testament. Single books, gospels or epistles, printed separately, which had been charged sixpence, were now to be sold for *three half-pence*! So much for February 1841, but

even this would not suffice for the very next month of March. The surprise and satisfaction felt at the former reductions had not subsided, when there came farther reduction still, and upon ten different books. Thus, the edition which in January was nine shillings, and in February only six, was now down to four shillings and sixpence! And so in proportion with various other editions of the English Bible.

Inquire not how this could possibly *be* done. The patentee himself best knows this. WHY it was done, is another question, and admits of a brief historical reply.

It was in the year 1831 that Parliament began to inquire into the working of this patent, and abundance of evidence was taken, yet all this died away, or was permitted to sleep for years. It was afterwards to be of value, but this was to be in other hands, and of these but very few.

The patent of Mr. Spottiswoode was not to expire till the year 1860, but that granted for Scotland was then near its end. Evidence was, therefore, called for in reference to it; and wise, at last, in the doctrine of *non-interference*, but without foreseeing what were to be the very remarkable results, the patent was allowed to expire, without renewal, on the 19th of July, 1839. This printing establishment being at the moment in possession of many advantages as such, to her Majesty's former printers for Scotland was thus transferred the honour of being the first free-traders in that part of the kingdom since the days of Andrew Hart, or two hundred and thirty years ago, nay, and the first in BRITAIN since the reign of EDWARD THE SIXTH. As, *then*, when any respectable house applied for a licence to proceed, it was forthcoming, so it came to pass now in Scotland, simply by an application to the Lord Advocate; a mode of procedure of which other printers immediately availed themselves.

Only a few months had elapsed when the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society began to wonder at an *impulse*, for which, they informed their subscribers, in May 1840, they "could scarcely account." It arose from an earnest desire for the Scriptures, and at a more moderate price. This led to an offer on their part, of a Bible and a New Testament, separately, at a much lower rate than they had ever been presented; but the step they had taken showed, and in a very short time, that

if persisted in, it would, at the prices then paid to the English patentee, soon swallow up their free income entire. In six months, by this single step, they had thus spent, or lost, £13,000! They paused, and suspended the offer. Meanwhile, the free-trade prices in the north could not remain a secret, and before the close of the year, the people of England were paying for their English Bibles, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred per cent. more than those in Scotland.

In England, however, all parties still remained actually dormant. The pressure from without happening not to have originated there, so long as no voice was raised against the enormous difference between the two sides of the Tweed, the English patentee held fast by his prices, affirming, in print, before all his countrymen, and that even so late as November 1840, that "equal efficiency and cheapness could not be obtained upon *any other* system." The people of London, also, or of the south generally, still appeared as though they believed this, even though her Majesty's Board for Scotland were reporting the reduction of prices there, and the advantages which had arisen from the happy change. "Besides," said they, "it is not merely a question as to the amount of reduction, but whether a vast number of individuals are, or are not, to be put in possession of the Sacred Scriptures? The difference of a single *penny* in the price of a Bible, determines, year after year, whether the Word of God is, or is not, to enlighten and gladden thousands of families."

The royal Patentee, it is true, might speak, or even print, as he had done in November, but without saying more, he was to *act* very differently, and in little more than eight weeks, or in February 1841, as already stated. When reviewing, another day, what will appear very remarkable, the sudden and prodigious fall in the prices of the Sacred Volume, posterity, if not informed, might be apt to conjecture that the monopolist must have been roused to act so by the nation at large,—but no; nothing more was requisite than that three individuals only should move, and the unprecedented reduction followed,—followed also very quietly, and, contrary to all custom in this advertising age, without any boasting, or the slightest ostentation on the part of the Patentee himself. Since the day that

business of any moment was done in Britain, such a thing, in *business*, was never so done. One Englishman, indeed, with two natives of the north, must, it is granted, feel deeply interested in the subject, and to many now it may be unnecessary to mention their names,—Mr. Childs, of Bungay, the Rev. Dr. Thomson, of Coldstream, and the Rev. Dr. Campbell, of London. The first gentleman had corresponded with the second, but, without further detail, it so happened, that into his mind had come the idea, that as these “Living Oracles” had been originally committed in charge, as a sacred deposit, to the people of God as such; so it ought to be an object with them to present the Scriptures to any, or to all, at no higher price than the simple cost of their production; or, in other words, that they ought to be redeemed out of the usual channels of commerce altogether. But in these days, when it seems as if no individual expects to accomplish any enterprise single-handed, what was styled a Board must be formed. In the present instance, but for the artificial state of society into which Britain has wrought herself, this might have been dispensed with, and it appears to have been of no other moment than that of directing attention to the efforts of an individual. The prices of Bibles and Testaments, then, thus advertised, were so low as to appear incredible; while the London patentee became so adventurous as to affirm that under the whole affair there lurked some fallacy. Meanwhile, all that became necessary was that this gentleman should move from the banks of the Tweed to visit the north of England, where, having once explained his views, and exhibited certain specimens of Bibles and Testaments, at their affixed prices, many eyes were opened. The reception given was cordial, nay, enthusiastic; nor did he require to visit the metropolis at all. The third individual, however, who was residing there, was now required, and both meeting at Liverpool, and elsewhere, both spoke and wrote, and both were listened to, and read. Nothing more was required, and though neither of these friends to the cause they advocated could expect to meet with that applause which, in our day, has been so often awarded to men for doing little or nothing, an impulse more powerful had been felt than either the one or the other had anticipated. The royal Patentee evinced penetration and wisdom to a degree seldom, if ever before,

exhibited in such circumstances. He had spoken out once, as already mentioned, but proceeding no farther, he presently issued his delightful and most extraordinary reduction of prices. The patent itself, it will be remembered, has not been abolished, but, sixteen years before its natural termination, it has been, to a great degree, effectually neutralised. Ever since, competition has been at work, and all in favour of the purchaser. Into the merits or demerits of this competition as to price between the patentee and the free-trader, there is no necessity for us to enter here; though it must be evident to all, that so long as the patent, and these concurrent rights of Oxford and Cambridge, continue, the sales throughout the Kingdom cannot arrive at a healthy or natural and desirable condition. Meanwhile, the public at large is happily left to judge for itself; but that such an immense circulation as that which had taken place should have been suddenly followed up by such a vast and unprecedented reduction in price, is an occurrence far from being the least remarkable among the multitude of events which it has been our aim throughout impartially to record.

Such then have been the mysterious, and, compared with every other nation under heaven, the majestic outgoings of Him who has been with this cause, all along and so evidently, from the beginning; and who having now brought it to this stupendous height, will, to a certainty, not leave it in its present state or position, or ever be turned aside from His own high purpose and ultimate design. We have said, *mysterious* outgoings, because the cause, as such, may be compared to a path without an end; that is, an end worthy of the path; an end in unison with the present condition of a nation, where the number of the copies of the Sacred Record actually outnumber the souls that are in it, but where thousands still condemn the proffered gift! The reader of the previous history, it is true, has travelled a very singular and eventful journey, and all the while, for more than three hundred years, he has been ascending to the eminence, on which he now stands; so that according to *this* time, he may be exclaiming—"What hath God wrought!" Yet the exclamation is no sooner uttered, than it seems to excite in every considerate mind but one question—WHAT IS HE ABOUT TO DO?

Were the public mind in this kingdom once brought to such a state of watchful inquiry, although to answer such a question is not within the province of human foresight; yet there is one point connected with the present position of our English Bible, and only one, to which we may advert, before bidding adieu to the history itself. Whatever Providence intends to accomplish, and whatever obscurity may rest on the future, it is already evident that an Almighty hand has been, and is now proceeding, on a scale far beyond the limits of our sea-girt island. Some of our legislators have recently begun to ruminate over what they call *systematic* emigration; but that Providence, which perfectly foresaw what would be the condition of the inhabitants of Britain for some years back, in which every time the clock struck twelve, another thousand has been added to our population—that Providence has already and long been at work, with His own word, for such as go away, or have gone, never again to see their native land; and the printing-press, which is now more busy than ever it was, both in England and Scotland, can very easily keep pace with the emigration, let it increase as it may. Now this, it is confessed, so far as the Scriptures in the *English* tongue only are still to be concerned, may be the next legitimate sphere of action; but, at the same time, every one must perceive, that this can never involve more than a fraction, or not so much as approaching to a tithe of our future and imperative obligations.

In point of responsibility as a nation, we have been exalted into circumstances of which many before had little or no conception; nor had they been at all aware, that we have been placed in a condition, involving duty and obligations, from which there is no escape. The very rich supply of Sacred Scripture peculiar to our country, even before this century began, will be held in remembrance; more than twenty-two millions of volumes have since been added to the number, and still the printing-press is as urgently plied as before; so that an amount of above four millions sterling has been spent upon *our own* version! After an entire generation has been thus so peculiarly distinguished, that there is nothing approaching to it, on the face of the earth; to rouse us from slumber, as but too visible, in our unequal dealing with the world at large; all

at once, and in the quarter where it was least of all, or last of all, to be expected, there comes, in one day, a great, an immense *reduction of price* with regard to the Sacred Volume in *English*, and let it be particularly observed, in *English ALONE*. What though no real voice, no sound, was heard? No man accustomed to think at all, will presume to say that in an event so unexpected, and altogether so unprecedented, there was nothing intended for the ear, or rather the heart of those who are daily deriving light and counsel from the sacred page. Taking the entire previous history into account, and the broad field of action now full in view; is it not, to say the least, as if Providence had sounded a pause?—an authoritative pause, calling upon us to do the same; and, at last, review his footsteps? Calling upon us to observe, more deliberately, His procedure, and then putting the all-important question—“*How, or in what manner, will it become the Christians in Britain to act now?*”

We are perfectly aware, that some of our men of “profit and loss” may be disposed to detain us, by fretting over this prodigious fall of price. Something, indeed, may be mooted in reply, as to a gradual fall in the price of paper, if not other materials, but this will, by no means, satisfy others, who have looked more deeply into the circumstances. “Why, at these present prices,” says one, “we might have dispersed more than *double* the number of Bibles and Testaments, and is there any man who can now deny it?” “But what is more to be deplored,” says another, “at these prices, we might have been, all these years, expending upon destitute *foreign* nations, eight or nine hundred thousand pounds, *more than we have done!*” While, independently altogether of these former high prices, a third party meets us with his complaint, as to the expenses incurred at home, throughout England and Wales, and more especially within the last twenty years. But weighty as these murmurings may appear to some minds, they are actually of *no consequence*, when compared with the solemnity of our present obligations, or that momentous position in which Providence has now placed us. In truth, they only press our one question with greater urgency. Besides, standing, as we do, in the midst of a nation, which has but recently paid twenty millions

of money, for the liberation of not nearly one million of men in bondage; it would be idle to suppose that, as a people, we have been thus strikingly summoned to pause, merely for the purpose of murmuring over the past. Certainly they are not to be envied, who exacted such prices from the benevolent public; but as for those who have paid them, every moment now is lost, if spent merely in lamenting over the outlay. The supremely important, the urgent, and the only question at present is—*How, or in what manner, and to what extent, will it become the Christians of Britain to act now?*

At the close of the present history, therefore, it so happens that there are several points left for deliberate and general consideration, every one of which will be found to bear with accumulating force on this one question.

CONCLUSIONS

DRAWN FROM THE PRECEDING HISTORY.

THERE is a frequent propensity in the mind of man to run every thing into *one* thing. But even after all that has been said, it will not be supposed that the renovation of man is anticipated by the present author, from the mere multiplication and dispersion of the Sacred Volume throughout any country whatever. If but one native of Britain has ever so dreamed, the present state of his own land may now awaken him to the painful reverse. No nation has ever enjoyed such opportunities of discovering its devotion or hostility to the Book of God, and in none is there to be found the two extremes in greater strength. Yet, if the past history has referred to only *one* subject, it has been because of its supreme importance as the basis or ground-work of all moral improvement. To prevent confusion, we have proceeded on the principle that it is necessary to consider only one thing at a time; and that in applying the same incumbent remedy to the world around us, it is of importance to understand what *has been* the history of Divine Revelation in our own tongue, and what *is* the existing condition of our native land.

In surveying the cause to which this volume has been devoted, from an origin of the most unpretending character, it has grown to a magnitude which meets us in the very threshold to all reflection. One leading feature of the history itself will then invite some notice. After this, the visible and uninterrupted progress, or effect produced, must not escape observation. Thus, as a community, however dispersed, yet the most important, because most influential upon earth,—“*the present readers of the English Bible*” naturally come before us; for here, and in these times most happily, they must be regarded in the light of but ONE body. Though, after this, the *responsible*

position of this wide circle, but especially at its centre, on British ground, cannot fail to lend a tone of deeper solemnity to the unwearied footsteps of that gracious Providence, which so visited at first, and has so watched over this land ever since. In conclusion, only one question will remain,—How, or in what manner, shall becoming gratitude to God be expressed and proved, by far more vigorous action?

ONE LEADING FEATURE IN THE PRECEDING HISTORY, visible in a long and uninterrupted series of events, was *its superiority to all human sanction in its commencement, and of all human control in its progress*. All along, the integrity of the history of the English Bible has been most singularly preserved, and the distinct line of an overruling Providence has been quite visible from first to last. In holding on, throughout its entire course, ever independent of all associated bodies, as such, even the *history* of our Sacred Volume comes clothed with a prerogative, or sovereign authority, above everything else, in the shape of religious history. It has been kept distinct, or, as it were above, yet among, this people, for more than three hundred years; and never was the highest favour which God has bestowed so long, more conspicuous and abundant than at the present moment. If, at such a time, there should be any, or too many, who seem to be wholly engrossed, whether by ecclesiastical self-righteousness, or mere party spirit; still, it is altogether in vain for any Community, as such, within the shores of Britain, to talk of its superior importance here. All other questions are absolutely local, and subordinate. All communities offer to the eye, but a section of the people, or an inferior circle. Every one of them is here not only spoken to direct, but all alike are here providentially over-arched. Not one, without exception, can rise and lay claim to the glory of that *bow in the clouds*.

Changes in sublunary things, there have been many; divisions and sub-divisions as to its meaning; but never has it been permitted to fall under the power, much less into the keeping of any one circle. Never has it been allowed to become the badge or the partisan of a single party. Not one could ever address another in the style of the Venetians to the Roman pontiff, and say—*that Book is ours*. An historical event, there-

fore, extending over three centuries, with immediate reference to our vernacular Bible, may certainly be presumed to carry *some* significance beyond the external fact. But if so, that cannot be anything of trivial moment, which speaks to all alike, and for so long a period. It is true, only one simple principle may be all that is involved, though it must be one worthy of this high and long-continued course of procedure. After all this then, some, if not every intelligent observer, may now be disposed to pause a little, having verified this anomaly in our national history. The boon bestowed he has long felt to be *Britain's best hope*; and if the peace and tranquillity of his country has been supposed to depend upon the harmony and stability of the Institutions within her shores, he may begin to apprehend that season, if not past, may be passing away. But again he turns to the highest gift bestowed on all alike. In its history it now appears as if it had been uninterruptedly calling upon every circle, without exception, to look up for superior light; or in waiting for its own peculiar place in the wide community below—waiting for a supremacy to which it has been all along entitled.

Three hundred years ago, in many parts of Europe, but particularly in this country, both in England and Scotland, the high and keen dispute was, whether what they called the *Church*, or the *Sacred Scriptures*, were uppermost, or which was to be regarded as supreme in point of authority. For ages preceding, it had seemed to be the former. At least, a body, usurping that name, had long wantonly reigned over them; and the use they made of that daring assumption is well known. It brought on that night of pitchy darkness which so long brooded over Europe. They had taken away the key of knowledge, and substituted other keys. They had not only closed or contemned the Sacred Volume; they denied to the people at large the use or even the possession of it. But the time to favour Zion, the set time was come. The Almighty vindicated His own cause in this our native land, by way of eminence; and after a peculiar manner, by the power of His *own Word*, rescued it out of the hands of those, the profane rulers of darkness. This was His *first* note of interpretation, which, for illustration's sake, we ventured to compare to the key-note in music; and it

really seems to vibrate in the ear now, as distinctly as it did in August 1537.

Now, in this kingdom, where so much has been said about the Church, ever since, perhaps more than in all the world besides, at present it becomes worthy of universal observation, that God, by His high providence, has, all along, never permitted his Word, in a single instance, to fall into, much less under, the power of any Church, so called, of whatever form, or whatever name. The supreme authority of the Scriptures He has visibly demonstrated, before the eyes of the nation at large, by carrying them, in point of numbers and dispersion, far, very far above the capacity, and beyond the narrow bounds, of any Church so named, or of any single community within our shores. The supremacy of the Divine Word, though still far from being understood even on British ground, a watchful Providence has not left to expositors, to spell out or explain. God has been His own interpreter, and He has made it plain. This is one great lesson, which the Sovereign Ruler has been reading to this kingdom entire, for more than three hundred years.

Hence it is, at the present most eventful crisis, whatever may betide the country as a whole, or whatever may await any of its more limited interests, that His own cause stands out before us, healthy and strong, and in vigorous operation; far more vigorous than at any previous period, and by far the highest undertaking of our day.

Of the VISIBLE EFFECTS produced by the arrival of Tyndale's first edition of the New Testament on our shores there was one, by way of eminence, which imperatively demands our notice.

Almost immediately after the introduction of the Sacred Volume in our native language, we saw it at once *divide* the people, whether in England or Scotland, into *two* bands. Scarcely a month seems to have passed away, before this result became visible. At first, indeed, one of these divisions embraced but few in number, and an appearance so feeble as to be doomed to destruction. It will now be remembered, that in those early days the names given to these two parties were, "the Friends of the Old Learning," and "*Friends of the New.*" They are titles, to which we had not only no objection, but adopted them, and we prefer them *still*. They serve perfectly well to indicate

by far the most momentous division of this empire. In observing it, we need to fetch no compass, for in a straight and uninterrupted line, we have still the two parties standing before us. They are, as they have ever been, *for* and *against* the Sacred Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and their being given to all, without note or comment. This division, as being the first, and therefore the most ancient, is one from which the public mind ought *never* to have been diverted. It possesses the advantage of great or perfect simplicity, nor, throughout the long war of opinion, is there any other by which a more distinct understanding can be obtained.

In the beginning, or from the first moment, the friends of *the old learning* were opposed to the importation of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and above all things deprecated their being given to the people. They hunted after them; they ordered them to be given up; burnt them, and even those who read them, or possessed them and refused to surrender. On the other hand, the friends of *the new learning* eagerly sought after the hated book; they read it with insatiable avidity, and cleaved to it in the face of threatening, cruelty, and bitter death. By them it was prized, as the book of life and salvation, as the voice of God, as the book of the *soul*; and still it went on to prove, as it had declared, "mighty in operation." The common people heard, or read gladly.

In process of time, however, the gentlemen of "the old learning," finding that all threatening and denunciation were in vain; having failed to exterminate the Scriptures themselves, and failing in power to consign their opponents to the flames, it was not long before they had brought forward what they styled other *authorities* to be obeyed, beside that which was daily proving itself, and so powerfully, to be SUPREME. They talked learnedly about *antiquity*. They mooted the authority of the *Church*, even such as it had been in their own hands, and the authority of ancient doctors, styled the *Fathers*; upon which, far too many of their opponents with blind simplicity followed them; whether by way of argument or in the way of compliance, to prove their skill in polemics. Certainly these, though the professed friends of the "new learning," had never intended to weaken or betray the rising cause for one moment,

and much less for generations to come ; but in thus acting, they but little knew what they were about, or what they had done. The Sacred Volume, it is true, had been given to the people providentially, and independently of *all* these men, and its progress to the present hour has been conducted after a similar fashion ; but it is to this sad, this heedless and mistaken movement, that we are to ascribe in a great degree the history and mystery of these *two* classes within this kingdom. Thus it was in the beginning, that, under the show of argument, the adherents of the old learning contrived to maintain their ground, nay, and prolong the existence of their “learning ;” for precisely so have they acted, from time to time, as occasion has offered, *ever since*. The party, indeed, cannot now boast that they are one and indivisible, any more than their opponents, for it is under more names than one, that the *old* learning has still lingered throughout the land. From generation to generation, its votaries have survived, and certainly they have been overruled to serve one valuable purpose ; that of ever and anon recalling, if not driving, the friends of the new learning, to their first fundamental principle. That principle was the *supreme authority and all-sufficiency of the Sacred Volume* ; and had this only been regarded as the pole-star, and followed fearlessly, long before the present day, though not upon a sea which knows no storms, the natives of Britain must have been under a clearer sky. On the contrary, too many of the adherents of the new learning, though never done with repeating their favourite maxim respecting the Bible, and the Bible *alone*, have ever since treated it chiefly as a sheet anchor, and as if it were to be resorted to only when assailed by a storm ; though it was given them also as a chart to guide through all the perils of the deep. Such was the first great controversy in Britain, and as it took precedence of all others in point of *time*, so, as first in point of *importance*, even in our own day it is abundantly manifest, that all subsequent, all subordinate points of difference, submissively *wait* upon its progress, and upon its decision even still.

When one is constrained to turn his eye to that particular quarter, in England, from whence this sympathy with “the Old Learning” has, in our own day, proceeded, what associations are these which crowd upon the mind ! It seems as if the spot had

been selected, in order to *rouse* the public mind. Among all the cities in Britain, was this that one which became the seat of the very *first* printing-press set up in this kingdom? So it has been affirmed; but be that as it may, there are other associations more than sufficient to awaken the mind and rivet the eye of every reader of his Bible in the land. Here it was that the morning star first rose in England, and so, over Europe; when our own Wickliffe first opened to the people of his country the treasures of Divine Truth in their mother tongue. Here it was where the immortal Tyndale first gave his lectures on Scripture, and then proceeded on his way. It would, however, be doing great injustice to Oxford, and that throughout our own times, did we not discover something there in which there is neither "mystery" nor "reserve," nay, something happily far superior to any testimony from men. If sympathy with "the *Old Learning*" has been oozing out from a certain class, through the medium of the press, and though the friends of the *New* may have been bordering upon slumber, has there been no overwhelming echo from the Oxford press itself? It is in this locality, for more than ten years, that certain anonymous writers have been very busy; but has nothing been doing there, in multiplying the Sacred Record of which they have thus dared to speak? On the contrary, above every other spot on earth there has been a work proceeding, from week to week, in favour of those Scriptures. Among the cities of this kingdom, or of the world, the point of distinction at Oxford is confined to one, and that one connected with *the English Bible, without note or comment!* During these years it has been affirmed to be within the power of its noble printing-press, that they could print a Bible entire, in *one minute!* But be this as it may, the power possessed has been employed in giving existence to the Divine Record, in our native tongue, and to such an amount, that it has exceeded that of the presses of all the cities in continental Europe put together! Even London and Cambridge, with all their myriads of copies, have not been able to keep pace with Oxford alone!

If, then, there has been an enemy in this quarter, threatening, however feebly, to come in like a flood, is no significance to be attached to the singular fact now stated? Or rather, in the very camp where he has been so long sounding his trumpet, has

not a standard every morning been lifted up against him? The stress of battle, before long, must bear on this one point—the Sacred Volume and its all-sufficiency, whether for “the plainest rustic,” or “the deepest philosopher;” then will it be remembered, as at least some encouragement, that no spot on the face of the earth has been so distinguished as Oxford, the school of Wickliffe and Tyndale, for the multiplication of the English Bible.

If, however, the ancient contest between the Old Learning and the New is ever to be revived, not only must all “mystery” and “reserve” be dismissed, but all other consequential points be lost in the grand one. By the New Learning, as in days of old, is to be understood,—*the Bible, without note or comment, in our vulgar tongue*; and surely, if the history of the past is admitted to be any guide for the future, and if there be any tide, or any *voice*, in human affairs, the Ruler of nations appears to be summoning the mind of Britain, and above every other nation, to His *own* highest movement. If, then, this summons is ever to be obeyed, if the devoted admirers of Divine Revelation are once more to be favoured to engage in this, the highest of all warfare, might it not, as a preliminary, prove to be the exercise of a sound discrimination or discerning wisdom, if the British mind were afresh directed, with unmitigable energy, to that *one* division of the people which has in reality existed throughout all the past, or from the beginning? At first, in the sixteenth century, this division soon became palpable or visible to every eye. As if it had been expressly *intended* to explain to all posterity its infinite importance, to save from all delusion or mistake in time to come, it was marked in a manner never to be forgotten. It was a division of the community then accompanied by distress in every form of persecution, of imprisonment, and death by fire. It seemed meet to Infinite wisdom to permit, that this line should be drawn in *blood*, by the awful instrumentality of the rack and the stake, by the flames and their ashes, or pining death in prison; and though all these horrors have passed away, this line now stands out, thus glaringly, in authentic history, as a division of the entire community, from which the eye of Omniscience all along has never removed, nor ever will.

At such a crisis as the present, therefore, when not one intelligent Christian, of whatever persuasion, can imagine that *his* party, as it stands, like Aaron's rod, will ultimately swallow up all others; what can be the existing purpose or intention of an overruling and ever-watchful Providence? Full, to overflowing, with Divine revelation, the mere multiplication of the Scriptures in *English* cannot possibly be the main intention now. The identical course pursued from 1804 *cannot now be pursued*. We have been brought forward to an advanced stage, but it is a stage only in preparation for what is to come. We may look back, but must look forward. It is only a breathing time, which now calls for some vigorous and *corresponding* exertion, but it must be ELSEWHERE. In the dispersion of the Scriptures Britain has been distinguished for thirty years, both for persistence and perseverance. There has been no lack of *persistence* in her *continual* efforts, as to the English Bible. But has there been any relaxation of *perseverance* in her *separate* efforts, throughout her own foreign dominions, or the world at large? We must, of necessity, immediately inquire.

So far as the present history is concerned, the actual state of things appears to be this:—There is no sectarian movement now before us, nor does anything which can be so denominated come in our way. But with all her imperfections in the administration of the affair, still Britain, by her activity in multiplying and dispersing the Sacred Record, has drawn the eyes of the world upon her, or, happily, far more than the eye of old Europe. With what have been styled “missions,” therefore, conducted by whomsoever they may, the Pontiff, personally, does not *seem* to interfere. These he may counter-work, he imagines more effectually, without a bull. But it is *the SACRED VOLUME in the vernacular tongue anywhere and everywhere*, upon which, in our own day, he discharges his gall of bitterness entire. Thus it is, whether British Christians become more alive to the fact or not, that three different Pontiffs, out of four, in regular succession, have been permitted to signify to them, above every other people, *where* lies the strength, the best or the chief hope and mainstay, of Britain, and the only ground of security as to her vast dominion.

Time there was, when the thunder of one bull would have

sufficed to fix attention in this country, but though three in succession have failed to excite much notice, and many have never heard of one; still, if there be any relaxation, if anything bordering on mere party-spirit, within our shores, these documents may well be regarded as so many distinct intimations, that we are neglecting the highest of all duties, and one which ought to be common, as well as dear, to every circle in the land. There may be those, it is true, whether few or many, even within this country, who are sympathising with the enemy of truth beyond seas; but in reality the friends of Divine truth may feel obliged to these three successive Pontiffs. It is allowable to derive instruction even still from the old European enemy. His opposition once contributed to the supply of Britain herself, and why may it not now help to the supply of even the world in general? No believer in Divine revelation, it is true, need to feel any undue apprehension at these things, but it is strictly within his province, to observe the signs of the times. His only question must ever be,—“What is the duty of the day?” And if he tread only in the footsteps of the Word of God, he need not to fear any mere ripple in the waves, any apparent reflux in the advancing tide.

On the devout READERS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE, whether at home or abroad, all our hope for future exertion must depend. At present we regard them all as but one community, and the most united upon the face of the earth; possessing certain points of attraction to each other, for which we search in vain throughout the world. Although the most widely diffused branch of the family of man, except the Jews, yet they alone are in firm possession of the entire Sacred Volume; and once contemplated as a community—before the eye of Him who never slumbers, it cannot be said, at any given moment, that its members have ceased to peruse or to search the same Divine Record. At any hour of the twenty-four, or rather any minute, the eyes of some among this body are in the act of resting on the *same* Book of Life, and that, from the beginning of the year to the end of the year! To be found in the midst of a people of the same tongue, now approaching to fifty millions, and in possession of Divine Revelation to an extent which serves as a contrast to the world; these favoured individuals, of both sexes,

from youth to old age, are hourly drawn to the same heavenly centre of attraction ; and however far apart, there alone they all alike find their best and their happiest moments.

The present age, with all its faults, has been designated "the age of Bibles ;" but then, in the readers we now address, having this divine and sovereign authority before their eyes, every page has reached the heart ; and no people upon earth so feel the necessity for the Author's presence ; or in other words, for special influence to accompany and sanction their reading. Already, however, the Divine Spirit has been with His Word, and as a preliminary to every other step, the observance of which is fitted to diffuse a friendship, or mutual interest, never yet felt ; let us, whether at home or abroad, near or afar off, turn to that more distinguished *weekly* homage paid to the Volume we alike revere. Here is the point, the one point, in which we all meet, and it is enough. Even in times such as the present, it is all-sufficient. Our common centre of attraction, is the only immovable centre of repose. As one Community, we may turn to one day in seven, and in the view now to be presented, distinguish it as the SABBATH OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

That period of time to which we now advert, as recurring at every seventh revolution of the sphere, embraces one day and night entire ; and once begun, to the admiring readers of the English Bible, considered as a body, in some resemblance to the sun in the firmament, there is no twilight ; no evening shade. Before the Sovereign Author of this extraordinary distribution of one people, in possession of the same Sacred Record, it can in truth be affirmed—*there is no night there*. Nor is He ever more present with them all, than when they look to Him through this Divine medium.

It will, of course, be understood, that we now cast an eye not at Britain alone,—a light in which no intelligent man of the present day should *ever* regard this kingdom. We look also at her dominions, now held by but one imperative condition, or that of being subservient to the designs of Providence. And here, as the day we contemplate is a day of rest and reading, of worship and inquiry, it has no parallel in any other tongue. The great majority of reflecting admirers is, no doubt, to be found in Britain, but long before they have ceased from the

cares of business, at the end of the week, the Lord's-day has already begun ; and long after they have once more drawn the curtains and retired to rest, there are many in the far west, who are yet to go on for hours, exploring the same sacred page. We have traced the English Bible as being certainly in perusal above an hundred and seventy degrees east, and about an hundred and eighty west, of Greenwich. The half-hour out of twenty-four, which may yet easily be ascertained, is, for the present, of no moment.

Should this very memorable day, however, be thus taken into frequent consideration, there is another which will not be forgotten, and it is of equal length. It is the day before. This is perfectly well known, and even to the most influential members of this singular community. With them it is a day of research as well as of reading the same common standard. Here there is a positively ascertained effort of mind, of twenty-four hours' duration, an uninterrupted mental aim after "rightly dividing" the same "word of truth." The object in view is that the trumpet may give one certain sound, for these men are to lead the devotion of myriads on the following day. The ascertained fact, therefore, is this, that for a space equal to not less than *forty-eight hours*, every week, the devoted attention of the same people is directed to the same Sacred Volume.

Now, it cannot be that such a community, whom it is possible thus to select, and thus address, has yet fulfilled the providential purpose of its wide extension. By no means ; for here may already be descried the twilight of a brighter day than Britain has ever witnessed. Whether they be in Old England or New England, in Scotland or Nova Scotia, in Middlesex and Braidalbin at home or Middlesex and Braidalbin abroad, in Canada or the Cape of South Africa, in India or Burmah, in the Indian Archipelago, the Pacific, or on the coast of China, this favoured people of one language, have been thus scattered, certainly not in wrath, but in mercy to mankind. "Thou hast scattered us among the heathen" was the mournful complaint of the ancient Jew to his God, because this was the token of His frown—the ruin or the *death* of Judaism ; but this unprecedented dispersion of one Gentile nation may, and probably will, prove the *life* of Scriptural Christianity. It was the providential dispersion of

the first community at Jerusalem of old which gave birth to the very name of *Christian*; and in this vastly greater dispersion of one people, why may not untold or unprecedented good be involved?

There is only one circumstance which remains to be glanced at, in reference to this select day, so observed by one people on both sides of the globe. Their common language happens to be the *only* one in Europe in which the doctrine of the seventh part of time, as well as the joyful occasion of its observance, has been so fully comprehended and observed. For these three hundred years the day has been differently regarded by all the nations on the Continent; so that, with all our faults, there has been, as remarked by Guizot, a moral as well as an insular separation. Let us hold fast by the distinction, and improve it now in both hemispheres. The neighbouring nations may have smiled at these Sabbaths, and wondered at our weakness or simplicity in having so multiplied the vernacular version of our Bible; but they will not deny, that to a people remarked for these peculiarities, there has been conveyed an empire far more extensive than any that has ever existed. But for these, there had been no such singular community as that which it has been our object to address, and our desire to interest more deeply in each other, and *then*, in the world around them. After this, would it not be well for the adjoining Continent, were these nations now to take both the Volume and the Day into more thoughtful consideration?—The circulation of the one?—the observance of the other?¹

¹ It is now not unworthy of notice that the nation which, with all its faults, has been most distinguished for the observance and the mental occupation of the Christian Sabbath, has proved to be the most energetic and enterprising upon earth. It has lost nothing by *resting* one day in seven. In its own place, that day has been found to be equally invigorating with nocturnal repose. So far from any interruption to business, it has proved itself to be the economist of time, nay, of human life itself; and they are but superficial minds who have not frequently observed this.

THE FINAL QUESTION, OR PATH OF DUTY.

OUR existing circumstances as a nation, in connexion with the Sacred Volume, whether relating to the height of privilege, or the amount of duty, we have all along felt our inability to describe, or express in words. There is a certain crisis in the history of nations, as well as in the life of man, fitted and intended to provoke or draw forth the activity and force of every agent. That our present circumstances are critical, is the persuasion of all thinking men. But then they are the critical circumstances of a strong and favoured nation, when so far from repose, or even relaxation, the condition of other countries never so favoured, must be taken into consideration, after another manner than they have ever yet been.

The present times are distinguished by a number of peculiarities. This, it has been said, is "the age of improvement—the age of social advancement,—it is a mercantile age, and the wealth of the world is poured into the lap of Britain, while its inhabitants are living in the midst of discoveries which have almost given life and breath to material nature." In all this the enlightened Christian patriot cannot but feel and take an interest. But still, in his sober and deliberate judgment, by far the most momentous and significant point in the state of this country, consists in the abundant possession of Divine Revelation, however lightly it may be regarded, and the prodigious reduction in price of the Sacred Volume. Consequently, the question which he desires to be resolved is this—What is the present duty? What are the obligations thus imposed on British Christians?

This subject of inquiry, as the final question, is one which, on the part of the author, it is here confessed, has never been absent from his mind for years past. And though it was to be amidst a thousand interruptions by professional engagements, it seemed to be above all things else desirable, to ascertain the actual state of our country; not as containing *this* or *that* particular form of *ecclesiastical polity*; but the state of Britain as the distinguished depository of Divine Revelation: and consequently the paramount duty of a people so enriched by the

possession of the Sacred Volume. It then occurred to the writer that there was no other method so likely to present in their due force, the imperative obligations of his country to the rest of the world, as a distinct and impartial record of what had actually been done for it, from the beginning. Out of the wide and wonderful wilderness of "religious privileges" so called, in the possession of which so many seem to be satisfied to live and die, there appeared to be no way of escape, but by fixing upon the Sacred Volume itself, without note or comment; and following it rigidly as the day-star, or surest index, far above all party, all local, narrow, or limited considerations; following it, till one could see clearly, and look round on the state of our native island as such. A more certain clue to the responsible condition of its inhabitants he did not know, and he may now, perhaps without presumption, be permitted to suppose, that, in this point of view, our real position among the nations has never before been fully understood.

In seeking for a wide and imperative field of future exertion there is no necessity, in the first instance, for going even out of the Empire.

Looking at that Britain in which we dwell, and to which this previous history has immediate regard, furnished as it has been with the truth of God, the real position of the Island cannot be too strongly enforced. By the Sovereign Disposer of all events it has been gradually encompassed by an area more than *thirty* times the size of itself, an area peopled by above one hundred and forty millions of our own species, the great proportion of whom are our fellow-subjects! The sails of the mother-country whiten every sea; the smoke of her steam-vessels has filled with astonishment the people of many lands. Our men of commerce, brought into contact with all these parts, breathe after more free and frequent intercourse; while the sons of science are not less eager after an accurate acquaintance with the earth, and especially with the whole Eastern World. The measurement of the meridional arc, extending to more than 1500 miles, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains, begun in 1822, after twenty years' application, has been completed. In India itself, under the present Governor-General, the leading aim of his policy is *peace*. But above all, there is a renewed attention to educa-

tion in the *vernacular* tongue. The principle is openly admitted by the authorities, that the instruction of the *body* of the people through the medium of their *own* tongue is one of the essential duties of Government: a body amounting to above thirty millions in Bengal, with fifty millions more adjoining. And there too comes CHINA, with her three hundred millions, and the adjoining nations, all, as it were, stretching out the hand especially to Britain—a happy and an amicable arrangement which is still the subject of wonder to men of all opinions. All this is at once propitious and animating. But can it be here at home imagined by any one, that an Overruling Power has brought these vast regions into such intimate connexion with this distant Isle, for any *lower* purpose than that of presenting them with a faithful rendering of His own Sacred Word in all their different *vernacular* tongues?

When reflecting on this peculiar, this untransferable responsibility, of our country, but especially of all within it who believe in DIVINE REVELATION; in any man's vision there must be some great defect, if he cannot discern what is involved in her *dominion*. Upon the manner in which this is conducted, her actual safety must now depend. Britain has not received authority, or even influence, over so many millions of our species, with liberty to act by them as she pleases. Nor does she hold in North America, an area double the size of all France, to neglect or foster it, just as fancy or ambition may suggest. No, *if property at home has its duties affixed to it*, SO ALSO HAS DOMINION ABROAD. The world entire, it is true, demands the swell of pity, and it is not without special claims upon us; but to avoid being lost in generality, let us at least endeavour to understand the dominion which Providence has affixed to our native land, whether in Asia, Africa, or America, and allow no power on earth to beguile us from its cultivation. Dominion, therefore, we repeat, and however distant, has its duties affixed to it. But *distance*, which twenty years ago, used to be stated as accounting for the apathy of Britain, can now be mentioned no more. To this country has been granted not only the knowledge, but especially the application, of the power of steam, by which the whole Island is growing into one vast Metropolis, while a path in the sea has been given to her. Whether we look to the west, or to the east,

regular communication is now brought nearly within the compass of every week, or four times a month, and a monthly intercourse with China has already commenced. Providence is introducing us to the wide earth, or causing the World to draw near and come, but especially to this island. Its position is altogether unprecedented, and enough to rouse the most unthinking stupidity. Dominion so *vast*, and brought so *near* at hand, the world has never witnessed. In all previous history there is no resemblance. Space and time were never so abridged to the hand of any earthly power. Every other acquisition of territory or dominion by any nation, shrinks before it. The conquest of South America by Spain was not equal to a fourth of the extent, in which more of human blood was shed in a short time, than there may have been in India from the beginning. The Roman or Mahometan conquests will not bear comparison. To this vast field of action, over which an overruling Providence has given us influence, not to mention other frequent opportunities of intercourse, we have *forty-eight* direct or stated channels of communication every year. These, like so many distinct incitements, call us to go out, or send out, and double our diligence in conveying to all these populous regions, *certainly not the peculiarities of our different indigenous religious systems*, upon which some are so blindly bent, but the unsophisticated BOOK OF GOD, without *our* notes or comments, but in translations, if possible, at least equal to our own. This, we cannot but imagine to be the highest end for which such wide dominion has been bestowed, and the duty, by way of eminence, assigned to this country.

Such has been the history of our English Bible, and such appears to be the paramount duty imposed upon all, who have so long and so richly possessed it. If to thousands around them, that Sacred Volume be of no more utility than a sun-dial in the dark,—if others esteem those lines not worth reading, which God himself deemed worthy of His inspiration, and if many more are eager after the adjustment of merely certain local interests upon British ground; all this only forms a more powerful proof of the necessity for invoking the Divine Spirit, and, in present circumstances, a stronger argument need not, perhaps cannot, be adduced. But nothing whatever can weaken our

obligations to go forward in this high path, or justify the hands hanging down, in a single instance. The all-sufficiency of the Divine Record, and now, especially the Ministration of the Spirit, form the *two* great themes, calling for universal and supreme regard throughout our native land; but, at the same time, not unmindful of the beneficial reflex influence of *foreign* operations, before the commencement of this century, and during a season of great national peril, we have thus written; as well as from a full persuasion that the permanent interests of this country, her surest protection and best defence against all aggression, are now in a state of dependence upon the general diffusion of Divine Truth, properly so called. Separate from all systems of human opinion, removed from the din of disputation and the strife of tongues, this appears to be the pre-eminent duty to which the Christians of Britain are now invited, as by a voice from above. They have been favoured beyond those of any other nation, but this should only lead them the more to remember that there *is* a favour higher still than that of being blessed, nay, blessed by God himself. It consists in their being made a blessing to others. His object, in the first instance, is to be adored, but let us beware, above all things, of forgetting His intention, or, as it were, retarding the flow of the Divine benignity to mankind. His fixed purpose, uttered again and again, in the face of open rebellion, dissension among His professed followers, and even the people at large labouring in the fire, or wearying themselves for very vanity, is still the same,—“*The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.*” The Divine Record, therefore, by itself considered, must visit every land. In the various languages of our world, here is the highest object to which the human mind should address itself; and were the collective zeal in this kingdom, now, at last, to awake and take this one direction, through all our principal sea-ports, it would be nothing more than the very extraordinary procedure of the Almighty towards this nation, for more than three hundred years, and the aspect of these times, demand.

At a moment when, in every other walk pursued by British Christians, the seeds of mutation are so thickly sown,—a season, in which Divine Providence is in the act of bringing down the

self-importance of all collective bodies,—drawing with unwonted solemnity over the entire kingdom, and to be more deeply venerated, the line of distinction between His own revealed Word, and all the opinions of men respecting it; and demonstrating to the humblest capacity, that no Church, yet in existence, is to prove the *ark* of this nation; even at such a period, whatever these signs portend, or come what may, what is the actual state of this greater cause? Its prospects were never, by half, so encouraging, its claims never so imperative! Thus strikingly, by every calm intelligent observer, may this undertaking be seen at present, rising far above the regions of party, or of mere party zeal.

Meanwhile, if everything in the condition of mankind indicates the approach of some great crisis, is it not more than observable, that in this our eminently favoured land, all things else appear as though they had conspired chiefly to render more conspicuous or glaring, and certainly far more inviting, *one* solitary path, left open by God to British Christians as such? A path, indeed, to which, as far as they regard their common standard, they appear to be now very nearly hedged up, just as they were above forty years ago, by the fear of infidelity. A path, however, in which they may proceed in the largest body, and by the smallest groups, or rather by *both* methods, in perfect harmony. That path, in which those who revere Divine Revelation as their common charter to the skies, or their sheet-anchor in every storm, can still meet; and meeting with success their common foe, however divided on some points, can only the more triumphantly repel the charge of sectarianism. That path, where, as the asperities of discordant sentiment can have no place, so every acrimonious or noxious controversy is left to wither down to its root; and where, though they confute no heresies, they may effect what is better still, cause them all to be neglected or forgotten. In that plain path, where *diffusion* seems to be the one idea that cometh out from the Divine throne daily, dispensing with a bountiful hand “the sovereign balm for every wound,” through other and distant climes, the parties so engaged are in the way of being twice blessed: and there, while working in the rear of the Almighty’s most determined purpose and highest end, ultimate success is no less certain, than in the

course of nature. "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater : so shall my Word be that goeth forth out of my mouth : it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

What, then, although many things around us say, or seem to say, Trust not in man ? let the heart of no Christian fail him for one moment. With more profound reverence for the Divine Word as the appointed instrument, a clearer perception of its adaptation to its end, a firm reliance on the Divine veracity, and a habitual reference to the Holy Spirit of God, let this path only be pursued as its supreme importance demands, it must end in consequences which are not left to human conjecture, and such as the earth we inhabit has yet to enjoy.—"For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace ; the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle tree : and this shall be unto Jehovah for a memorial, for an everlasting sign, which shall not be abolished."



Chronological Index List

OF

ENGLISH BIBLES AND NEW TESTAMENTS.



EXPLANATORY NOTE.

THE best account of English Bibles and Testaments, with their proprietors, which has ever been published, is that which was printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1821, by the Rev. Henry Cotton, D.C.L. In the following Index-List will be found about a hundred editions not there specified. Under the description column, the quotations marked are taken verbally and literally from the title-page or colophon, which may assist other possessors to identify their imperfect copies. More proprietors might have been added to some books, but these are sufficient to authenticate all the editions mentioned, and put an end to a degree of uncertainty respecting these precious volumes, which has too long prevailed. The number, on the whole, will be found to corroborate, and even strengthen, the statements in the preceding History.

In the following pages *Ty.* denotes the translation of Tyndale—*Co.* that of Coverdale—*Ma.* that of Rogers, *alias* Matthew, or that of Tyndale left for publication—*Cr.* denotes Cranmer's—*Ta.* that of Taverner—*Ge.* the Genevan version—*Bps.* that of the Bishops, and *To.* that of Laurence Tomson.

The Library of the late Hon. Thomas Grenville is now in the British Museum.

VARIOUS EDITIONS
OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE BIBLE
In English,

WITH CERTAIN PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND INDIVIDUAL PROPRIETORS
IN POSSESSION OF COPIES;

SERVING AS AN
INDEX TO THE PRECEDING HISTORY.

Henry the Eighth.

FIFTY-FOUR EDITIONS, VIZ. THIRTY-NINE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND FIFTEEN OF THE BIBLE.

Printed in twenty-two years, or from 1525, to the 28th January 1547.

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
MATTHEW and MARK—printed “as written by the Evangelists,” with marginal notes, stitched together and separately. See the preceding History, pp. 28, 87, 104, 107.	—	Hamburg	1524
1. T. The New Test. with glosses and a prologue,—only one fragment remains, and that not discovered till 1834. See pp. 30, 37. Now in the Library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville.	P. Quentall Ty. P. Schoeffer	Cologne Worms	— 4°. 1525
2. T. The New Test. wanting only the title, and the only copy in this state now known. See pp. 30, 41. Bequeathed, with many other volumes, by Dr. And. Gifford, to the Bristol Museum.	Ty. P. Schoeffer	Worms	18°. —
3. T. The New Test., the first surrep. ed., of which no copy has yet been properly identified in any collection. See p. 80.	Ty. Endhoven	Antwerp	1526
4. T. The New Test., the second surreptitious ed. See pp. 92, 93.	Ty. Ruremund	Antwerp	1527
5. T. The New Test., the third surreptitious edition. See p. 135.	Ty. —	Antwerp	1528-9

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
6. T. The New Test. supposed reprint by Tyndale himself, with his prologue to the Romans. See p. 146.	Ty. Hans Luft	Marburg?	1530
GENESIS, DEUTERONOMY, in separate books. See p. 118.	Ty. Hans Luft	Marburg	—
PENTATEUCH, with a general preface, and a second edition of Genesis, dated 17th Jan. 1530, i.e. 1531. See p. 137—a perfect copy in the <i>Grenville Lib.</i>	Various printers	Different places	1531
Imp. <i>British Mus. Bristol Mus.</i>	Ty.		
7. T. "The New Test. as it was written," &c., altered by Geo. Joye, with only the Vulgate before him, dated "M.CCCC.XXXIII., in August." The only copy certainly known to exist is in the <i>Grenville Library</i> . See History, pp. 217—221.	Widow of Christoffel of Endhouse.	Antwerp	16°. 1534
8. T. The New Test. dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke, by William Tindale,—fynished in MD.XXXIII., in Nov. See p. 217. <i>British Museum. St. Paul's. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Marten Chr. Anderson Ty.	Emperowr Antwerp	12°. —
9. T. Unique copy on vellum. "Anna Regina Angliæ." Simply the sacred text. See the History, p. 227.	<i>British Museum</i> Ty.	Emperowr Antwerp	12°. —
JONAH, with a prologue. See p. 158.			
10. T. New Test. anno MD.XXXIII. surrept. p. 229. <i>E. of Pembroke. Wm. F. How of Apsley</i>	Ty. G. H.?	Antwerp	12°. —
11. T. New Test. anno MD.XXXIII. sur. p. 229. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. —?	Antwerp	12°. —
12. T. New Test. dated on the back 1534, p. 229. <i>Bristol Museum</i>	Ty. —?	Antwerp	4°. —
PENTATEUCH, corrected. <i>St. Paul's. Bristol Museum</i>	Ty. —	Marburg	12°. —
13. T. New Test. from Tyndale's corrected ed. p. 242. <i>Bodleian Lib.</i>	Ty. —?	Antwerp	12°. 1535
14. T. "The New Testament dylygently corrected,"—peculiar orthography, p. 242. Perfect. <i>Camb. Un. Lib.</i>	Imp. <i>Ex. Col. Ox.</i> Ty.	—?	Antwerp? 12°. —
15. T. The Newe Test.—but imperfect—date wanting. Cotton's list.	Ty. —	—	fol. —
1. B. BIBLIA. The Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to English. See the Hist. pp. 282—289. <i>Earl of Leicester's</i> —title 1535. <i>Bodleian. British Museum. Cambridge University Library. Bristol Museum.</i>	—	Not Zurich Frankfort?	
<i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Earl of Jersey's</i> , dated 1536	Co. —	Lubec?	fol. —
16. T. "The Newe Testament yet once again corrected." Fine copy. Duke of Newcastle's, 1676, <i>Earl Spencer.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ty.	—	Antwerp 12°. 1536
17. T. The Newe Testament, in many points similar, but quite distinct. The second title is MD.XXXVI. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. —	Antwerp	12°. —
18. T. The Newe Testament, also similar, but evidently on collation a different edition—same year. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. —	Antwerp	12°. —
19. T. The Newe Testament, quite distinct from the three last. <i>Bristol Museum</i>	Ty. —	Antwerp	12°. —
20. T. "The Newe Testament, yet once agayne corrected," by William Tyndale. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Vosterman?	Antwerp	4°. —

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
21. T. "The Newe Testament yet once agayne corrected,"—longer paper and distinct edition. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Vosterman?	<i>Antwerp</i>	4°. 1536
22. T. "The Newe Testament yet"—a block in the cut of the Apostle Paul, preceding the Epistles, is only one distinguishing mark of these three editions. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Vosterman?	<i>Antwerp</i>	4°. —
23. T. New Test. by W. Tindale. A thick pocket vol. smaller than any of the preceding—a fragment possessed by <i>G. Qffor, Esq.</i>	Ty. —	<i>Antwerp?</i>	12°. —
24. T. "THE NEWE TESTAMENT yet once agayne corrected by W. Tyndale," &c. This is from the last corrected edition and the first Sacred Volume printed on English ground. See p. 278. <i>Bodleian Library.</i> <i>John Fenwick, Esq.</i>	T. Berthelet, Ty. Printer to the King	<i>London</i>	fol. —
25. T. The Newe Testament, with Tyndale's prologue to the Romans only, but Coverdale's version. The first edition separate from the Bible? <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Co. —	<i>Antwerp?</i>	12°. —
2. B. "The Byble, that is, the Holye Scripture of the Olde and New Testamente, faythfully translated in Englysh, and newly ouersene and correcte, MD.XXXVII." Dedicated "to Henry VIII. and his Queen <i>Jane.</i> "—"Myles Couerdale unto Christen reader." Correcting p. 291. <i>Earl Spencer.</i>	Co. J. Nycolson	<i>Southwarke</i>	4°. —
3. B. "The Byble, that is, the oulde and newe Testamet, faithfuly Trauslated into English, and newly ouerseen and corrected, MD.XXXVII." Dedicated as before, and both "Sett forth with the Kynges most gracious license." See p. 291. <i>Bristol Mus. Lincoln Cathedral.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Co. J. Nycolson	<i>Southwarke</i>	fol. 1537
4. B. "THE BIBLE, WHICH IS THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, IN WHICH ARE CONTAYNED THE OLDE AND NEWE TESTAMENT, TRUELY AND PURELY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLYSH. By Thomas Matthew." Dedicated to Henry VIII. "Set forth with the Kinge's most gracious license." The basis of all subsequent editions. See pp. 207-305. <i>British Mus. Lambeth Lib. Bodleian. Bristol Mus. Earl of Pembroke.</i>	Ty. Grafton and <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ma. Whitechurch	<i>Antwerp?</i> <i>Lubec?</i> <i>Hamboro?</i>	fol. —
26. T. In Latin after Erasmus, and in English after Matthew, "under the King's most gracious license." See the History, p. 321. <i>Royal Institution. Exeter Coll., Oxon.</i>	Ma. Redman	<i>London</i>	4°. 1538
27. T. New Testament of Coverdale, but with all Tyndale's prologues, by Crom or Cromer. <i>Bristol Museum. St. Paul's Library.</i>	Co. M. Cromer	<i>Antwerp</i>	12°. —
28. T. "of our Sauoure Jesu Christe,—in to Englysshe." <i>Lib. of the late Duke of Sussex.</i>	<i>Mr. G. Mason</i> Ma. Treveris	<i>Southwark</i>	4°. —
29. T. "The newe Testament, both Latin and Englyshe, after the vulgar texte, by Myles Couerdale." See p. 321. <i>Bodleian.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Co. Nicolson	<i>Southwarke</i>	4°. —
30. T. "The newe testament both in Latine and Englyshe"—"Faythfullye translated by Johan Hollybushe." See p. 321. <i>St. Paul's.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Chr. Anderson Co. Nicolson	<i>Southwarke</i>	4°. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
31. T.	"The new Testament both in Latin and English," —title red and black. Dedicated to Lord Cromwell, by Couerdale. <i>St. Paul's. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Co. Regnault	Paris	8°. 1538
32. T.	"The new Testament"—with a true concordance in the Margent—printed in the yeare of our Lorde MCCCCXXXVIII. <i>Trin. Coll. Dublin. Herbert, p. 1549.</i>	Co. —	London?	16°. —
33. T.	The Paris edit. with Ded. and new title. <i>C. C. College, Oxford Co.</i>	—	London?	8°. 1539
34. T.	"of our sauour Jesu Chryst—for Thomas Ber- thelet," p. 343. <i>St. Paul's Library</i>	Ta. T. Petyt	London	4°. —
35. T.	"after the Greeke Exemplar"—for T. Berthelet. <i>Herbert, p. 553, 1550.</i>	Ta. T. Petyt	London	8°. —
36. T.	Rep. of 1538, very incor. See p. 35. <i>Herbert, p. 1549, 1550.</i>	Co. Cromer	Antwerp	8°. —
5. B.	"The Byble"—an undertaking of Crumwell's, with Coverdale as corrector of the press. See pp. 313-320, and 325. <i>British Museum. St. Paul's.</i>	Grafton	Paris	fol. —
	<i>Lambeth Lib. Bristol Mus. Ma.</i>	and	and	
	<i>Cr. Anderson. Perfect copy—Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Whitchurch	London	
6. B.	"The most sacred Bible," by Taverner. See pp. 342-344. <i>British Mus. St. Paul's. Bristol Mus.</i>			
	<i>Cambridge University Library. Balliol Col. Oxon.</i>			
	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ta. J. Byddell	London	fol. —
7. B.	"The most sacred Bible," by Taverner. See p. 343. But no third edit. by Nycolson, as stated by Herbert and Dibdin. See Bible, No. —			
	<i>Cotton's List</i>	Ta. J. Byddell	London	4°. —
8. B.	"The Byble in Englyshe"—"Fynished in Apryll MCCCCXL." See pp. 347-351, 357-360. The first of Cranmer's. Vellum, <i>British Museum.</i>	Edward		
	Perfect copy— <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Whytchurche	London	fol. 1540
9. B.	"The Byble in Englyshe"—"Finished in Apryll, ANNO MCCCCXL." Reprint of 1539, cor- recting, p. 360. See p. 361. <i>British Museum.</i>	Petyt and		
	<i>Emman. Col. Camb. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ma. Redman	London	fol. —
10. B.	"The Byble in Englyshe"—"Fynished in July, anno MCCCCXL." See p. 362. The second of Cranmer's. A perfect copy— <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Grafton	London	fol. —
11. B.	The Bible, in five parts or volumes—nowhere complete.	Ma. Redman	London	16°. —
37. T.	The Newe Testament in English, as in Cranmer, though said to be from the Latin of Erasmus. <i>Lambeth Lib.</i>	Grafton and Cr. Whitchurch	London	4°. —
38. T.	The Newe Testament of Taverner's version. See Ames, 499, Cotton's List, p. 7. Introduction to Luke omitted. <i>Bodleian.</i>	Ta. —	London	4°. —
12. B.	"The Byble in Englyshe,"—"Fynysshed in Nonember, Anno MCCCCXL." not pub. till 1541. Overseen and perused at Henry's command, by Tuistal and Heath. See p. 362. <i>Edin. Univ. Lib.</i>	Edward		
	Perfect copy— <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Tu. Whitchurch	London	fol. 1541
13. B.	"The Byble in Englysh,"—"Finished the xxviii daye of Maye, ANNO DOMINI MDXLI." See p. 365. Third of Cranmer.	Edwarde		
	Perfect copy— <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Whitchurch	London	fol. —

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
14. B. "The Byble in Englyshe,—Fynished in Nouember, anno MCCCCXLI," the second with Tunstal and Heath's names on the title, and Cranmer's prologue in both edits. See p. 368.	Richard Grafton	London	fol. 1541
Perfect copy— <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Tu.</i>			
15. B. "The Byble in Englyshe, An. do. MDXL.—Fynysshed in December MCCCCXLI. A domino factum est istud. This is the Lordes doyuge." See p. 309.	Richard Grafton	London	fol. —
Perfect— <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Cr.</i>			
39. T. The New Test. with wood-cuts in the Gospels, Acts, and Revelations. Harleian Cat. No. 428,—imperf.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Ty. Van Loe ?</i>	<i>Antwerp</i>	32°. 1544

Edward the Sixth.

FORTY-NINE EDITIONS, VIZ. THIRTY-FIVE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND FOURTEEN OF THE BIBLE.

Issued in the course of six years and a half, or from 29th January 1547 to 6th July 1553.

	PRINTER.	YEAR.
40. T. The Newe Testament according to Cranmer's edits. <i>note.</i> Dated "the ix. day of October MDXLVI."	<i>Bristol Museum Cr. R. Grafton</i>	12°. 1546
41. T. The Newe Testament in Englishe (Matthew) and Latin, according to Erasmus,—a reprint of edit. 1538.	<i>St. Paul's. Lea Wilson, Esq. Ma. W. Powell</i>	4°. 1547
42. T. "The new Testament in Englyshe,"—of Cranmer's version, known by a noted omission in the text of Rev. i. 9, 20.	<i>Geo. Offor, Esq. Cr. E. Whitechurch</i>	8°. —
43. T. The New Testament,—the English of his edit. last year. <i>Lambeth</i>	<i>Ma. W. Powell</i>	4°. 1548
44. T. "The new Testamente in Englyssh, according to the translation of the great Byble." "Londini.—Ex officina Johann Herfordiæ, Anno Domini MDXlyiii."	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Cr. J. Herford</i>	24°. —
45. T. "The new Testament of our Saviour Christ, after the best copie of William Tindale's Translation," with the notes of Matthew and others.	<i>Eton College Ty. Day & Seres</i>	16°. —
46. T. The New Testament, similar to the last.	<i>Cotton's List. Ty. Day & Seres</i>	4°. —
47. T. "The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ." 35 lines in a page. Perfect copy, Sussex sale £50. Imperfect.— <i>Chr. Anderson Ty. R. Jugge</i>		24°. —
48. T. "The newe Testament of the last Translation by William Tyndale, with prologes and Annotacyons in the Margent." 84 lines in a page. Herbert, p. 556.	<i>Lincoln College, Oxford Ty. T. Petit</i>	4°. —
49. T. "The Newe Testament in Englishe and in Latin. Novvm Testamentvm Anglice et Latine, Anno Dni 1548."	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Ty. W. Powell</i>	4°. —
50. T. The newe Testament of the last Translation by William Tyndale. Printed for Thomas Berthelet, without date.	<i>Herbert, p. 556 Ty. T. Petit</i>	16°. —
51. T. "The new Testamente by William Tindale, with the Annotations of Thomas Matthew." In black letter, with wood-cuts.	<i>Geo. Offor, Esq. Ty. ———</i>	8°. —
52. T. The Newe Testament, a rare edit. imperf. "Vvillia Tindal vnto the Chrystyan Reader," with wood-cuts in Revelations.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Ty. Day & Seres</i>	18°. —
53. T. The New Testament, with Erasmus' paraphrase, vol. i.	<i>Bodleian. New College, Oxon. Bristol Museum var. Whitechurch</i>	fol. —
—————, the same,—the Epistles, vol. ii.	<i>Sion College. New College, Oxon. Bristol Museum var. Whitechurch</i>	fol. 1549

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
54. T.	"The New Testament of our Saviour Christ—after the best Copie of William Tindale's trans. with notes of Matthew's."	<i>Bristol Museum.</i> Ty. Jhon Day	16° 1549
55. T.	The Newe Testament by William Tyndale.	<i>Cotton's List</i> Ty. W. Seres	8°. —
56. T.	"The new Testamente of our Sauyoure Christ, set forth by Willyam Tyndale, with the annatacion of T. Matthew," 23 of Maye.	<i>British Museum. Bristol Museum</i> Ty. Wm. Copland	8°. —
57. T.	"The newe Testament of the last translacion. By Wylliam Tyndale." Colophon dated also 1548. This is <i>not</i> Coverdale's Translation, as stated in Herbert, p. 764.	<i>Bristol Mus. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ty. Wm. Tylle	8°. —
58. T.	"The newe Testament, by Miles Coverdale, and conferred with the translacion of Willyam Tyndale."	Wood-cuts. <i>Lambeth Lib. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Co. R. Wolfe	12°. —
59. T.	"The Newe Testament," as in 1547, but the Latin here in Roman type. "Imprinted MCCCCXLIX. God save the Kyng."	<i>St. Paul's. Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ma. W. Powell	4°. —
60. T.	"The Newe Testament of oure Saueour Jesus Christ, by M. Wil. Tindall," an earlier foreign print, though now only put forth.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ty. Day and Seres	12°. —
61. T.	The New Testament, similar to the Bible following.	<i>Lambeth and Cotton Lists</i> Cr. Cawood	4°. —
62. T.	"The Newe Testamente," similar to Bible following.	<i>Lowndes' List</i> Ty. Day and Seres	fol. —
16. B.	"The Byble, that is to say all the holy Scripture," <i>not</i> Taverner's, but very slightly varied from Matthews, by Ed. Becke. Dedicated to Edward VI. "17 day August." <i>Bodleian.</i>	<i>Cam. Univ. Lib. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.</i> Ma. Day and Seres	fol. —
17. B.	"The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture,"—reprint of Matthews 1537, but very faulty in composition,—" <i>finyshed the laste daye of Octobre.</i> "	<i>St. Paul's. Exeter Col. Oxon. Lambeth. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ma. Reynaldes	fol. —
18. B.	"The Byble in Englishe, after the translacion appoynted to bee read in the churches," dated the 29th day of December MDXLIX. <i>Bodleian. Exeter Col. Oxon.</i> yellow paper.	<i>Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Cr. Grafton or Whitechurch	fol. —
19. B.	The Byble, after Cranmer's version.	<i>Lambeth & Cotton List</i> Cr. Cawood	4°. —
20. B.	The Byble in Englishe, a reprint of 1541. Being a joint concern, some titles have "Grafton and Whitechurch."	<i>Bristol Museum.</i> Cr. Grafton	4°. —
21. B.	in five vols. dated 1549, 1550, 1551. "Printed in sundry partes for these pore—that they which ar not able to bie the hole, may bie a part." This copy wants only the first vol.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ta. Day and Seres	12°. —
63. T.	The Newe Testament, "Imprinted the XII. Daye of January. ANNO DO. MCCCCCL. At worceter by Jhon Oswen." Cum gratia, &c.	<i>Balliol College, Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ty. Oswen	4°. 1550
64. T.	"The New Testament of our Sauour Christ,—after the best Copie of William Tindale's Translation—the vi. day of February."	<i>All Souls College, Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ty. Day and Seres	12°. —
65. T.	"The Newe Testament,—by Miles Couerdale, conferred with the translacion of Willyam Tyndale," dated "ANNO 1550, in June."	<i>Lambeth Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Co. R. Wolfe	12°. —
66. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour Jesus Christ." Should have a port. of Edward VI. A full page 34 lines.	<i>St. Paul's Lib. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ty. R. Jugge	24°. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
67. T.	"The newe Testament faythfully translated by Miles Coverdal, anno 1550." First so "Imprynted at Zurich, by Christoffel Froschouer"—by unaccountable mistake for William Tyndale. <i>British Mus. Zurich Lib. British Mus. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Froschover	18°. 1550
68. T.	"The new Testament in Englishe after the greeke translation," &c. Red and black title, "in officina Thomæ Gaultier pro I. C." i.e. for John Cawood. "Pridie Kalendas Decembris anno MDL." <i>Lambeth. Bodleian. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. ? Gualtier.	8°. —
22. B.	"The Bible in Englishe—the translacon that is appointed to be rede in the churches." <i>St. Paul's Lib. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Whytchurche	4°. —
23. B.	"The whole Byble,—by Mayst. Thomas Mathewe!" First so "Imprinted in Zurych by Chrystoffer froschower—finished the xvi daye in the moneth of August," by strange mistake for Coverdale. The correct London title,—"Prynted for Andrewe Hester." <i>British Museum Bodleian. St. Paul's. Co. and Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Froschover A. Hester	4°. —
69. T.	The New Testament, with Erasmus' paraphrase, i. volume. <i>Sion College. All Souls College, Oxon.</i>	var. Whitchurch	fol. 1551
70. T.	The Newe Testament, by William Tyndale. <i>Bristol Museum</i>	Ty. Day and Scors	12°. —
71. T.	"The Newe Testament, with certayne Notes folowyng the chapters." Preface by Tyndale, and margin references, MDLI. <i>St. Paul's Library</i>	Ty. J. Daye	fol. —
24. B.	"The Byble, that is to saye all the holy Scripture,"—Printed by Nicolas Hyll, vi. May MDLI, and for eight "honest menne." Besides the issues here identified there are other copies in the <i>British Museum. St. Paul's. Lambeth. Trinity College and All Souls College, Oxford. Christ's Church, Canterbury.</i>	<i>Bristol Museum</i> Ma. Jo. Wyghte Ma. Wm. Bonham <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ma. Th. Petyt Ma. T. Raynalde Ma. R. Kele <i>Bristol Museum</i> Ma. J. Walley <i>Bristol Museum</i> Ma. Ab. Veale <i>Bristol Museum</i> Ma. Ro. Toye	fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. —
25. B.	"The Byble, that is to say, al the holy Scripture." Revised by Becke. Mostly Taverner's, with the New Testament of Tyndale, dated xxiii. of Mayo MDLI. <i>British Museum. Ta. Lambeth Library. St. Paul's. Bodleian. Bristol Museum.</i>	Jhon Day	fol. —
		<i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Ty.</i>	
72. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour Jesu Christe." Port. of Edward, and large wood-cuts, with a license, dated 10 June, forbidding others to print. Note 8. <i>British Museum. Lambeth. St. Paul's. Wadham C. Oxon. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Jugge	4°. 1552
73. T.	The Newe Testament in Englyshe,—separate copies of the following Bible,—	Cr. Nich. Hyll	4°. —
26. B.	The Byble, &c. "London, by Nycholas Hyll, for Abraham Veale, anno MDLII." Has been ascribed to Nicolson of Southwark by mistake. See Dibdin's Ames, vol. iii., p. 57. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Nich. Hyll	4°. —
74. T.	"The newe Testament of our Sauour Jesus Christe." This and the edition of 1552 fixed by the King to be sold for 22d. = 22s. now. <i>British Museum. St. Paul's. Bristol Museum.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Ty. R. Jugge</i>	4°. 1553
27. B.	"The byble in English—the translacio—to be read in churches. MDLIII." <i>St. Paul's. Worcester Col. Oxon. Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Whytchurche	fol. —

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
28. B. "The whole Byble," by Coverdale,—a new issue of the Zurich edition, with new title. <i>St. Paul's. Balliol College and Exeter College, Oxon. Bristol Museum Co.</i>	Froschover Ri. Juggle	4°. 1553
29. B. "The Bible in Englishe, according to the translatcion of the great Byble." Very small skeleton Saxon letter. Some copies have Grafton and Whitchurch. <i>St. Paul's Library. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Grafton	4°. —

Queen Mary.

ONE EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, PRINTED ABROAD.

Under this reign of five years and four months, from 19th July 1553 to 17th November 1558.

75. "The Nevve Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." 10 June. The translation of William Whittingham, in exile at Geneva. See the History, pp. 446—451. <i>British Mus. Lambeth Lib. Bodleian. Bristol Mus. Balliol College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.</i>	Geneva by Conrad Badius.	18°. 1557
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Queen Elizabeth.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-TWO EDITIONS, VIZ. FORTY-EIGHT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND NINETY-FOUR OF THE BIBLE.

Printed during forty-four years and four months, from 17th November 1558 to 24th March 1603.

30. B. "The Bible and Holy Scriptvres." The first Genevan, the first in <i>Roman</i> letter, and first <i>Bible</i> in verses, 10th April 1560. Ded. to the Queen, and addressed to "the brethren of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND." See the Hist. pp. 451—453. <i>Lambeth. Balliol College, Oxon. Rev. Dr. Cotton. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. Rou. Hall	4°. 1560
76. T. The New Test.—the same version. No printer's name. <i>Lambeth.</i>	Ge. Geneva	16°. —
77. T. "The Newe Testament, Faythfully translated out of the Greke." Dedicated to Edward VI. forbidding all others to print, and by his former privilege still! <i>All Souls, Oxon. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Juggle	12°. 1561
78. T. "The Newe Testament," same version, but perfectly distinct dated edition. Both books perhaps kept up in safety during Mary's reign. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Juggle	12°. —
79. T. The New Test. without license—fined 8s. See Herb. 883. <i>Cotton's List</i>	Cr. R. Harrison	4°. 1561
31. B. "The Bible." Second Genevan. Dedicated as before, but dated 10th April, 1561. The New Test. in 1561, the first title 1562, Bodley's edition, <i>Roman</i> . See pp. 453—460. <i>Brazen Nose College, Oxford. Geo. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. No name	fol. —
32. B. "The Bible," in small black letter. "Imprinted at London, in Povvles Church-yard, by Jhon Cawoode. Prynter to the Quenes Maiestie, Anno MDLXJ. Cum privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis." <i>British Museum. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. J. Cawoode	4°. —
33. B. "The Bible in Englishe—appointed to be read in churches." "Imprinted at London, in white crosse strete,		

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
	by Richarde Harrison, Anno Domi. 1.5.6.2." <i>Roman</i> . See Hist. p. 460, and note. <i>Bristol Museum. Earl of Bridgewater.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Cr. Harrison</i>		fol. 1562
80. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour," in red and black. Still forbidding others to print. <i>Balliol College, Oxford. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq. Ty. R. Jugge</i>		4°. 1566
34. B.	The Bible in Englyshe—"At Roven (<i>Rouen</i>), at the coste and charges of Richard Carmarden," by Hamillon, <i>not</i> Hamilton, as in the History, p. 461. <i>British Mus. Bodleian. Lambeth. Worcester College, Oxford. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq. Cr. Hamillon</i>		fol. —
35. B.	The Bible "In officina R. Grafton." The first edit. in one vol. 8vo, and the last he printed, probably sent to Ireland. See Hist. p. 462. <i>Herbert, p. 538 Cr. R. Grafton</i>		8°. —
36. B.	"The Bible," third edit. printed at Geneva, by John Crispin. See Herbert's Ames, p. 1624, and the previous History, p. 461. <i>Ge. J. Crispin</i>		4°. 1568
81. T.	The Newe Test., printed to sell separately. <i>Bodleian. George Offor, Esq. Ge. J. Crispin</i>		4°. —
37. B.	"The . holie . Bible . conteynynge the olde Testament and the newe." The first edit. of Parker's, with 143 cuts and engravings. See the Hist. p. 462-464. <i>British Museum. Bodleian. Bristol Mus. St. Paul's. Cambridge University Library. Lea Wilson, Esq. Bps. R. Jugge</i>		fol. —
38. B.	The Bible, by R. Jugge and J. Cawood. <i>Trinity College, Cambridge. All Souls College, Oxon. Cr. Jo. Cawood</i>		4°. —
39. B.	"The Bible in Englyshe. Imprinted—Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis." <i>Lambeth. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq. Cr. Cawood</i>		4°. 1569
40. B.	The Bible,—another edit. It may be distinguished by "THE NEVVE TESTament in english.—Cum priuilegio." <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Cr. Cawood</i>		4°. —
41. The Bible.	Entirely distinct edition, though the same year. Like an effort to uphold Crammer's version. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Cr. Cawood</i>		4°. —
42. B.	"The holi Bible." Portrait of Elizabeth, and the Archbishop below preaching. See Strype's Annals and Lewis, p. 254. In two columns, the verses intermingled with the text. <i>Late Duke of Sussex' Library. T. Thorpe, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq. Bps. R. Jugge</i>		4°. —
43. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scriptvres conteyned."—"At Geneva, printed by John Crispin, MDLXIX." The New Test. is MDLXVIII.— <i>Roman. Lea Wilson, Esq. Ge. Crispin</i>		4°. —
44. B.	The very same book as the last, though styled second edition. It was, however, a second or fresh issue this year.— <i>Roman. Bodleian. Lea Wilson, Esq. Ge. Crispin</i>		4°. 1570
45. B.	"The Holie Bible,"—second edit. in quarto of the Bishop's version. Once in Herbert's collection, but at present we know not where <i>Bps. R. Jugge</i>		4°. —
82. T.	The New Testament, very similar to Nos. 77, 78, but a different edition, evident from the wood-cuts in the Revelation, and other marks,—black letter. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Ty. R. Jugge</i>		12°. —
83. T.	The New Testament,—title wanting,—extremely small black letter,—not paged. The letter-press measures two inches by three and a quarter. Printed in 1570 or 1571. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Bps. R. Jugge</i>		24°. 1571
46. B.	"The Holie Bible," Second folio edition with only 30 cuts and engravings, many ornamental initials, wildly taken		

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
from Ovid's Metamorphoses! A double version of the Psalms. <i>British Museum. Bodleian. Exeter College, Oxon. Bristol Mus.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. 1572
47. B. "The Holie Bible." The third in quarto. A splendid copy, bound in five volumes, is in <i>Lambeth Library.</i> <i>St. Paul's. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	4°. 1573
48. B. "The Holy Byble, conteyning the olde Testament and the newe. Set forth by auctoritie," <i>i.e.</i> of the bishops. See the History, p. 465. The third folio, with cuts, dated "the fifth of July, 1574." <i>Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> <i>Chr. Anderson.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. 1574
84. T. "The Newe Testament," Genevan version, with Epistle of Calvin, as in the edition of 1557. Imprinted at London, by Tho. Vautroullier, for Christopher Barker. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. Vautroullier	12°. 1575
85. T. "The Newe Testament," the same, in quarto. <i>Herbert, p. 1067</i>	Ge. Vautroullier	4°. —
49. B. "The Holy Byble, conteyning," &c. "Set forth by auctoritie," <i>i.e.</i> of the bishops. 1575. Thin paper, and not well printed, as if he needed capital. Hence the next edit. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	4°. —
50. B. "The Holy Byble, conteyning, &c. Set forth by auctoritie," as before, "finished the xxiii. day of November." <i>Earl Spencer</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. —
The same, but titled, "Imprinted at London, by RICHARD KELE." <i>The Bodleian.</i>		
The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by LUCAS HARISON." <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>		
The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by JOHN WALLEY." <i>King's College, Cambridge.</i>		
The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by JOHN JUDSON." <i>Mr. Herbert.</i>		
The same ——— "Imprinted at London, by WILLIAM NORTON." <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>		
51. B. "The Bible." Genevan. The first printed on English ground, and by Thomas Vautroullier, for Christopher Barker. <i>Bristol Museum</i>	Ge. Vautroullier	4°. —
52. B. "The Bible," of the same version, for the same, in small size.	Ge. Vautroullier	8°. —
86. T. The New Test. of the Bishops' version,—no date. <i>St. Paul's Lib.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	18°. 1576
87. T. "The Nevv Testament," the first edition said to be from Beza, but simply a revision of the Genevan version, with Notes by Beza, Camerarius, &c., by Laurence Tomson, under-secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, differing in some parts from subsequent editions. <i>Dr. Cotton. Sion College. Wadham Col., Oxon.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.</i>	To. C. Barker	8°. —
53. B. "The Bible." The text in long primer, Roman, the arguments in Italic letter. "Imprinted at London, by Christopher Barker—Cum privilegio." In the late <i>Sussex Library.</i> <i>The Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
54. B. "The Holy Byble, conteyning." In a very small type, very well printed, and on a thick fine paper, running title Roman, contents in Italic. Not Cranmer's, as has been stated. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	4°. 1576
55. B. The Bible. Genevan version, neatly printed, in long primer Roman and Italic arguments. <i>Herbert, p. 1077.</i> <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4°. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
88. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesvs Christe." Small quarto. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	4°. 1577
89. T.	"The Nevv Testament of ovr Lord." Tomson's version. <i>G. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barkar	8°. —
56. B.	"The Bible. That is, the Holy Scriptvres conteined," &c. Dedicated and addressed to "the Brethren," &c. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Oriol College, Oxford. William Pickering, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barkar	fol. —
	The last is the copy presented to Queen Elizabeth once in the <i>Sussex Library</i> .		
57. B.	"The Holie Bible," the last printed by him, in large 8vo. <i>St. Paul's Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	8°. —
90. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour.—Cum privilegio— <i>solum</i> ," between the privilege of Jugge, and the patent of Barker. Not in 1600, as in Herbert, nor 1565, as in Cotton. <i>Cambridge University Library.</i>	Bps. Ri. Watkins	4°. —
91. T.	"The Nevve Testament of our Sauour," in black and red, same version. Rich. Jugge, now deceased. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. Vautroullier	12°. —
92. T.	"The Newe Testament of ovr Lorde." Extremely small type, by Barker, now printer to the Queen. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	24°. 1578
58. B.	"The Bible." Two versions of the Psalms. Gen. and Bps.' Ded. to Eliz. and the address <i>now</i> "to the diligent and Christian reader." The verses by Greshop, in many editions, here first appeared,—“Here is the spring where waters flowe.” <i>British Museum. Bodleian. Lambeth. Bristol Mus.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
59. B.	"The Holy Bible, conteyning," &c. "Imprinted—by the assignment of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes Majestie, 1578." <i>Merton College. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	fol. —
93. T.	"The Newe Testament." The Bishops' version. <i>Earl Spencer.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	16°. 1579
60. B.	"The Bible," with double Psalms again. "Imprinted at London, by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie." <i>The Zurich Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4°. —
61. B.	"The Bible." Entirely different edition. The New Test. and last leaf are dated 1580, besides other distinctions. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4°. —
62. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scriptvres conteined," &c. The <i>first</i> Bible printed in <i>Scotland</i> . See the Hist. p. 571. <i>Roman</i> letter. Finished at press in July this year. <i>Earl of Morton. Ge. and</i> <i>Advocates' Lib. Edinburgh. Earl Spencer. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Arbuthnot	fol. —
94. T.	"The Newe Testament." Tomson's revision. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barker	8°. 1580
95. T.	"The Newe Testament." The same version. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barker	24°. —
63. B.	"The Bible," with Dedication, and the address "To the Christian reader." Large paper. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4°. —
64. B.	The Bible, no Dedication, and a distinct edition. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4°. —
65. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan version. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
96. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour Jesus Christ." A clean black letter, <i>Italic</i> contents, notes in <i>Roman</i> . <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	12°. 1581
97. T.	"The Newe Testament," of Tomson's revision. <i>Herbert.</i> <i>Cotton's List.</i>	To. C. Barker	12°. —
66. B.	"The Bible." Genevan ver. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4°. —
67. B.	"The Bible," of the same version. <i>Cotton's List</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
68. B.	"The Bible," of the same, bound in four vols. <i>Earl Spencer</i>	Ge. C. Barker	8°. —
98. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." Tomson's revision. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Earl of Bridgewater</i>	To. C. Barker	8°. 1582

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
69. B. "The Bible." Genevan version, with the customary Dedication to Queen Elizabeth, and once more still—"To the brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland," <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. 1582
70. B. "The Bible." The Genevan version.	<i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	4°. —
71. B. "The Bible." The same version.	Ge. C. Barker	8°. —
99. T. "The Newe Testament." Tomson's revision, best edition, with the royal arms, large 4°. <i>Exeter College, Oxford.</i> <i>Rev. Dr. Cotton's</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	4°. 1583
100. T. "The Newe Testament of our Sauour." In the late <i>Sussex Lib.</i>	Bps. Bynneman	4°. —
101. T. "The Newe Testament." Tomson's revis. 1. 4°. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barker	4°. —
102. T. The New Testament. Genevan version. <i>Herbert. Cotton's List</i>	Ge. C. Barker	12°. —
103. T. The New Testament. Tomson's revision. <i>St. Paul's Library</i>	Ge. C. Barker	32°. —
72. B. Portion, entitled "the third part of the Bible."	<i>St. Paul's Library</i>	16°. —
73. B. "The Bible and Holy Scriptvre," in red and black, splendidly printed in large folio, margin nearly three inches broad, and paper emulating vellum. <i>Bodleian. Lambeth. St. John's Coll., Oxon. Pembroke Coll., Oxon. Bristol Mus.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
74. B. "The Bible and Holy Scripture." The same version.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	4°. —
75. B. "The Holy Bible, containing the Olde Testament and the Newe," in a fine new black letter; contents in <i>Roman</i> . Frequently mistaken for the Genevan version, <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	fol. 1584
76. B. "The Holy Bible." This and the last edition contain the Psalms of Cranmer's version, "to be sung or said in churches."	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	4°. —
77. B. "The Holy Bible." This and the last edition, "a bigger and a less," printed by order of Whitgift, as the translation "authorised by the Synod of Bishops." See Hist. p. 465. <i>Lambeth. Sion College. Bristol Museum.</i> <i>Earl Spencer</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	fol. 1585
78. B. "The Bible and Holy Scripture." Genevan version.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	4°. —
104. T. The Newe Testament. Tomson's revision.	<i>Cotton's List. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	12° 1586
79. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. <i>Exeter College, Oxford.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	4°. —
80. B. "The Bible." Same version.	<i>King of Wirtemberg.</i>	8°. —
81. B. "The Bible." Same. <i>Roman</i> . With Tomson's New Testament.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	4°. 1587
82. B. "The Holy Bible." Black and red title, the first "Imprinted by the Deputies of Christopher Barker," or G. Bishop and R. Newbery.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	fol. 1588
83. B. "The Bible." Genevan. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
105. T. "The New Testament." The first printed at Cambridge; and by John Legate, son-in-law of C. Barker, and printer to the University, from 2d Nov. 1588. <i>Cotton's List. Mr. T. Bradley.</i>	Ge. J. Legate	24°. 1589
106. T. The New Testament. Genevan version.	<i>Lambeth Library.</i>	12°. —
107. T. The New Testament, the Bishops' and Rhemish version, in columns, by W. Fulke.	<i>Christ's Church College, Oxon.</i>	fol. —
84. B. "The Bible." The Genevan version.	<i>Lownd's List.</i>	fol. —
85. B. "The Bible." The same version.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	4°. —

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
86. B. "The Bible." Same version, distinct edit. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. 1589
108. T. "The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." Roman pearl type, at <i>Cambridge</i> again. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. J. Legate	48°. 1590
109. T. The Newe Testament. Genevan, in 8vo <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	8°. —
87. B. "The Bible." On yellow paper. Imperfect. <i>Sussex Lib.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
110. T. The New Testament. Genevan version. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	12°. 1591
88. B. "The Holy Bible." Large folio. <i>Sion Col. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. D. of Barker	fol. —
89. B. "The Bible: That is, the Holy Scriptvres—Anno do. 1591, Majj 29." The first Bible known to have been printed at <i>Cambridge</i> , and in a beautiful <i>Roman</i> letter. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. J. Legate	8°. —
90. B. "The Bible," of the Genevan version, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	fol. 1592
91. B. "The Bible." Genevan version throughout. There is said to be a copy of this at <i>Stuttgart</i> . <i>King of Wirtemberg.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
111. T. The New Testament of the same version. <i>Rev. Dr. Lee.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. 1593
112. T. The New Testament. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	24°. —
92. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. <i>Rev. Dr. Lee.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
93. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker
113. T. The New Testament. Same version. <i>Brazen Nose Col. Oxford.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. 1594
94. B. "The Bible." Same version. <i>Cotton's List. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
114. T. The New Testament. <i>Library of the late Granville Sharp, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	8°. 1595
95. "The Holie Bible." <i>British Museum. Lambeth Library.</i>	<i>St. John's College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. D. of Barker
96. B. "The Bible." <i>Lambeth. Bal. Col. Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	fol. —
97. B. "The Bible, with Tomson's revision. <i>Roman</i> letter. <i>Brazen Nose College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
115. T. "The Newe Testament," of Tomson's revision. <i>Lambeth. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. D. of Barker	4°. 1596
116. T. The New Testament. Same version. Printed abroad. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	To. Holland?	fol. —
98. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. <i>St. Paul's Library.</i>	<i>Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker
117. T. The Newe Testament. Tomson's revision. <i>Roman</i> letter. <i>Pembroke College, Oxford.</i>	To. D. of Barker	4°. 1597
118. T. The Newe Testament, of the same version. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. D. of Barker	12°. —
99. B. "The Bible," printed at <i>Middleburgh.</i> <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. Schilders	8°. —
100. B. "The Bible," with Tomson's revision of New Testament. But even this has the Dedication and address—"To the brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c." <i>British Museum. All Souls, Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	fol. —
101. B. "The Bible. Genevan version entire. <i>Roman</i> type. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
The Bible, printed by R. Field, son-in-law and successor of Vautroullier, in <i>Cotton's List</i> , was the "Biblia Sacra."		
119. T. The New Testament. Printed by John Windet, for the assignees of Richard Day. <i>Sir John Hawkins. Cotton's List.</i>	Ge? J. Windet	24°. 1598
120. T. The Newe Testament. Genevan version. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	<i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker
102. B. "The Holy Bible." <i>Harleian Lib. No. 184. Cotton's List.</i>	Bps. D. of Barker	fol. —
103. B. "The Bible." Genevan version. <i>Roman</i> letter. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
104. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision of the New Test. <i>Pembroke College, Oxford.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4°. 1598
105. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version.	<i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	8°. —
106. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. <i>Bodleian. Lambeth.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4°. 1599
107. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision of New Testament. This edition may be distinguished by a black line round the page.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Chr. Anderson. Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
108. B.	{ Six other distinct edit. exist, dated, i. e. antedated, 1599, though printed above thirty years later. The Colo- phon of one—"Amsterdam, for Thos. Crafoorth, 1633," with our History, pp. 485, 486, & 570, solve the mystery.)	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
109. B.		<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
110. B.		<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
111. B.		<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
112. B.		<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
113. B.		<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4°. —
114. B.	"The Bible," as before, without date, place, or printer's name. Figure of a <i>goose</i> on the title of the psalms. Supposed from the <i>Dort</i> press.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. <i>Dort</i>	4°. 1600
115. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. C. Barker, now dead, after printing by deputies for twelve years. His son's name first appears. <i>King of Wirtemberg.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
121. T.	The New Testament. The Bishops and Rhemish versions, by W. Fulke. <i>Lincoln, Worcester: Queen's Coll. Oxon.</i>	<i>Bristol Museum.</i> Bps. R. Barker	fol. 1601
116. B.	The Genevan version, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. <i>King of Wirtemberg.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
117. B.	The Genevan version, entire, black letter.	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
118. B.	"The Bible," of the Genevan version.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. R. Barker	8°. —
119. B.	"The Bible," of the same version, "Imprinted by Isaac Canin, at the expenses of the aires of Henrie Charteris and Andrew Hart in Edinburgh."	I. Canin <i>Rev. Dr. Lee.</i> Ge. at <i>Dort.</i>	8°. —
122. T.	The New Testament. Genevan version.	<i>Cotton's List.</i> Ge. R. Barker	4°. 1602
123. T.	The New Testament, of Tomson's revision.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> To. R. Barker	8°. —
120. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision. <i>Bodleian.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. R. Barker	fol. —
121. B.	"The Bible." In <i>Roman</i> type. Genevan version. <i>King of Wirtemberg.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
122. B.	"The Bible," of the same version.	<i>King of Wirtemberg.</i> Ge. R. Barker	8°. —
123. B.	"The Holy Bible." <i>Christ Church Col. Trin. Col. Worcester Col. Queen's Col. Oxford.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> <i>Bodleian.</i>	
	This last has MS. corrections in reference to the intended revision of the Sacred text, forming our present Version.	Bps. R. Barker	fol. —

King James.

THIRTY-TWO EDITIONS, VIZ. EIGHT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND TWENTY-FOUR OF THE BIBLE.

Printed from 1603 to the year of our present version 1611.

124. T. "The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." Tomson's revision. 'At *Dort*, printed by Isaac Canin, 1603."
Duke of Wirtemberg. *Lea Wilson, Esq.* To. J. Canin 12°. 1603

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
	N.B.—The New Testament by Simon (Strafford) Stafford in the Cotton List, seems to be the British or Welsh New Testament, corrected by Morgan, Bishop of St. Asaph.		1603
124. B.	"The Bible." Genevan. <i>Cotton's List. Tho. Harris, Esq.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
125. B.	The same, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
126. B.	"The Bible," Genevan version, entire. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
127. B.	"The Bible." The same, in Roman letter. <i>Canterbury Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8°. —
125. T.	The New Testament of Tyndale, as by Jugge, with port. of Edward VI., printed by the assignee of Robert Barker. See No. 72. <i>St. Paul's Library.</i>	Ty. D. of Barker	12°. 1605
128. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. <i>King of Wirtemberg.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
129. B.	"The Holy Bible." The Bishops' version. <i>Late Sussex Library.</i>	Bps. R. Barker	fol. 1606
130. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan version. <i>Late Sussex Lib.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	fol. —
131. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. <i>King of Wirtemberg.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
132. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
133. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version, entire. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8°. —
134. B.	"The Bible." Roman type. Tomson's revision of New Testament. <i>Oriel College, Oxford. Sion College.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	fol. 1607
135. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan, entire. <i>Cotton's List.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
136. B.	"The Bible." Genevan. Distinct edition. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
137. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. <i>Balliol College, Oxford.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8°. —
126. T.	The New Testament. Bishops' version. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Bps. R. Barker	8°. 1608
127. T.	The New Testament. Genevan version. <i>Rev. Dr. Lee</i>	Ge. R. Barker	12°. —
138. B.	The Bible. The Genevan. <i>Balliol College, Oxford.</i> <i>Bristol Museum Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
139. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision of the New Test. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
140. B.	"The Bible," of the Genevan, entire. <i>Roman.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8°. —
128. T.	The New Testament, Genevan, this year, but dated also at the end 1610. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	<i>Earl of Bridgewater.</i>	Ge. R. Barker 4°. 1609
129. T.	The New Testament. Tomson's revision. <i>King of Wirtemberg.</i>	To. R. Barker	8°. —
141. B.	"The Bible." Roman letter, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4°. —
130. T.	The New Testament. Tomson's revision. <i>British Museum.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. R. Barker	12° 161
142. B.	"The Bible. That is, the Holy Scriptvres. At Edinburgh, Printed by Andro Hart, and are to be sold at his Buith, on the North side of the gate, a little beneath the Crosse." <i>Roman.</i> See before, p. 571. <i>Queen's Col. Oxford.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. A. Hart	fol. —
131. T.	The New Testament of this edition sold separately? <i>Geo. Chalmers, Esq.</i>	Ge. A. Hart	fol. —
143. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision. <i>Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	fol. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
144. B.	"The Bible." <i>Roman type, but the same version.</i> <i>All Souls College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4". 1610
145. B.	"The Bible," of the Genevan, entire <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8". —
146. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan, with Tomson's revision of the New Testament. <i>Bodleian Lambeth. Sion College.</i> <i>All Souls College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	fol. 1611
147. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan version, entire. <i>British Museum. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4". —

The first edition of our present Version.

- B. "The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New : Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues : and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Maiesties speciall Cōmandement. Appointed to be read in churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. Anno Dom. 1611."—N.B.—It has been said that the British Museum has two editions of this year ; but this is a mistake. The title of 1611 has been affixed to the editions of 1613, 1617, 1634, and even 1640, to make apparently fine copies of the first, but there certainly was no second edition in 1611.*
- T. "The New Testament of our Lord and Saniour Jesvs Christ. Newly translated," &c. Our present version in the same year, very rare. An. 1611. 12mo.

King James's Translators to the Reader.

"We are so far off from condemning any of their labours that traveled before us in this kind, either in this land, or beyond sea, either in King Henry's time—or Queen Elizabeth's—that we acknowledge them to have been raised up of God, for the building and furnishing of His Church, and they deserve to be had of us, and of posterity in everlasting remembrance."

"Therefore, blessed be they, and honoured be their name, that brake the ice, and gave the onset upon that which helpeth forward to the saving of souls ! Now, what can be more available thereto, than to deliver God's book unto God's people in a tongue which they understand ?"

"Truly, good Christian Reader, we never thought from the beginning, that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good, but to make a good one better ; or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against ; that hath been our endeavour, that our mark. To that purpose there were many chosen, that were greater in other men's eyes than their own, and that sought the truth, rather than their own praise."†

* After several years' research, the author was still of opinion there was but *one* edition of the Bible of 1611 ; but found that a distinct text of the *same size* type exists, with the date of 1611 on the *New Testament* title, and *without* the line "Appointed to be read in Churches ;" but out of *ten* such copies, not one has a printed title of the *Old Testament*, dated 1611. The copper-plate title contains no proof, but of these ten, six have no title, and four have printed titles, dated 1613. All this confirms the correctness of the history already given, that the English Bible of 1611 was a book in the hands of the patentee.

† It is well that these translators so expressed themselves, as they could not consistently have spoken otherwise. For whatever were the instructions given to them, such was the adherence to the language of the former Versions, that very happily, the translation is not in their own style. It is not the language of their own preface, nor of the reign of James I. The style they found in their prototypes, the diction and phraseology they adopted from their predecessors in translation.

IN the preceding List, it may have been observed, there are no questionable books, and yet in the course of eighty-six years, or up to the period in which our present Version was first published, there had been 278 editions of Bibles and New Testaments separately. This gives an average of more than *three* editions annually. Could, however, all the editions, particularly of Tyndale's New Testament, be verified, of which, to a certainty, a number exist, still unascertained, we are now fully persuaded that the average would, at the least, amount to *four* editions every year. All the volumes preceding the year 1560, must be contemplated as one would so many ancient Warriors, after a long and severe conflict. Even their mutilated remains are to be venerated, after having in their own day and generation, proved so many witnesses for the truth; but having sustained the loss of their title-page, or colophon, they could not be called up to the present muster. Though, therefore, we have, with some research, brought about an hundred more into the field than ever were before, their number may yet be increased.

An average, however, is not the only view which should be taken of the *entire* period. Each reign is considered by the historian as having a character of its own. Thus, in the reign of *Henry*, from 1525 to 1541, after which he began to frown, the average of publication was fully three editions annually. Before ever he listened, or before he was over-ruled, of the New Testament there had been at least 24 editions! During the long reign of *Elizabeth*, the average was about the same, or above three issues annually. The brightest period was that of *Edward VI.*, when there were about eight editions for every year he reigned. For the striking disparity between this brief reign and that of his sister Elizabeth, as to the New Testament, see the preceding history.

We have ascertained a larger number of the Bishops' Version than has ever before been mentioned, or 32 distinct issues. But it may now be observed, that instead of *thirty* editions in folio, quarto, and octavo, of the Genevan Version, printed from 1560 to 1616, as LEWIS reported, and NEWCOME, with many others, have repeated down to this day, we may now very safely assert that by that year there had been at least *one hundred and fifty* editions of Bibles and New Testaments, of which the reader has the proof before him of one hundred and twenty-nine editions, even by the year 1611.

The Bible of Parker, or the Bishops' Version, was never again printed after that year, though of the New Testament there were editions by Barker in 1614, 1615, 1617, and 1618. But the Genevan Bible still continued to be issued, and by the King's printer, as well as at Edinburgh and Amsterdam. Thus, besides four editions of the New Testament, we have the Genevan version in 4to, reprinted in 1613 both at London and Edinburgh. Again at London in 1614, and two editions in 1613. Again in folio, and by Barker still, in 1616. In quarto, at Amsterdam, in 1633, and six other editions, all antedated, as if in London, and in 1599. Again in folio, at Amsterdam, 1640, and two editions in 1644. In 1649 the *present* Version was printed with the *Genevan* notes by way of pushing it into favour, but about this period it prevailed, and took the place it has occupied ever since.

Historical Index

TO

THE ANNALS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

"It is a very striking circumstance, that the high-minded inventors of this great art tried at the very outset so bold a flight as the printing an entire Bible, and executed it with astonishing success. We may see, in imagination, this venerable and splendid Volume (though in Latin) leading up the crowded myriads of its followers, and imploring, as it were, a blessing on the new art, by dedicating its first-fruits to the service of Heaven."—*Hallam*. For its description, see our *Introduction*, xlvi. xlix.

"Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth. And whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength or authority. For the Truth is of so great power, strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength: but after she hath hidden herself long, at length she putteth up her head—and appeareth!"—*EDWARD FOX, the King's Almoner, and Bishop of Hereford, anno 1536*; this being the first diocese in England in which the daily reading of the *Scriptures in English* was enforced on the vicars and curates, through Dr. Curwen, the DEAN of that day, and afterwards Bishop of Oxford under Elizabeth. See p. 256.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

CERTAIN statements as to the English Scriptures have been given in past times by JOHN BALE, in his *Centuries of Writers*, and JOHN FOXE in his *Acts and Monuments*; by Father SIMON, in his *Critical History*, and LE LONG, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*; by STRYPE, in his *Memorials of Cranmer*, and ANTHONY JOHNSON, in his *Historical Account of Translations*. To these may be added the accounts given by LEWIS and NEWCOME, by MACKNIGHT and HERBERT MARSH, by CRUTTWELL, in his preface to *Wilson's Bible*, and GRAY, in the introduction before his *Key to the Old Testament*. Not to mention others, an eye has been kept on them all; but their statements, on the whole, are so defective and contradictory, that they, and those who refer to them as authority, require to be read with caution. The confusion and inaccuracy which have reigned throughout the whole, may be traced to one cause. The respective authors had not the Books before them, and probably not one had ever seen, much less inspected, the tenth part of the volumes at which he pointed. In the preceding History and Index-List, on the contrary, all the books have been seen and examined. No reliance has been placed on any loose previous statement, since there occurred such frequent reason to distrust every one of them; and as yet, from all that the Author has learned or read, he has had no occasion to question the general accuracy of either the History or the List of Bibles. No authentic addition has been discovered to the latter, but in the following Index, advantage is taken to insert several items, illustrative or confirmatory of both. It may be added, that in the last edition of "The Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the Scrip-

tures," by Mr. Hartwell Horne, he has corrected his notices of the English Scriptures by the preceding Annals.

Another subject, by way of addition to this history, has been suggested, but the Author has abstained, on principle, from all verbal criticism as to the English Bible. As far as man is concerned, imperfection attends him at every step, and the shamefully incorrect manner in which the Scriptures were too often printed, especially in former days, as well as the tardiness to correct remaining minor imperfections in the Sacred text itself, greatly illustrate the forbearance of Heaven: but in these volumes we have the past and present state of Britain, and British Christians with the Scriptures in their hands, before us, such as they have been, and now are; and these, for the present, demand deliberate and exclusive respect. To have entered on the verbal differences, whether in the English Bible, from Tyndale's down to our present version, or those which have been observed in manuscripts of the Sacred text since examined, would have been only diverting away the mind to a subject altogether foreign to the nature and design of this work.

Here, the *past* will be allowed, as in some other histories, to form the best indication or discoverer of the *future*. Now in tracing out a series of authenticated events, extending over more than three Centuries, the writer was early struck with a *vein* in the history peculiar to itself, and the more so, as it firmly continued to exhibit this characteristic down to the present day—a species of commanding supremacy, amidst various attempts to control, and peculiar to this kingdom. On the whole, therefore, it is presumed, the mind cannot escape from frequently observing a distinguishing feature, which, at the close, among other reflections or inquiries, leads so forcibly to one—What does this history *portend*? So secretly imported from abroad, as these Scriptures were, into England and Scotland, at the beginning, preserved so independent of control from every section of the British community, multiplied as they have been, and now so widely dispersed, the entire narrative carries every appearance of steady and determined approach—but it is to some one point, *never yet gained*. Has then some great moral lesson, not yet learned, been thus patiently held up to view, from age to age, but especially to the present? Has some cardinal principle, not yet understood, been waiting for adoption? Whatever that be, it remains for reflection, whether the History itself be not pressing forward, irresistibly, towards a period, when Sacred Scripture will have become the only authoritative source of Christian knowledge, faith, and practice? when the Sacred Volume will have gained that throne of Supremacy, to which many incidents in every stage of its providential history have been pointing so long?

Meanwhile, in the history of the *transmission* of ancient Books to modern times, there is absolutely nothing, in our language, to be placed in comparison with the introduction and conveyance of the English Scriptures to our times; thus rendering not only deep interest to all the past, but such ample ground for anticipation as to the future. In all ages, according to the magnitude and importance of its ultimate object, has been the compass fetched by the all-wise providence of God.

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THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

THOUGH far from being insensible to the charms of Biblical Criticism, far from wishing, in the slightest degree, to depreciate the subject of Various Readings, either in the several revisions of our English Bible down to our present Version, or in the Manuscripts since examined ; but, on the contrary, urging every student to their careful observation ; still, at the close of such a work as the present, the *consequence* of minute attention to both these departments ought to be known to all.

With regard to verbal differences, for they are nothing more, in our English Bible, from Tyndale downwards, these are to be found noted in the Bible published by Wilson, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, in 3 vols. quarto, 1785. But by far the best survey of the New Testament has but recently commenced, in a work of which the first volume only has yet appeared. It is rather quaintly entitled—"A Supplement to the Authorised English Version of the New Testament," &c., by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is intended to form a critical illustration of all the early English Versions, the present volume reaching to the end of Matthew. In the interesting and valuable Introduction, after stating that "a formal critique of our present Version it is not his province to attempt," the author adds—"It is enough if I have afforded to others the means of forming a more exact estimate of its *worth*, than can be gathered from the *vague* encomiums of our popular writers. Yet I should be acting wrongfully both to my theme and to myself, were I to suppress the conviction which the devotion of several years to this employment has fixed on my mind : that if faithfulness and perspicuity ; if energy of tone, and simplicity of language, be the true tests of merit in a translation of Holy Scripture, our authorised Bible is in no wise inferior to the most excellent of the other versions with which I am acquainted."

HEBREW AND GREEK ORIGINAL SCRIPTURES.

It has been not unusual for some men, deeply read in these tongues, to dwell upon the great progress that has been made in Scholarship since the days of our early Translators, and to depreciate their acquirements, though simply because of their not being in possession of those ample means that are now enjoyed for translating the Scriptures from the original. These languages, they have said, have been much more cultivated, and far better understood since the year 1600. The great acquisitions in literature, in respect not only of languages, but also of antiquities and criticism ; as well as the varieties discovered in the Manuscripts of the original text, since our present translation was made, have all been reiterated ; and that sometimes by men who have ventured on the attempt of only a single book, or a part of the Bible, in English.

The welcome, and very singular *result*, therefore, up to this hour, of many years of laborious attention paid to all the existing Manuscripts of the Scriptures, both in Hebrew and Greek, must not be withheld here even from the general reader, as it is so well fitted to send him with double relish to his English Bible.

Modern scholars tell us that "the manhood of criticism" began with MILL's edition of the Greek New Testament, in folio, 1707. It was finished only fourteen days before his death, after thirty years of incessant application, and contains thirty thousand various readings ! Happily, then lived "the greatest of English critics in this, or possibly any other age," RICHARD BENTLEY, who carefully dwelt on the result. Profoundly acquainted, and almost literally, with every *word* in the

Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac Scriptures, though he did not succeed in publishing his intended edition of the Greek New Testament, he again and again gave to the world the fruit of all his own experience as far as he had gone. On one occasion, it was in these expressive terms :—

“The 30,000 various lections, then, are allowed and confessed ; and if more copies yet are collected, the sum will still mount higher. It is good, therefore, to have more anchors than one ; and another Manuscript would give more authority, as well as security. It is a good providence, and a great blessing, that so many Manuscripts of the New Testament are still among us ; some procured from Egypt, others from Asia, others found in the Western Churches. For the very distance of the places, as well as numbers of the books, demonstrate, that there could be no collusion, no altering, or interpolating one copy by another, nor all by any of them. Not frightened, therefore, with the 30,000, I, for my part, and, as I believe, many others, would not lament, if out of the old Manuscripts yet untouched, 10,000 more were faithfully collected ; some of which, without question, would render the text more beautiful, just, and exact : *though of no consequence to the main of Religion ; nay, perhaps wholly synonymous in the view of common readers, and quite insensible in any modern version.*”

Since the days of Bentley, however, far greater progress has been made, and still ampler opportunities for examination have been enjoyed ; and what, then, is the deliberate judgment at which our most distinguished Scholars have now arrived ? The conclusion of the whole matter, we prefer, on several accounts, to give in the language of an Author recently presented to the public.

“We may well inquire,” says he, “what has been the result of this laborious and acute research,—of this toilsome collation of Manuscripts of every age, of the many theories for classifying critical documents ; in fine, of all the years which able and learned men have dedicated to the zealous task of amending and perfecting the Sacred Book ? Why, truly, if we exclude the great and important conclusions which we have at present in view, the result is so trifling, that we should say there had been much unthrifty squandering of time and talents thereupon. Not, indeed, that there has been lack of abundant differences of readings ; on the contrary, the number is overpowering. MILL’s first effort produced 30,000, and the number may be said daily to increase. But in all this mass, although every attainable source has been exhausted ; although the Fathers of every age have been gleaned for their readings ; although the versions of every nation, Arabic, Syrian, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopian, have been ransacked for their renderings ; although Manuscripts of every age, from the sixteenth upwards to the third, and of every country, have been again and again visited to rifle them of their treasures ; although, having exhausted the stores of the West, critics have travelled, like naturalists, into distant lands, to discover new specimens,—have visited, like SCHOLZ, or SEBASTIANI, the recesses of Mount Athos, or the unexplored libraries of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts—*yet has nothing been discovered—no, not one single various reading which can throw doubt upon any passage before considered certain or decisive in favour of any important doctrine.* These various readings, almost without an exception, leave untouched the essential parts of any sentence, and only interfere with points of secondary importance, the insertion or omission of an article, or conjunction, or the forms rather than the substance of words.

“This result is precisely the same as has been obtained from the critical study of the Old Testament.—But once more returning to the New, and the critical attention paid to its text, the advantages which this has procured to us are far from stopping at the assurance, that nothing has been *yet* discovered which should

shake our belief in the purity of our Sacred books. This advantage was but the first step gained by it, in the earliest labours of MILL and WETSTEIN. GRIESBACH, with whose name I closed my list, went much farther; he gave us, in addition, a security for the *future*—and this important step has received important modifications, all tending to simplify it farther.

“Thus, may we say, that critical science has not only overthrown every objection drawn from documents *already in our possession*, but has given us full security against any *that may be yet discovered*; and has, at the same time, placed in our hands simple and easy rules for deciding complicated points of difference. And these results will be still more within our reach, when a new edition (*the Codex Vaticanus*), now preparing, shall have appeared, in which only select readings, examined with great care, and given with great accuracy, shall have been completed.”

How memorable and confirmatory is this beautiful summing up of evidence from the lips of such a man! And yet why should we, by the same pen, be so painfully reminded of the ancient Bishop of Durham, RICHARD DE BURY, as far back as the fourteenth century, of whom an old Annalist has said, that “he is somewhat to be remembered for example to others;” but who, while lamenting the total ignorance of the Greek language among his brethren, yet scrupled not to affirm—“*Laici omnium librorum communione indigni sunt*,”—regarding the laity as unworthy to be admitted to any commerce with books. To his select audience in London, it is true, and we are to presume in Rome also, our Lecturer concludes by presenting the following testimony:—

“The study of God’s Word, and the meditation upon its truths, surely forms our noblest occupation. But when that study is conducted upon severe principles, and with the aid of deep research, it will be found to combine the intellectual enjoyment of the mathematician, with the rapture of the poet, and ever to open new sources of edification and delight.”

This witness is true; nor is there one word of limitation here. Yet, alas! it appears elsewhere, that this noble satisfaction he would not, even in a humble degree, extend to all. But thus it is, and ever has been, that God rules and overrules all things and all men, even men of research, for His own glory. We have used the term “overrule,” as the reader, if he be not already aware of the fact, will scarcely credit us when we tell him, that the testimonies last given are in the words of an author (Cardinal Wiseman), in a delightful work on “The Connexion between Science and Religion,” who is opposed to the general circulation of the Bible in *any* tongue intelligible to the people! Recently, under the mistaken notion, that the present wide dispersion of the Scriptures has been the effect merely of men *combined* for that end; yes, and of men under the strange impression that the *mere* distribution of the Bible is God’s appointed way of conversion; he regards the entire procedure as altogether in vain, if not unwarrantable!! Of course no such impression exists, as our readers have been perfectly aware, nor has any combination, any united body of men, effected the dispersion of the Sacred Volume, at least in English, to its present extent. To this mistaken idea we must again allude presently; but who can suppress the sincere and earnest wish, that this Writer may be induced to reconsider the *entire* movement of our age, *as a movement*, in all its bearings, and be led at last to adopt the motto inserted at the close of some of our ancient folio Bibles—“*A Domino factum est istud*.” Few such able men existed in the days of our first Translator, though if there had, this would have only increased his astonishment over those who spoke against the Bible “to be had in *EVERY* tongue, and *that of EVERY man*.”

In regard to the Hebrew and Greek original Scriptures, we formerly glanced at the memorable fact—that no Government on earth, however absolute, has ever been permitted to restrain them! But when to this we now join the result of all the deep research into both texts, and remember, as Bentley has insisted, that the same thing cannot be asserted of *any other* species of ancient Manuscript, may we not exclaim—“*Who is so great a God as our God!*” When the quantity of writing contained in every single manuscript is considered, this conclusion becomes not only wonderful in itself, and greatly welcome to the general reader, but it may lead him to look with still greater veneration on the Divine Word so providentially watched over, and of which so many myriads now possess such an excellent translation in their hands—beyond conception the most weighty and valuable of all deposits.

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